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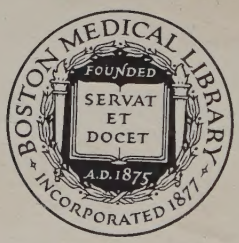


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# PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

# NATIONAL CONFERENCE

OF

# CHARITIES AND CORRECTION

AT THE

## THIRTY-NINTH ANNUAL SESSION

HELD IN CLEVELAND, OHIO

JUNE 12-19, 1912

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EDITED BY

ALEXANDER JOHNSON

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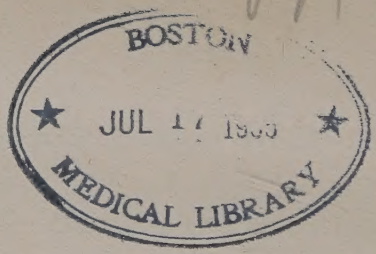

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Proceedings of the 39th National Conference of Charities and Correction

# PREFACE

The Seventh National Conference of Charities and Correction met in Cleveland in 1880. After an interval of thirty-two years the Conference came again to the city by the lake to hold its thirty-ninth annual session in 1912.

In the volume here presented will be found many notable papers; some of them on subjects which have been discussed at previous meetings; a number, probably larger than usual, on fresh and unhackneyed topics. The tendency to expand the meaning of the term "charities and correction" so as to make it include almost any topic which is distinctly one of social welfare, which has been marked for the past eight or ten years, is very noticeable in the present report.

As has been the case for some years past, the papers read at sectional meetings have been quite as valuable, in some cases more valuable, than those presented at the general sessions, and so they, or most of them, are printed either in full or in copious abstracts. More and more, as time goes on, the discussion, which is often the most interesting part of the proceedings to those who attend the meetings, has been crowded out of the general sessions and has found its only place in the section meetings. For the first time in the history of the Conference, the discussions in several of the section meetings were reported, and appear here, the most noteworthy of them being the discussion on Prison Labor at a section meeting of the Committee on Courts and Prisons, and the discussion on Pensions to Widows, which occurred at a joint section meeting held by two committees, that on Families and Neighborhoods with that on Children. Two other meetings, each of which was held by a committee of the Conference jointly with one of the cognate national associations which meet at the time of the Conference, have their papers reported here.

It seems a question worthy of consideration whether the future development of this Report of Proceedings is to be to expand into two or more volumes, which shall contain a full report of all meetings, general and sectional, with a com-

plete stenographic report of all discussions; or whether the Conference will change its method so that one volume, smaller than the present one, will be large enough to give all that is to be published as strictly National Conference proceedings. A change in one or the other direction appears to be inevitable in the near future.

The Fortieth Conference will assemble in Seattle, Wash., July 5, 1913. Its president is Mr. Frank Tucker, of New York.

Nov. 1, 1912. A. J.

# The President's Address

## SOCIAL PROGRESS.

By Hon. Julian W. Mack, Washington, D. C.

The change in the attitude of society toward the dependent classes is well portrayed by the difference in the program of this Conference at its session in Cleveland in 1880, and at the session beginning to-night in this imperial city of the Great Lakes. Then we were concerned with the problem of how best to alleviate suffering, to cure the ills that, by common belief, many of our fellow-citizens were inevitably doomed to bear. The discussions on public charities were as to their administration rather than as to their scope. At that time, the State was more concerned with correction than with charities. Lady Bountiful typified in a large measure the generally prevailing method of private philanthropy. That the poor would always be with us was a dogma of social service as well as of religion.

The road we have traveled in thirty-two years has been a long one, but the pace has been that of the automobile and the flying machine. During the past decade, we have all been afire with enthusiasm born of the newer and nobler thought that prevention is better than cure. Preventive philanthropy became the dominant note in our proceedings. The causes of dependency and delinquency were sought for with the aid of the scientists. The discovery that their roots were to be found not only and not primarily in the individual, but in society itself, gave greater hope to the thoughtful, that with a stronger and more united effort of all of the forces working for good in the community, the next generation might be saved from the destructive and insidious diseases and wrongs to which mankind had for ages been heir, and from the effects of which the poorest and the weakest of its members had naturally been the greatest sufferers.

The golden age of childhood had arrived. However we might deal with the adult victim of social wrongs, to the child we were determined to accord the birthright of every human be-

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ing—the opportunity for the development of its highest powers. To prevent it from engaging too early and in too dangerous occupations, to substitute the school for the factory, to save it from the brutal and criminalizing treatment that still marked the prevailing method of dealing with the adult offender, these were the movements that enlisted the co-operation of enlightened philanthropists and resulted in the enactment of anti-child labor, compulsory education and juvenile court laws.

But even to-day, we are only at the threshhold of the halls of hope. In some States, the smallest of the children are still permitted to work. In none of them are the child labor laws up to the standard deemed necessary by the National Child Labor Committee and approved by the Commissioners on Uniform State Legislation. Nowhere is the financial provision as yet adequate for a proper enforcement of the law. The little merchant of the street still plies his trade, generally unlicensed and uncontrolled, too often even at the early age of six and eight.

We are but beginning to grapple with the difficult task of determining what to do with the untrained boys and girls of fourteen to sixteen years.

During the past year, bitter assaults have been leveled against juvenile probation and the Juvenile Court in the very city of its origin, and that, despite the general acclaim, both here and abroad, with which this Children's Magna Charta has been received. The splendid report of the Hotchkiss Committee, while demonstrating what its friends have ever asserted, that the Juvenile Court cannot be a cure-all, while pointing out its deficiencies, while suggesting many desirable improvements, has clearly and effectively established its supremacy over the old-time methods of dealing with juvenile offenders. The substitution of love and sympathy and understanding for punishment, of probation for imprisonment, of the industrial school for the reformatory and penitentiary, is such a great step forward in our civilization that no temporary setbacks, whether due to the failure to accomplish the impossible or to the reactionary opposition of baffled politicians, can stay its triumphal onward march.

For some years, however, we have been passing beyond the age of mere preventive work. Eradication of evil is not enough.

Constructive philanthropy demands that it be replaced by the positive good. Childhood needs protection against the dangers of an evil birth, not merely by preventing marriage of the unfit (though this alone requires a great extension of the custodial care and the treatment of the weak-minded, the insane, the epileptic and the habitual criminal,) but also by shielding the mother from unnecessary work for a sufficient period before and after birth, and by requiring a better education of midwives. Infant mortality is to be reduced and the age of babyhood made safer, not alone by preventing the sale of impure milk and adulterated food, but by teaching the mothers the great value of natural feeding.

The child's right to a healthy normal family life is to be met, not merely by forbidding child labor and by destroying the pest-breeding hovels of the slums, but also by maintaining the integrity of the family through freeing the wage-earner from unnecessary and avoidable industrial accidents and diseases threatening his premature death, through making it possible for the widowed mother to remain at home and devote herself to the nurture and training of her children.

The child's right to an education is not satisfied by an adherence to the old-time curriculum suited, if at all, to but few of the more fortunate of the pupils, but requires the introduction into the public school system of manual and industrial training, of continuation and vacation and open air classes, of the visiting teacher and the newer methods of individualization, to the end that each child's true vocation may, if possible, be found and that it may be fitted spiritually, morally, mentally and physically to unfold all its latent resources. No longer should we wait for the child to go wrong or to be orphaned and to be sent to one of the excellent industrial schools maintained for delinquent and dependent children, in order that it may receive the education fitting it for its life work; no longer should the child get into the juvenile court before giving it a thorough examination to discover and to repair decayed teeth, adenoid growths, impaired eyesight and hearing, and other latent defects. Constructive philanthropy insists that the child, compelled to go to school, shall be in every way fitted to pursue its studies. The physician and the nurse in the school-

room, far from lessening the parental responsibility, will enable the State to know wherein the parents have neglected or failed in their duties, and will afford a safe legal basis for the enforcement thereof.

The child's right to play should not be limited to the opportunities of the street; it needs the supervised playground, the athletic field, the gymnasium and the swimming-pool.

To close indecent dance halls, to suppress improper shows, whether in the larger or in the nickel theatres, and to destroy other places where vice disguised in gaudy and, to the untutored, highly attractive garbs and colors, beckons youth to its destruction, will not suffice. Through church and settlement, school centers and municipal halls, our young people must be given the opportunity to satisfy decently, beautifully, sanely, their ever insistent and justifiable cry for recreation and happiness.

Adolescents must be guarded from the dangers of that period, not only by the development and strengthening of character through the teachings of religion and morality, but also by wise and careful instruction in the mysteries of life itself and in the terrible dangers both to the guilty and to the innocent that follow in the wake of sexual abuse and wrongs.

The girls are to be saved from a life worse than death, not only by the absolute suppression of the white slave traffic and commercialized vice through the united efforts of private organizations, the municipality, the State, and the Nation, but also by the active sympathetic interest of the good women in the lives of the strangers who, from country towns and foreign lands, flock to our large cities, ignorant of their dangers, free from the conserving influence of family and friends. No one has pointed out more clearly than Jane Addams in her most recent and timely book, *"A New Conscience and an Ancient Evil,"* what these perils are, and in how large a measure society and not the individual is responsible therefor. Mindful, however, of her closing words, that "as the sense of justice fast widens to encircle all human relations it must at last reach the women who have so long been judged without a hearing," let us open again the doors of hope to these despairing victims of man's wrong and society's neglect.

Constructive and preventive charity, public and private, thus working together, will bring the child to man's estate stronger and purer, trained in hand and mind and soul to fight the battles of life. That much of this must be done by the State is fully recognized even by the strongest individualists, for few will any longer deny the ultimate obligation of the State toward its wards—the children. And perhaps the most significant event for us during the past year has been the final recognition by the Federal Government that it, too, has a duty towards the children of the nation, limited in its scope, it is true, but nevertheless of great importance. Well may we rejoice in the establishment of the Federal Children's Bureau and in the appointment as its first chief of one who now is, and for many years past has been, an active participant in our labors, an able and energetic member of the Illinois State Board of Charities, the efficient organizer of some of the most valuable research work undertaken by the Russell Sage Foundation, supremely active in securing the first juvenile court law, friend of all in distress, the wise, broad-minded woman—Julia Lathrop.

Turning from the children to the adults, we note a similar progress in the field both of charity and correction. To-day we are not only endeavoring to ascertain and to eradicate the social causes of poverty, distress and disease, so as to safe-guard future generations, but in dealing with their present victims, we aim at a complete rehabilitation. While tactful, thorough and devoted personal service is always essential to arouse the latent powers of self-reliance, fear of pauperization no longer blinds us to the need of giving liberally and promptly when the circumstances call for material assistance. In the new Court of Domestic Relations the State is lending effective aid towards the preservation of the family.

Our criminal law and procedure and our prison administration have not kept pace with the social progress of the age. The substitution in several cities of a central Municipal Court with its branches for the old time local police courts, and the creation of the Night Court in New York are steps in the right direction. Public interpreters for the foreigners and public defenders for the accused, especially in the minor criminal courts, are as important as the public prosecutor. That poverty alone

and the consequent inability to pay a fine in cash and at once, should send men to prison, will surely not be tolerated much longer. Adult probation coupled with the obligation to make restitution in periodical installments, either to the person wronged or by way of a fine to the State, or both, is in a few progressive States saving many a first offender from the terrible stigma of a prison career. If reformation is to displace punishment as the chief aim of imprisonment, the spirit of the prisoner must not be crushed out. Convict labor ought never to be a source of profit to the States. If his enforced earnings over and above the cost of his maintenance shall be devoted, directly and not by way of charity, to the care of his family, the convict's feeling of responsibility for their maintenance will be preserved.

Many of the sessions of this Conference will again be occupied with the study of newer plans and methods in charitable and correctional work. And though, through our inherited philosophy that all men are born free and equal, with its assumed corollary that legal and political equality is a sufficient safeguard against wrong, the active interference of the State for the prevention and correction of social evils, has in the past been unduly limited, to-day, after the struggle of life has demonstrated the falsity of this *laissez faire* doctrine, public philanthropy, ameliorative, preventive and constructive, is actively aiding in the task long performed by private charity alone; and for generations to come, whatever the future of our political development may be, the work of charity will remain a function as well of the State as of the individual.

But in the past few years, a voice, never silent in the history of the world, has been growing deeper and louder, the voice of man calling unto men, not for alms, not for charity, but for justice; and this body, though it remain a National Conference of Charities and Correction will more and more in the course of time become a national conference for the consideration of those measures which, in dealings between individuals and between the individual and the State, will accord to each man that justice which is his due. Not that we would for a moment replace love with justice, not that we would banish mercy and compassion, not that we would emphasize

rights and minimize duties; on the contrary, true social justice implies love, compassion and personal service. It demands, however, that society in its organized capacity shall secure each individual in the full enjoyment of all those fundamental rights without which no human being can fulfill his God-given destiny. As we advance in civilization, they will increase in number and broaden in extent. In our day, a minimum, in addition to those of the children already enumerated and those guaranteed in all of our Constitutions, is the right to work and to secure the just fruits of one's labor, and therefore to protection against unemployment and against a wage less than sufficient to maintain the family in decency according to the prevailing standards of a free and prosperous people; the right to life itself, and therefore to protection, so far as humanly possible, against over-fatigue and other industrial poisons and accidents; the right to reasonable hours for self-improvement and the upbuilding of the family, and therefore to protection against exploitation, the seven-day week, and unduly long hours of labor; the right to old age, reasonably free from care and anxiety, and therefore the opportunity for adequate insurance against everything that threatens to impoverish or imperil the family, the cornerstone of our civilization.

In accordance with the Anglo-Saxon spirit, we have struggled and we are struggling to attain these ends, so far as possible, through private initiative, through the sense of responsibility of men in their individual relations to each other, and only ultimately and as a last resort, through the State. As evidencing a newly aroused feeling of private responsibility, and as tending to create a better relation between employer and employee, the extension of their welfare work and the creation of pension funds by many large corporations, the immediate response of the Pullman Company to the suggestion by a single stockholder of the need of greater medical supervision and care, and the recommendations of the stockholders' committee of the United States Steel Corporation, especially if they shall be promptly put into effect, are most significant.

The actual and the threatened strikes of the past year have brought us face to face with fresh perils to the common weal, resulting from our newer industrial conditions, which, particu-

larly in view of the growing need of protecting the rights of the public at large, often the greatest sufferer, would seem to make some form of State intervention inevitable. Whether this shall be by mediation and conciliation, through an extension of the scope of the Erdmann Act, under the operation of which railroad strikes have for some years been well nigh averted, or through legislation along the lines of the Canadian Industrial Disputes Act, or by the more stringent methods of compulsory arbitration, is one of the most serious and difficult questions of the day. It is therefore greatly to be hoped that the Congress will act favorably on the President's message recommending, in response to an address drafted and signed by many of the leaders of this Conference, the creation of a Federal Commission on Industrial Relations, to study and to report as to how industrial conflicts may best be avoided and, when this is impossible, how they may be quickly settled without violence and disruption of business, but with due regard to the real interests and just claims both of the immediate parties and of the State.

That the influx of vast numbers of diverse races brings with it peculiar difficulties unknown to other nations, is not to be denied. Are we, however, in such danger therefrom that we must close the gates of our country to honest, thrifty, characterful people of the old world, who, like our forefathers, come to The Promised Land, seeking for themselves and their children a refuge from religious, political or even economic oppression? Shall we depart from our settled policy of regulation and inaugurate an era of restriction, requiring of the sturdy peasants of Europe, as a condition of their admission that they will have acquired the power to read and to write, though their mother land has denied them the opportunity therefor? Aye, more, shall we as a nation, for the first time, deliver up political refugees guilty of no crimes in this land of liberty? If it were conceivable that the best interests of the people of the United States could require such legislation no claims of humanity at large should prevent its adoption. But if, as many of us think, this country needs for the fulfillment of its true destiny the fresh assimilable blood of many nations; if, as many of us contend, it requires for its material advancement the brawn and strength of Europe's masses; if, as many of us believe, a nation

of great material prosperity can best avert the ever threatening danger of the loss of its ideals by drawing into its citizenship the poets, the thinkers, the prophets, the seers and the martyrs of other peoples, then assuredly the day of more restrictive immigration laws has not yet come.

But whatever our views on this question, there can be no difference of opinion as to our duty towards those immigrants who meet our requirements and enter our portals. Upon our treatment of them will depend their future usefulness. If we permit them, in their ignorance of our language and our customs, to become the victims of the forces of vice and crime that in all of our larger cities are lying in wait for them, we shall quickly reap the harvest of our folly. The real immigration problems are those of distribution and protection. Sectarian organizations have for many years aided newcomers to leave the crowded cities of the East for the towns and the farms of the South and the West, and recently have diverted a part of the stream of immigration from Ellis Island to Galveston. To the extent of the very limited means placed at its disposel, the Division of Information in the Federal Immigration Bureau has likewise assisted in this work. Within the past few months a non-sectarian immigration distribution league has been started with the co-operation of many of the governors and other leading citizens from all sections of the country.

In addition to many sectarian and strictly national societies the North American Civic League for Immigrants, the Immigrants' Protective League of Chicago, and kindred organizations are the greatest nonsectarian forces of private philanthropy working for the immigrant's protection. In most of our large cities, special night schools are, in a measure, doing for the adult immigrant what the public school everywhere is doing for his children. New York has set an example for the other States, in her recent establishment of a State Immigration Bureau, even though she has not yet given it the financial support that it so well deserves. And if the Congress will enact a measure now pending before it, extending the care and protection of the Federal Government beyond Ellis Island, by properly supervising the immigrant trains and by establishing immigrant stations in Chicago and other interior centers, the

united action of private organizations, the municipality, the State and Nation will indeed lighten the pathway of the newcomers and guide them more safely toward their goal of American citizenship.

Legislation must take note of the changes in our industrial life. The judge-made principles of our common law of master and servant, however suited they may have been to an earlier economic age, no longer embody the true spirit of social justice of the twentieth century. Private property and human life are each to be protected to the fullest extent, but if the welfare of the state and the people thereof requires that the financial burdens resulting from the inevitable accidents and occupational diseases of our present industrial system shall be borne by the business rather than by the worker, legislation along these lines must in one way or the other be made possible. This country will assuredly lose its supremacy if the hands of the present generation are to be so effectively tied by a dead past that it cannot, at the proper time, emulate the countries of Europe in their social legislation.

Whatever justification there may be for the criticisms of certain judicial decisions in a few States, no careful student of the more recent work of our courts can fail to recognize that most judges and most courts, following the splendid lead of the Supreme Court of the United States, are as keenly desirous as are social workers to learn such facts bearing upon our changed conditions, as have been gathered together in Miss Goldmark's great work on *"Fatigue and Efficiency,"* and to utilize them, so far as they may be applicable, in the solution of legal problems.

When ignorance, indifference or private greed menaces the welfare of the State or its citizens, we no longer hesitate to demand that legislation which to our forefathers would have appeared highly paternalistic. And if the evil is nation-wide, the remedy must be national in its scope, even though, to the extreme adherent of State's Rights, we may seem to be wandering far from the path trodden by the great founders a century and a quarter ago. The phosphorous match bill just enacted by Congress may mark a step forward in Federal Legislation, but it is a step in the right direction, to safeguard human life.

Potent, however, as is the force of law, organized so-

ciety can but voice the desires of its members. Social advance is dependent upon individual progress. Until the spirit of love for our fellowmen, regardless of race, color or creed, shall fill the world, making real in our lives and in our deeds the actuality of human brotherhood deduced from that common fatherhood to which all of us, though in different ways, ultimately subscribe; until the great mass of the people shall be filled with the sense of their obligation to strive mightily for the betterment of their fellowmen through service, social justice can never be attained. And therefore no event of the past year has been so full of promise for the future as the great Men and Religion Forward Movement. It has emphasized more strongly perhaps than ever before in the history of the Protestant Evangelical churches that, to quote a follower of the Hebrew Prophets, Claude G. Montefiore, the goal of religion consists "in social betterment as well as in individual purification;" that it is concerned "with the things about which the hearts of men are palpitating *now*, the things which make them suffer, and the things which might make them suffer less," as well as with "the private relations of the individual soul with God."

In this Conference are gathered together men and women of all religions, men and women who subscribe to no specific creed. Whatever our differences may be, we shall all agree with Montefiore, that while "religion is more than good air, good water, good food, good wages, in its social fulness it is not less." However strong may be the emphasis that has heretofore been laid upon social service as a religious duty, surely the bonds of human brotherhood would be strengthened and the cause of social justice advanced if a broader Forward Movement, limited not to men, and not to the followers of a single religion, were, by the united action of such representatives of all faiths as are gathered here to-night, carried into every city, village and hamlet of our land. We should not then have to await another Titanic disaster to find all men, regardless of race and creed, rank and station, riches and poverty, standing together upon a common platform of genuine democracy, vying with each other in upholding the noblest traditions of the race, sacrificing even life itself in the service of the weakest and the poorest of their fellows.

# The Conference Sermon

By Professor Walter Rauschenbusch, Rochester Theological Seminary.

For twenty-five years it has been the custom to have an annual sermon preached at this National Conference. This custom is not, I think, a mere relic of the times when all things had to be done under the auspices of the church, but a recognition of the permanent and intimate relation between religion and all work that seeks to save the poor, the weak, and the fallen. The institutions of charity and correction are closely dependent on the institutions of religion not only for their financial and personal resources, but also for their motive power and spiritual efficiency. Every one of us who is engaged in the exhausting and baffling work of helping the helpless needs to have the roots of his soul watered by the subterranean springs of God if he is not himself to lose vitality and hope.

All our other sessions are occupied with practical questions. Let us use this hour to lift all our work to the plane of religion and look at it in the quiet light of the Eternal. We are always in danger of doing great and high things in a petty and worldly way. The ministers of charity, like the ministers of religion, may become mere slaves of the temple, dusting and fussing about the sacred implements and blind to the presence of the god. We need spiritual meditation to realize the meaning and dignity of our work so that on the contrary even the trifling acts of our life may be done with awe, as holy sacraments of humanity.

I shall take as my text the words of Jesus: "Ye Did it Unto Me." (Matthew 25-40).

When Jesus looked forward to the great climax of humanity, the Last Judgment, he saw it as a process by which the inner significance of their acts and relations would be revealed to men. The men whom he welcomed to their reward had not realized the value of their own actions. This man had shared a meal with a hungry fellow-worker in the harvest and gone

on half-rations himself. This other one had welcomed a friendless stranger into his home and turned over his bed to him while he slept on the floor. That one had restored the self-respect of a poor neighbor by setting him up in a new suit of clothes. The other had visited a poor debtor in prison and brought him food and comfort in his hopeless isolation. They thought they had simply done it for folks, for dusty, sweaty, tired, discouraged individuals. But Jesus says: "Oh no, ye did it for Me. My life is identified with their life. God is living and breathing in these worn human bodies. You builded better than ye knew. You fed and clothed God."

And those others too—they had not realized the gravity of their actions. They had only seen the questionable stranger at the door and had shaken their heads. Visiting the sick or the unrespectable people in prison was not in their line. But thereby they had isolated themselves from their kind, and missed God. If they had only known that God was before them, they would have done differently.

This Conference is dealing with people, with folks. It is immensely human. But it is also dealing with the Christ who is their champion and Saviour, and with the eternal God in whom they live and move and have their being. Look beyond the screen of the flesh, beyond the click of your charitable machinery, and realize how holy your work really is.

You are in the direct line of apostolic succession. Like the Son of Man you are here to seek and save the lost. Your work is redemptive work. When you loosen the clutch of greed from the thin arm of the child-worker; when you guide the immigrant safely past the grasping hands to a place where he can work and establish his home in cleanliness and hope; when you put eyes on the finger-tips of the blind; when you lead the deaf out of the prison-house of loneliness and give him speech with his kind; when you heal the demoniacs of alcoholism; when you seek to turn our prisons into institutions of social healing and teaching instead of stone crushers and steam rollers of humanity; when you change the cold stare of respectability for the fallen woman into the Christlike look of understanding and sympathy; you are treading step by step in the foot-prints of Jesus of Nazareth. You are doing with

modern methods and the large resources of modern organization what He did, and you have the right to feel the nearness of the Heavenly Father as He felt it.

This Conference means more than a few hundred men and women gathered together to deliberate. It is the collective mind of our nation and humanity focused on these problems. The intelligence which you bring to bear on each question is not your personal cleverness, but the accumulated social wisdom of mankind which has been slowly secreted and distilled by the labor of generations. Likewise the righteous and loving will that throbs and vibrates through your sessions is the ground-swell of vaster forces. All the past is here. The dead saints and prophets of humanity are here. They left the tradition of their love and compassion to create the growing sense of solidarity in humanity. Their life is wrought into the continuous common life of the race as its noblest strain. Jesus Christ is here. God is here. I appeal to you to put a just and religious valuation on the thoughts you think here and the emotions you feel.

We often hear the insistence that religion must have an ethical outcome and that love to God is inseparable from love to men. That assertion ought to be a truism by this time. It was the passionate message of the Hebrew prophets and was embodied among the axioms of the Christian religion. "He that saith he is in the light and hateth his brother, is in the darkness even until now. He that loveth his brother abideth in the light." "Whosoever doeth not righteousness is not of God, neither he that loveth not his brother. For this is the message which ye heard from the beginning, that we should love one another." These words were meant to repudiate any claim to religion unless it was grounded deep in a relation of active and passionate good-will toward all men. Moreover in Christianity the conception of love is nothing merely sentimental. It got its definition from the personality of Jesus and from His death: "Hereby know we love because He laid down His life for us; and we ought to lay down our life for the brethren. But whoso hath the world's goods, and beholdeth his brother in need, and shutteth up his compassion from him, how doth the love of God abide in him?"

This, then, is one of the elementary doctrines of Christianity, that love to God must have its immediate result and counterpoise in love to men, and it must be love that will cost something and will link us with the death of Christ. But there is an even closer relation between religion and ethics, between love of God and love of man. It is by loving men that we enter into a living love of God. Social work may be a gateway to religion.

An actual love of God, a sense of desire and joy and fellowship going out toward that great unseen, intangible power that fills the world, is no slight and commonplace thing in our lives. It is the highest attainment in the evolution of character, the fragrant blossoming of our spiritual nature. It is commonly assumed that love to God is the starting point and foundation for the love of man. Is it not just as much the other way? The love of man is the concrete kindergarten object lesson in love, and if we learn that well, and as fast as we learn that well, the love of God grows in us and we become religious. "He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" He that will not learn the multiplication tables, how shall he learn algebra? "No man hath beheld God at any time; if we love one another, God abideth in us and His love is perfected in us." In other words, God is invisible and inaccessible in Himself, but if we love one another, we make a place for Him within us and will realize Him.

To love men, then is at least one way of experiencing God. Perhaps there are other ways, such as the search for truth, or mystic contemplation. But love is the surest way, the broad way open to all, and the way consecrated by Jesus Christ. Does not our text imply it? "Whatsoever ye did to one of the least, ye did to Me." When you loved thme, you were in contact with Me. When you neglected them, you were out of touch with God.

I suppose every one of us has had his private religious history. Probably most of us have suffered in the course of it. As modern men we have shared in the scientific and philosophic doubt of this age of transition. The pillars that supported religion in our childhood have crumbled and fallen, and we

have been fortunate if we kept a roof and shelter over our heads at all times. Some of us perhaps turned from the collapse of our religion to social work as the best thing left to us after the wreck of our spiritual inheritance, as the worthiest substitute for the beauty of the religion that we had lost. Some of us probably had a time when we regarded ourselves as non-religious.

Am I right in saying that some of us are watching the growth of a new religious life in our minds? It may be timid and unostentatious like a woodland anemone, but it is absolutely our own, not sown by the machine drill of the Church, but the product of our own seeking and suffering.

Our first callow rejection of religion as an outgrown thing has given place to a growing respect for it as we have observed the tremendous and subtle power of religion in our actual contact with life. It is one of the great realities and we have learned to bow to it. We find it exerting moral control over passion and stimulating growth and character, so that we find it indispensable to us in our social work. The transforming power which it exerts in occasional cases is simply a striking demonstration of the power which religion is quietly exerting all the time, as when a blinding white light flashes from the trolley wire.

Human life is so mysteriously full of divine. *"Humanum capax divini."* We meet some plain man, some homely little woman, as unpromising pebbles of humanity as one could pick up. We get to know them well and we discover heroisms and agonies, tenderness and contrition. We hold a human hand, but we feel God's life pulsing within. If we have failed to find anything beautiful and divine in any life, it is because we do not yet know it well enough, or because we are blind. God is in it. What we do to that life, we do to Christ. Jesus in that whole judgment scene wants to emphasize the value, not of the choice specimens of humanity, but of the little ones, the least. Every atom of humanity has a divine value and significance as such. If that atom happened to be our child we should not be in doubt about it.

Religion has the master word in human life. When patriotism, poetry, science, philosophy rise to their highest level,

they become religious. In the great moments of life nothing suffices except religion. If the Titanic had sunk while the band was playing anything but a religious song, it would have been felt as a dissonance.

The religious souls are the master souls. Other things being equal, a man of religious faith and temper is always the stronger. Living religion gives prophetic insight and raises up the pioneers of love and justice. Nearly all forms of charity and human betterment began in the love of religious men and women. Their impulse of mercy may have been uninstructed and may have relied too exclusively on personal effort, but they saw and struck out before science and government moved. If we could only combine their power with our broader knowledge!

If anyone has ripened into a genuine religious life and power, he has stability and quietness, which are in themselves powers of social healing and restoration. The people whom we have to help in our charities and corrections are spiritually astray; they have drifted from their anchorage. A man with a strong and stable faith, who knows the meaning of life, becomes the center of their solar system, the power they swear by, the rallying point for one more effort.

These are the things we find out as we deal with the real needs of humanity. The better we know it, the more mysterious human life becomes. As we try to redeem it, we find that we are co-operating with great spiritual forces, and that our success in saving men depends on our own hold on these primal powers and on our power to evoke them in others. Men are always stretching out their hands to us and crying dumbly: "Can you help us? Have you got God within you so that you can understand and save?" If then we honestly call on God to help us save, power comes to us in the night. Social work becomes the gateway to religion. By loving men we learn to love God, and then by that warm, sweet love of God we come to love men still better.

This is one of the tests of our social work. Is it bringing us that insight? Is it working out wonder and reverence, tenderness and awe in us? Has our work for men quickened our sense of God? If it has not wrought any of these things

in us, our work has not done much for us, and it is questionable if we have done much for others. God can raise up hustlers and busybodies almost anywhere; they are cheap; they are human brothers to the clanking machines in the shop. On the other hand if we feel that enlightenment going on within us, let us thank God and hold still. It is worth a lifetime to get it.

When we help men, we help Christ. When we save men, we come to know God.

I want to apply this thought in one other direction. Redeeming men is no flow of perfumed charity. It is dirty work. It means bad smells, filthy sights, and worse. It also means fighting. The causes of misery are never only in the people who are miserable. They are in those who profit by their misery. People are submerged partly because others are riding on them and putting their heads under water. All genuine redemption consists in making the exploiters stop exploiting. But when we try to make them stop they hit us. No one will push very far along the way of social relief without colliding with strong and active and perhaps controlling forces that resent interference and punish us for interfering.

In that case we come into touch with Christ in a still more intimate way. We share in His suffering for humanity. The abuse, the misunderstandings, the loss of position and income are part of the vicarious suffering by which redemption is achieved. Without the shedding of blood in some form there has never been remission or decrease of sin. For ages the cross of Christ has stood at the center of Christian theology. But many of those who are loudest in their insistence on the cross as the only means of salvation, have apparently never had any personal experience of the cross. They do not bear the marks of the Lord Jesus. There are no scars on them anywhere. Their religion has made them respected; all men like them for their goodness. But their goodness was never so good that it waked up the devil. They never antagonized profitable sin; hence they never got hurt. But in that case they are not as true followers of Christ as they think they are.

Social work, the kind that deals with the causes of misery,

is to-day almost the only form of Christian work that involves the risk of persecution. Thereby it opens a living understanding of the cross of Christ. It sets us marching in the ranks of His followers who move down the centuries in a thin red line, but to whom humanity owes all it has of its higher life. It throws us back in loneliness on God and we find Him near. None who suffers for the cause of truth or justice, or for the love of men, is an infidel, even if he call himself so a thousand times through some sad misuse of the word.

Your work is religious work. Let no man rob you of that conviction. God is working through you to heal and redeem humanity, and when you work with Him, you have the great opportunity of experiencing His loving power and so entering the religious fulfillment of your own life.

# Children

Report of the Committee by Sherman C. Kingsley, Director, Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund, Chicago, Chairman.*

**Community Recognition of Children's Rights and Needs.**

Seven-tenths of our nearly sixteen million acquisition in population in the last ten years live in town and city environment, three-tenths in rural. Added to the large percentage of people already living in such centers, this gives us forty-six per cent and corresponds with about three per cent one hundred years ago, and twenty-nine per cent. in 1880.

Large as it is, this does not really indicate the situation, for in New England four-fifths of the population is urban. In the middle Atlantic states seven-tenths, in the Pacific states one-half, in the Southern states only about one-fourth, while individual states like Massachusetts and Rhode Island find more than nine out of every ten living in towns and cities. Ten per cent of the whole body of people live in New York City, Chicago and Philadelphia.

Thus we are trying the experiment of rearing more than one-half of the children of the nation in a city environment. For this vast enterprise we have little guidance. We know few facts. We have not in any large way tested the results to know how the experiment is succeeding. About all we know is that each year finds an increased percentage of our people living in these untried and artificial surroundings, that taxes increase, that jails, prisons, institutions for the defective, and alms houses need to be increased in number and are full to overflowing, that the congested districts in the cities become fuller, that the cost of living mounts. We have a sense that all is not going absolutely well, and are more and more impressed that the poor and those who work for the poor, ye have always with you.

I say that there isn't a city in the country that hasn't more population already than it is decently caring for. As we have

*For joint section meetings see pages 450 and 466.

said, these centers are the homes of our children. Step by step they have been driven from the frontier, the ranch, the farm, the home with a garden and a yard. From the country sides and villages of the old world, from the simpler amusements, the more elemental occupations of this life, largely in the open, to the flat and the tenement, to the three-room home on the alley, the back yard gone, the front yard cut away. The simpler modes of life supplanted and usurped by the uncertain vicissitudes of the city streets. A prophet of old sang poetically about the cattle on a thousand hills belonging to the Lord. Three thousand children in a congested block may also belong to the Lord, but in their innocent quest for pleasure and joy, they have fallen into the hands of, and been exploited by, the devil and his angels. Twenty million children are in the schools, public and private, and spend one hundred million hours in the school rooms of the country each school day of the year. Whether they and the nation are realizing what might be expected, we do not know. One large city has just found sixty-nine thousand children who are from one to three years behind in their grades, and that it will cost $1,300,000 to do the work over again, to say nothing of the child's loss of time, the disappointments and difficulties of breaking school connections and losing grades. School inspection has shown physical defects in an appalling percentage of the children, and experience shows that with far too large a number of children the school experience results in a distinct deterioration of health. About one hundred and fifty thousand children are taken care of outside of their own homes. Three hundred thousand babies die each year in our country before they reach their first anniversary. A pathetic army of over one hundred thousand boys and girls are dealt with each year in the courts of the country.

In this conference, the children's committee is interested in emphasizing programs. We feel that the time has come when this vast work needs planning, needs data, needs machinery that may reasonably be expected to accomplish the given tasks. I recently sent a questionnaire to each state in the union to the person in the best position to give data concerning child care. This was framed to show the machinery in that state; its care for the defective, the dependent, delinquent calling for institu-

tions both public and private, its state wide agencies, whether it had Juvenile Courts, how many cities have Associated Charities or other centralizing organizations, whether it has registration of births, child labor laws, and then to state the most urgent needs, and what they would consider essential features of a satisfactory state program. Thirty-six states responded. Not one could tell definitely how many dependent, defective and delinquent children were uncared for, and most of them could not even estimate the number. Comparatively few could give the numbers who were cared for owing to imperfect, incomplete, or no data. A study of these thirty-six schedules indicates a staggering amount of work ahead for somebody. Three states want a Children's Bureau to work in co-operation with the new National Children's Bureau; another a Children's Charter; a third a Juvenile Commission; a fourth a body to study and interpret children's laws in other states; many want surveys so that they may know the size and nature of their problem. Three states have no compulsory education law. The Southern states generally seem to be in need of more room for colored delinquents and dependents. Sixteen states want institutions for the epileptics, eleven for the feeble-minded. Thirteen states want extension of the Juvenile court activities. Nearly all the states call for supervision of child-caring agencies. There is no well defined or consistent plan of chartering and licensing such institutions. Few states have adequate provision for crippled children. According to the estimates of those best informed, there are about 150,000 feeble minded, and about an even number of epileptics in the country. From these reports, and also from the census returns, it appears that only about 15,000 of each group are cared for.

The whole great field of sex education is practically untouched. The vast army of children, one by one, stagger blindly through the dangerous period of childhood without that help and guidance which might mean health, efficiency and happiness. In one state one hundred and nineteen agencies receive a state subsidy and help to tie up the state in confusion and inability to do real constructive work. In one community, seven million dollars were given in perpetuity to take care of a class of children already more than amply provided for. Lack

of co-operation and team work on the part of agencies, public and private, leave many communities and subscribers in the dark and without that guidance which such agencies might be supposed to offer. One person's stock in trade for securing subscriptions for a children's institution was a card with these words, "Hitch your hammock one end to the cross of Christ, and the other to suffering humanity, and you will swing into paradise." This was good for twenty-five or thirty dollars a day.

We need a fresh start. In the first place we ought to know how many children are born each year. That would be a beginning, simple, but profoundly significant, and vastly in advance of what we now know. Then we ought to know how many die each year. That would give the net gain. This would give us some insight into the conditions surrounding the three hundred thousand baby funerals each year.

If you want to see your community in its true light, study it in terms of sick babies—care for them a while, get them nicely on the road to health, then follow them to the tenement on the rear of the lot next to the alley. We found three emblems of death at one time in tenements answering to a single street number, one on the front, one in the middle, and one on the alley. To see the tenement in its real light one must see it as the home of the little child. Having made the acquaintance of the youngest children and their conditions, it will be easy to see the significance of the housing problem, the milk problem, and the necessity of backing up a Board of Health. Then we will better understand what the place of the school ought to be in the community. We will know why so many children get lamely into school, and that a curriculum which meets their needs must be a versatile and understading one, that it cannot deal with them in the mass and without any possibility of knowing their physical and mental individuality.

We will also understand the need and meaning of playgrounds. Then there are certain more definite and well defined tasks to be done. I believe each state ought to have provision for carefully examining into the circumstances of each new institution or agency that is proposed. It ought to know whether it is needed, whether it duplicates or overlaps other work,

whether it has responsible sponsors. Then I believe it ought to have a plan whereby these agencies should report each year; that the state ought to know the conditions surrounding all the unfortunate children who must be cared for outside their own families, and should have the machinery that will insure a square deal for each little youngster.

It would seem like a very elemental requirement that there should be provision for the blind, the deaf, the crippled, the feeble minded, and the epileptic, and yet there are states in the Union that have not a single agency for any of these classes. I believe that a further provision in community responsibility should be that every city of ten thousand should have an associated charities, or some central organization, through which it might act and throw about disintegrating families the nurture and protection which the community should give. If we are to stop the flooding of our institutions for finished dependents, we must deal with causes out on the ground where the dependents are manufactured.

In the large cities, there ought to be central counsels or delegate bodies which would gather together the different interests dealing with children and enable them to promote co-operation and efficiency. Each agency ought to know its relation to the other organizations and to the whole task. Together they ought to enlighten the community and point the line of action. Minimum hours and minimum wages ought to be supplemented by a minimum of adverse conditions which the community will suffer any one child to endure. No program for children can be complete that does not take into account the whole family, that does not provide all reasonable protection against accidents, and invalidity. And nothing the community can do later will make up for wages insufficient to keep the father and mother alive. We have recently made a study of a considerable number of families who are receiving pensions through the new scheme to help widowed mothers. The average age at which the fathers died was about thirty-five years. The burden falls too heavily upon those who are least able to bear it. The principal suffering in all these misfortunes, from whatever nature they may be caused, falls upon the children.

The past year has seen the accomplishment of something

long desired and earnestly hoped for in this country, the creation of the National Children's Bureau. We have at last made a beginning at the top. It is perhaps the most vital thing that has yet been done in recognizing the community's responsibility for children's rights and needs. We believe that this will help to clear the atmosphere and guide our communities along the line of constructive action. Sir John E. Gorst in his excellent book, "Children of the Nation," says that medical testimony assures us that ninety per cent of the children born are at their birth fairly healthy and well nourished. The ten per cent with hereditary taint are fairly evenly distributed through all classes. When they come into the world the children of the rich are in their bodies little better than the children of the poor up to the time of birth. It is the mother who is impoverished if there is not sufficient nourishment for both. If this precious stuff out of which the future is to be builded is, as our constitution avers, born equal—and this statement declares a greater equality than some are disposed to believe—it lays upon society a clearly defined duty. Society has no right to permit environment which deteriorates this stock. A process goes on in the individual human body known as interstitial renovation, that mysterious change which replaces old material with new, and at the end of seven years gives us a new body. If we are disappointed with the new it is the fault of the old. By somewhat the same unending process the body politic is made over. If we are disappointed here it is because of the influence of the environment which impinges upon these little citizens, the houses in which they live, the stories they hear, the sights they see, the community's reaction upon them. What we need in this country is not more evidences of luxury and extravagance, but a knowledge of our fundamental needs, and a disposition to meet them. The Titanic did not need a swimming tank, it needed lifeboats and a better life saving service. And our Ship of State needs to be so equipped that its first regard shall be for the life and well-being of all the people, and so organized and so sensitive that it reaches its friendly protecting care to the least and most humble child in the most obscure part of this great land.

## THE CHILD AT THE POINT OF GREATEST PRESSURE.

By Miss Jane Addams.

When I gave my title to Mr. Kingsley two months ago—"The Child at the Point of Greatest Pressure"—I had in mind something of the new life which is coming into America from the study and the care now being given to the child who lives in the most crowded and the most untoward parts of the city.

Mr. Kingsley has said that we judge anew the whole subject of the tenement house when we look at it from the point of view of the little child. I need not therefore remind you that Paris cuts new boulevards and changes the entire plan of that wonderful city if it is shown to the House of Deputies that the infant death rate has become abnormally high in a given district;; that the German Parliament announces a program which may take ten years to carry out, when they are convinced that the death rate among German children stands higher than it should in the list of the civilized world; that New York appointed a drastic tenement house commission because little children were dying in too great numbers. All along the line we see that the test of civic efficiency is largely registered in the number of city children who may be induced to survive.

Very recently some of us have been listening to a play written by that accurate social philosopher, Galsworthy, wherein he makes it clear that while society has made up its mind that it cannot see any body die, it is a little bewildered as to the disposition of the survivors; when we pick up the exhausted tramp on the roadside and restore him to health in an institution, we secretly wonder what we will do with him when he gets onto his legs again; when we send food and fuel to the old man who is slowly being put out of life through lack of the nourishment necessary to keep his faculties normal to the end, we cannot keep ourselves from speculating as to what use he may be after he is fed and warmed. Certainly we have reached the point that we will not allow anyone to die if he can be saved, and least of all will we allow the little child to perish who has a future before him, but are we clear as to the end in view? Having obtained that, what shall we do next? Because it is after all a negative thing to make over a quarter of a city, to change the plans of an empire in order merely to keep children alive. It is well so far as it goes, but it is not after all sufficient, and we look about to see the next step, the one beyond the mere negative salvation of human life.

If we could look at these children who are under the greatest pressure because they live in the worst houses, because they have the least nutritious food, because their parents are so harried and overworked by the long hours and the new conditions they find in America, that they can give them no sympathetic care and understanding, we will discover the beginnings of a new life, something much more positive, much more

beautiful, much more all-embracing than anything we have yet dealt with, because our minds are fixed only upon preservation.

Let us take first the delinquent children, that forlorn little procession of a hundred thousand children to which Mr. Kingsley referred, who are being brought into the juvenile courts of America. The first effort we made was to keep them away from criminals, and we thought we were doing a fine thing, when children were no longer put into police stations because they had broken, sometimes in all innocence, a city ordinance. But now we are going further than that and are making a careful study of these delinquent children. The psychopathic clinic, which was discussed only last evening by Dr. Healy, is a careful attempt to find out how far a child's mentality is below that which is necessary for self direction; to discriminate between what we may hold a child responsible for and what we may charge to his parents or to his education. All such study reveals a new understanding of human life which has never yet been given even to the more sheltered children in the community. It charges a new responsibility upon families, it affords a new test of our sympathy with child life and opens up in our middle-aged adult brains, a new method for comprehending the needs of forlorn children.

We may illustrate from the dependent children who are sent out into families. We have said for a long time that the most difficult thing in the world to standardize was the care of a child in his own home, because an inspector cannot walk into the average home either to praise or blame. A home belongs to the man and woman at the head of it, and they must rear their children as seems best to them. But these dependent children, scattered in home all over the country, can be visited, and the visitor can establish some standard of care and is able to compare the homes in one section with those of another, the care of a child on one farm to that of another farm, because the children were not born into these homes, but were placed there by the state.

In regard to the normal homes of the poor, we had a very forlorn statement at one of our settlement conferences yesterday. In an investigation made of girls in cities all over the United States, the investigators themselves were asked, "how many of the homes visited were inadequate homes." The definition of an adequate home was very simple. It meant that the home afforded average food, a chance for a good night's rest in a room not too crowded nor disturbed by too many other people; it meant not wise parents, but sympathetic parents. Some of the investigators said ten per cent. of the girls have such homes, some said twenty per cent. and some twenty-five per cent. Only one, the most hopeful of all, said that fifty per cent. of the girls lived in homes which might thus be defined as adequate.

Perhaps the average home will never come up to the standard excepting as it is brought about by the care of these dependent children, who are visited by investigators, and which afford some basis of compari-

son which the normal home does not give. As we are getting some notion of a child's normal power of self-direction and self-control from the study of delinquent children, so I believe in the study of these dependent children we are finding out what we may demand in the way of care and sympathy from the average home for the average child.

Children at the point of greatest pressure are crowded together in such great numbers that it seems almost impossible for them to lead a normal life. Nevertheless, what is the great gift the city holds out to its children whether grown up or little? Is it not the power of companionship in a larger measure than can be obtained elsewhere? If you live in a village of fifteen hundred inhabitants, you must get your friends and your companionship out of that fifteen hundred people; if you live in a town such as this, of more than half a million people, out of that half a million, although you cannot know them all, you have a chance to select your friendships along the line of your natural interests. You exalt and intensify your own self-consciousness as you see it revealed in like-minded people who are living in this vast concourse, but who could not be found at all if the concourse were smaller.

For the first time in the history of the world, playgrounds are being established for city children; places are prepared for them in the most crowded quarters where they are taught a new technique. The children who live in tenements and crowd each other upon the streets, here learn a method of knowing each other, of revealing themselves one to another, of consciously living in a city, which those of us who were born in the country and brought into cities when we were quite grown up, will never be able to attain. The present generation of city dwellers were not taught how to play together nor how to reveal themselves to each other nor how to find their friends out of the vast number of other children on the street. But out of these newly taught children I believe that we are developing a technique through which the children themselves are more or less transforming our city's public schools and will later transform the city itself.

Take the art department of the average city school by way of illustration: Have you ever visited the exhibitions of drawing which the children in the public schools make, the beautiful things they prepare for their homes, school rooms and playgrounds, the sense of art which little children were never supposed to possess, because they were always taught to copy things, and were never before encouraged to compose? Self-expression is being so rapidly developed, is being so cleverly fostered in all of our public schools, that in ten, fifteen, twenty years from now it must register itself in a new art awakening, in that joyousness which has been the basis of all art, and certainly must be fostered if artistic expression is to become wide spread. In the city schools in spite of the fact that they are crowded and large, something is being done for those children which was never done in the country schools and perhaps could not have been done there.

I should like to say something about the musical talent which is being discovered even in little children. In those music schools where the children are taught to compose music as well as to reproduce it, quite as they are taught to write as well as to read, some of the things they compose and sing are very cheering. They give one a look forward into the new possibility which the children of the future hold and which has first expressed itself among the children at the point of greatest pressure.

A few weeks ago a young girl who had grown up in a Hull House club came to see me. She was happily married; lived in a much more prosperous part of the city and was very proud to bring her six weeks' old baby to see us. As she was leaving I said "don't you find the baby rather heavy to carry so far?" and she turned to me and said "my baby is not heavy; my baby carries me." Something of that sort we are discovering in regard to the children. We now find them something of a burden and a problem. We are worried about clean milk and bad tenement houses, but in time they will carry us if we only release that wonderful power which children possess and which we have so long repressed. Perhaps we have thought too much of order and quiet and too little of self-expression and have failed to utilize the power that shows itself in this upward striving.

Some of us have lived for many years with children who are under all sorts of pressure, who often suffer from deprivation and from parental misunderstanding. Nevertheless, one feels that there is growing and developing a wonderful source of new strength, new beauty and self-development in the midst of our cities, and growing rapidly in spite of the pressure.

There is a little poem written by Swinburne which I paraphrase once in a while and of which I often think when I see a group of immigrant children coming out of the public school:

"We mix from many lands,
We march from very far;
Our heads, our hearts, our hands
Our staves and weapons are.

* * * * * * *

The light we walk in darkens,
Sun and moon and star.

And there is that wonderful life in the children of the most crowded quarter, living under the most untoward conditions which will sweep away our little attempts at charity and correction if we will but give them opportunity to grow and adapt themselves to the particular point of the city in which they find themselves at the present moment.

Mr. Kingsley told a story the other day which I am going to steal from him because once in a while he steals one of mine. A friend of his

was walking down the street in a comfortable overcoat, one of the very coldest nights last winter. A tramp met him, or at least the kind of a man we permit ourselves to call a tramp. He looked hungry and ill-clad and he asked for five cents. The comfortable friend hesitated a minute. He had been told it was not the thing to give money to a man on the street, that it was against all the principles of organized charity, and he looked at the tramp very dubiously and said, "I don't like to give you five cents, I am sure you will spend it for drink, but it is so very cold that I think I will give you a nickel to make myself more comfortable." The tramp looked at him a moment and said, "Oh, come now, make it a quarter and really enjoy yourself." This is true of our charity. We keep the children alive. We are chagrined when our death rate is high. We keep the children in school and we are fearfully disgraced if our compulsory educational department does not do its duty. We feel ashamed if we do not have enough juvenile courts to take care of the delinquent children. We scatter the dependents out of institutions into homes all over the country. But we have not yet really begun to enjoy ourselves. We have not yet had full confidence in the wondrous things these children are learning to do. We have not yet learned to teach them as they should be taught, because we do not yet sufficiently reverence their possibilities.

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## THE CHILDREN'S BUREAU

By Miss Julia C. Lathrop, Director of the Federal Children's Bureau.

The Children's Bureau was first suggested five years ago by Miss Lillian D. Wald, head of the Nurses Settlement, in New York. Mrs. Florence Kelley, Secretary of the National Consumers' League, drew up the first statement of its proposed work, and at their request, the National Child Labor Committee undertook a campaign, in which many influential persons and organizations joined. President Taft signed the bill on April 9th of this year.

The paragraph of the law which defines the duties of the Children's Bureau is as follows:

"The said bureau shall investigate and report to said department upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life among all classes of our people, and shall especially investigate the questions of infant mortality, the birth rate, orphanage, juvenile courts, desertion, dangerous occupations, accidents and diseases of children, employment, legislation affecting children in the several states and territories. But no official, or agent, or representative of said bureau shall, over the objection of the head of the family, enter any house used exclusively as a family residence. The chief of said bureau may from time to time publish the results of these investigations in such manner

and to such extent as may be prescribed by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor."

You will many of you recall that two years ago in St. Louis, Mr. Homer Folks spoke upon the proposed bureau and brought out the vast difference between the federal government's interest in agriculture and in children. He praised what the Department of Agriculture has done for farming interests, and urged that it should serve with equal effectiveness the health and development of the nation's children.

A United States senator, during the congressional debates on this bill, said that during the season before he had sent 25,000 bulletins upon the care of swine into his state but not a bulletin on how to take care of children. Yet consider for a moment the human waste. In all civilized countries the nurture of children is receiving a new attention, and the old fatalism as to life and death is disappearing in the light of modern science, yet the 1910 United States Census estimates that the United States loses annually 200,000 infants less than one year old, while a German authority says: "Today we know that a great infant mortality is a national disaster." Is it not startling to learn the dictum of a great authority like Dr. Arthur Newsholme, of England, who says that if babies were well born and well cared for, their mortality would be negligible? We are told by a great American authority that one-half of the deaths of these infants are preventable by known methods, already within the reach of very community. Are not such statements a challenge to the common sense of the commonwealth? It is not without sound reason that infant mortality is the first subject of investigation mentioned in the Children's Bureau law.

The questions raised by the unnecessary death of one baby lay hold on all social economy and make us realize at the outset that the new bureau has an illimitable task when it is directed to investigate all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life.

How much is to be charged to overcrowding and insanitary dwellings and the contagions of ill kept communities, country or city?

How fatal is bad food and who is responsible for the quality of foods?

How far is poverty responsible and who is responsible for poverty?

How far is ignorance to blame for this loss and who is responsible for ignorance?

Just because the task is without boundaries, there are certain limitations which must be accepted at the outset. This Bureau must know where it stands in the beginning, and to that end as rapidly as possible it should sum up and set forth in brief, direct form the most important available material upon the various subjects of the law. Other Bureaus of the Government, notably those of Education and Labor and the Census, have stores of precious and illuminating material which this bureau should aid in popularizing. The new bureau is assured of the co-operation of all of them.

If the authorities are correct in stating that we can prevent with

our present knowledge the annual loss of 100,000 children less than one year of age, is it not an inspiring fundamental task to popularize this knowledge? And we are given cause to believe that as the great studies of preventive medicine go forward, we shall learn how to save the whole 200,000 who now perish.

Then comes the great question: To what end shall we save these lives? Well, the Child Labor Committee and all the great associations which try in various ways to raise the standards of life, and which together make this conference, reply that this bureau is designed as an aid in securing for every child the life and liberty, which the fundamental law of the republic has promised—life and liberty interpreted in terms of to-day and to-morrow, life full and healthful—education free and public, opening and training the mind and the heart and the hand—occupation in due order, in brief, a fair start for the pursuit of happiness. The time is ripe, we believe, for such a governmental agency; the public mind is in accord with it, and quite as important—the governmental machinery is adequate. The Federal Civil Service law is in effect to safeguard the appointments. Many of us are too young to know personally that this bureau would have been inconceivable thirty years ago, before the system of merit was in force; but a brief study of history will be convincing.

We hope that the Children's Bureau, with the various lines of inquiry provided by law and with its appointees guarded by the merit system, will offer a satisfying career to increasing numbers of young people of education and high social ideals.

Two appointments to the staff have already been made not only under the Civil Service law governing promotions and transfers, but under very searching requirements as to special fitness. They are those of Assistant Chief and Chief Statistician. Whoever is acquainted with the best statisticians of the country will know that the new officers, Mr. Lewis Merriam, of the Census Bureau, as Assistant Chief, and Mr. Ethelbert Stewart, of the Bureau of Labor, as Chief Statistician, are in themselves a guaranty that the statistical work of the Bureau will be sound, practical and scientific.

This is not the time for me to attempt to describe the part that the new bureau should play in the various efforts for human betterment in which you are all profoundly interested. That part will depend much upon what your wisdom directs.

May I conclude with a word of prophecy?

An English poet has lately said that pity is a rebel passion; that it does not fear the forces of society but defies them, that it often has ruthless and stern ways, but that at last it is the Kingdom of Heaven working within us.

The justice of today is born of yesterday's pity; and so I take it this bureau which will begin humbly on the first day of July is an expression of the nation's sense of justice. It will need as perhaps no

other bureau of the government will need, the continuance of the popular pity which demanded and secured it; but sure of that, it will become under some wiser person than I can be the nation's greatest aid in making effective the constantly richer terms in which the sense of justice toward all children is expressed.

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## A PROGRAM OF ACTION FOR A CHILDREN'S PROTECTIVE SOCIETY.

By James R. Garfield, Cleveland.

Humane Societies and Societies for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children—the so-called "anti-cruelty" societies, are scattered very generally through the United States. The reports the last year list 346 organizations including the branches of State societies. In Ohio 54 organizations are listed.

It may properly be said that the number of listed societies gives a wrong impression of the extent of the work, because of the fact that there are many defunct or inactive societies. It is doubtless true, as in every other kind of social or charitable work, that there are many inefficient organizations; yet a careful study of the work actually accomplished by some of the societies shows very conclusively the great value of the work done by the active organizations and the potential value of the less active organizations.

For the purpose of this paper I have examined the record of 115 typical cases that have been handled by the Massachuetts S. P. C. C., the New York S. P. C. C., the Pennsylvania S. P. C. C., the Illinois H. S. and the Cleveland H. S. These cases fairly illustrate the character and extent of the work of each of those organizations. Even a superficial study of these cases discloses at once two quite distinct conceptions of the work of these societies. On the one hand we have the idea that they are "police organizations doing police work," working really as a supplementary police organization. In such societies the punishment of offenders against children appears to be the end in view. Investigations are made primarily with a view to *discovering evidence*, and most of the results obtained are through prosecutions.

On the other hand we have the idea that such a society instead of being set off distinct and apart from the other agencies of social welfare in their communities is really one of them, working in close co-operation with them, dealing with all sorts of situations where the welfare of children is seriously involved, in an effort to prevent the development of such critical situations as will demand prosecution

later. These societies seem to measure their efficiency by the number of cases *not* prosecuted rather than by those prosecuted, and look upon prosecution not so much as punishment as simply a necessary step toward a solution of the difficulty. They do not feel that their duty is done when the Court has passed judgment, but seek to maintain their helpful relationship to the family, or the children as the case may be.

One cannot help noticing also that these cases submitted for study show a different standard of work in each particular society. They exhibit the lack of any strong directive unifying force in the movement as a whole. Apparently there has been little constructive leadership on a national scale, but the movement has simply drifted without reference to any common ideals or any notion of uniform methods. So each society has developed a type of work of its own without reference to any particular guiding star of policy. Thus in New York we find the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, a city organization, supported in part by the municipality, practically an organic and official part of the police department, doing the investigating work of the Children's Court, dealing with cases of juvenile delinquency as well as neglect and dependency, and strenuously insisting that it has nothing in common with other agencies of social betterment in its community.

In Boston, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children is a state organization receiving no support from public funds, supplementing the work of the Juvenile Court, not as an official part of the Court organization, but as an independent voluntary society interested in the welfare of children, dealing with few cases of juvenile delinquency, but placing its main emphasis upon its reconstructive and preventive functions, dealing much more with education, counsel and friendly advice, than with prosecution as a weapon, and working and seeking to work with every other agency for social betterment with which it can possibly come in contact.

In Philadelphia, we find the Society for the Protection of Children from Cruelty, a state organization, receiving some support from state appropriation, doing much of the work which ought to be done by the Juvenile Court, not because the Society wishes to do such work, but because the Court does not do it, placing its main emphasis upon the unity of the family, and working in close co-operation with other charities as one of them.

In Cleveland, the Humane Society carries, in addition to its work for children, a department having to do with the prevention of cruelty to animals. It is a county organization, receiving support from both county and municipality. Its relation to the Juvenile Court is entirely informal. It does not handle any cases of juvenile delinquency but confines itself to such cases as are an infringement of the rights of childhood. It seeks to work with every agency

in its field affecting children, and recently at the request of these agencies has undertaken to organize a centralized home-finding and child-placing bureau as a department of its activity.

In Chicago, the Illinois Humane Society is a State organization, receives no support from public funds, combines work for animals with work for children, considers itself a police organization, but does no probationary work; places emphasis on punishment by prosecution, handles cases of juvenile delinquency, and also cases of abuse of aged people by their children, seeks to work in close co-operation with all other agencies having any connection with their work.

If the work of these five organizations, whose aims are nominally similar, was analyzed more closely many other differences would appear.

Turning now to the typical cases of actual work done we find at once the strong argument for the existence of these organizations. They might easily be united under the one name "Children's Protective Societies;" for the protection of the rights of childhood is of the essence of their work. These cases are really inspiring reading. They group themselves into two main divisions—Individual or Family Problems, and Community Problems.

The individual or family problems dealt with include:

**Cases of physical neglect,** such as unsanitary homes, where conditions have been remedied either by advice and warning, or the removal and later return of the children, or by supervision after order of Court, sleeping arrangements of children changed either because of danger of infection with disease of older person, or because of unfitness of sleeping apartment.

**Children left alone and uncared for,** the father made to provide a housekeeper, or the mother punished by fine, or the mother persuaded to give up work and stay at home to look after her children.

**Children in need of medical treatment,** which is refused by parents; child with tubercular spine kept in hospital; of baby with infantile opthalmia forced into hospital for immediate treatment; boy with broken leg sent to hospital after parents had removed splints, or parents persuaded to secure brace for child that needed it.

**Children uncared for,** intemperate fathers and mothers made to realize their responsibilities; children removed from parents or others who made slaves of them; parents persuaded not to work children at unusual hours.

**Cases of moral neglect**—such as immoral practices upon children, cases discovered, investigated and prosecuted by societies; sleeping arrangements changed because of proximity of boarders; feeble-minded girl permanently removed for custodial care; questionable adoption frustrated; children removed from immoral neighborhood.

**Cases of physical cruelty**—such as assault on child by employer punished by fine, or children cruelly beaten or struck, punished by

fines or imprisonment or corrected by warning, or improvement under supervision.

**Cases of non-support of minor children**; support secured by persuading father to contribute directly to child's support; by requiring payments to be made through society's office; by prosecution, and court order; by prosecution, commitment to workhouse, and funds secured from county under operation of law, or by extradition of father from other state.

**Cases of illegal employment of children**; parents punished or warned regarding illegal employment in theatrical exhibitions.

**Cases involving illegitimate children**; support secured for illegitimate child through court proceedings, or marriage of parents, or persuading mother to keep child and strengthening the tie between them, or aid of various kinds given to make it possible for mother to keep child.

**Cases involving child rescue**; children removed from intemperate and cruel parents; homes of extreme neglect, house of prostitution, immoral mother or father, mentally deficient mother, lodging house where made a drudge; and placed with relatives, in institution, with private families, or at board under supervision.

**Cases where a child needs some "next friend"** to act on its behalf, such as acceptance of responsibility for abandoned children or those temporarily deprived of parents. Agent acts as trustee for special fund for benefit of child, or guardian for child's estate.

**Temporary shelter secured in emergencies.** One society accepts permanent guardianship of children, on surrender, on parole by court, and attempts to place out such children, either temporarily or permanently in family homes.

**From the standpoint of community service** such a work as the following appears in the cases examined.

Investigation of improperly conducted children's homes.

Investigation and law enforcement with regard to baby farms.

Dealing with moving-picture-shows and souvenir post-cards from point of view of effect on children.

Dealing with the law enforcement side of employment of children in theatrical exhibitions, elimination of children begging in cigar stores, opposing public exhibition of babies in incubators.

Investigation and prosecution of physicians in one case and midwives in another for failure properly to report cases of infantile opthalmia, resulting in each instance in wide-spread publicity and greatly bettered situation generally with regard to infantile blindness.

Work of this type is of the greatest importance. It is interesting to note the decreasing number of physical cruelty cases in the reports of these societies and the increasing number of cases of physical neglect, particularly the willful refusal of the parents to give the child proper medical treatment. This means that we are beginning to ap-

preciate that it is more cruel for the midwife to condemn a child to life-long blindness by her failure to report the case of "sore eyes" than it is for her to brutally strike the newborn baby committed to her care. We are beginning to appreciate that it is more cruel for the community to allow its unregulated dance halls to contribute to the steadily rising stream of illegitimate children, than it is for the untaught distracted mother to abandon the little one to the mercies of a chance finder. For this reason it is encouraging to note that all five of the societies whose cases were studied seem to have a consciousness of community mission. Probably all of them would admit however, that a far too small proportion of their work was fundamentally preventive. The punishment of individual offenders is necessary but it is not the remedy for the underlying conditions. We must seek the causes for those conditions.

As a result of the study of these cases there are certain considerations which should be urged upon this gathering.

1. In the first place, we have in these organizations one of the greatest unused and unappreciated social forces of the present time. Just now in many sections of the country we are looking over anew the tools at hand for doing a larger and more constructive social work on a more complete and adequate program. In such a work these children's protective societies should carry a heavy share of the load. If they are not what they ought to be, let us make them so.

It seems to me that their ideal function is that of an intermediate agency between the regular charities and the Courts wherever the welfare of a child is concerned. They should handle such cases as need more vigorous treatment than the ordinary charities can give, and also such cases as present opportunities for preventive treatment of a special nature. They should be prepared to furnish to any child in need the expert personal service of a trained agent whose duty it is to see that all of the rights of the child are protected, even against his own parents if need be.

The moral power which an efficient society of this type will acquire will enable it to do an immense amount of work and accomplish many definite results without appeal to the courts. When such appeal is necessary, however, we have here an organization which has become expert in applying the law to social problems and can be relied upon to choose the court and the form of action best suited to the need. Serving the charities and the children's institutions on the one hand, such an organization can on the other serve the courts to a great degree. The fact that many cases which would otherwise come into court for settlement, are kept out of court, is a great gain.

In its official capacity the society can spend money and time in investigation which courts could not spend, and can place the result of investigations at the disposal of the courts.

Appreciating from experience, and from training, the require-

ments of the courts as to evidence and testimony, the society, in the cases which it feels necessary to bring to court, can simplify matters greatly and aid in securing the results desired by having the necessary facts properly presented. In some cases, because of the society's special interest in securing a successful issue (as for instance an extradition case for abandonment and non-support, or a case of immoral practice upon a child), it may be possible to give such supplementary aid to the court's officers by way of investigation on other special work as will aid materially in the outcome. In the experience of the five societies studied the courts have frequently availed themselves of such services.

As an independent expert investigator of conditions affecting children in a given community, the children's protective society has a large opportunity. To find out the facts and to make them known is the beginning of prevention.

The reconstructive work which such a society can do is also very large. In critical cases the threatened loss of a child has many times been such a shock to a drunken mother as to be the first real step in her reformation. Supervision by a society exercising the powers which these do, means that a powerful incentive to do right is at hand.

2. Not only is the work of these societies of great *intrinsic* worth, but if properly related to the other agencies of social welfare in the community they can be made *supplementary* agencies of great usefulness in the special campaigns of such organizations. Their relationship to the Juvenile Court is obviously very close. There should be no duplication here. Except in New York where the situation as we understand it, is unique, the society represents an unofficial handling of cases; whereas that of the court is official. We think the societies should confine themselves to cases involving the violation of children's rights, leaving juvenile offenders entirely to the court. Of course the society can handle many cases, to which, because of their indefinite or apparently inconsequential character, the court would not be justified in paying any attention. By its treatment of these cases, however, the society often prevents a more serious situation from developing, and a great piece of preventive work has been done. In those cases which it does handle the society should be able to make court action unnecessary in a very large proportion. (In Cleveland and in Boston this proportion is now 75 per cent. of all cases accepted). The keeping of these cases out of court is without doubt a great gain to everybody concerned.

The society should support and seek to make permanent the work of the Juvenile Court. Its management being continuous, it can put into operation policies which should gather headway with the years. It can make legal precedents sometimes.

The relationship of these societies to the charities and philan-

thropies of the community should be close and should be based upon the service they can render as an ally in cases involving the welfare of a child. Associated charity worker or visiting nurse should be able to find in the society just the kind of backing needed to bring some critical case of a child in need to a successful issue. If this is to be so the organizations should understand each other and should work with a knowledge of the aims and limitations of each.

The relationship of the Society to the home-finding and child-placing agency of its community should amount to a very close working agreement and should be based upon the fullest mutual confidence. Doubtless in small communities or under special circumstances these two kinds of work for children can well be combined in one organization. When a child is of necessity removed from its natural home, the agency responsible for such removal should be very sure that a way is provided for the speedy transfer of the child to another family home where the love and care which have so far been denied him will be surely available for the unfolding of the life that is his by right to live.

The growing importance or rather the realization of the importance of child welfare work is one of the most hopeful indications that the new spirit for greater social justice is taking a deep root in the hearts and minds of men and women. The wrongs, abuses and cruelty that child life has suffered first stirred men to consider children's rights, and later to recognize the duties and obligations that rest upon the shoulders of the community to do away with conditions that have produced the wrongs, abuses and cruelties. It is the recognition and fulfillment of obligation rather than the recognition of a right that makes possible the betterment of conditions. The child is helpless to enforce a right, but the men and women are guilty of great wrongs to childhood if they fail in their obligations toward the child.

The whole scheme and plan of education is closely related to all other agencies dealing with child-life. The failure of our present educational system to give children an education that will fit them for life-work is at the root of much of the evil that the humane societies and other agencies are combatting. We have failed to recognize that the larger per cent. of men and women earn their living by manual labor. Our scheme of education has not recognized this fact. The result is that too often labor is regarded as degrading rather than honorable as it is. Education should develop both mind and body and prepare the boy or girl to become a self-supporting and self-respecting man or woman.

Hence it is apparent that we must have a closer relation between all the agencies dealing with child welfare if we are to make the most of our opportunities and fulfill in the highest degree our responsibilities; and each agency, while emphasizing, as it should, its own work, should strive to help the child rather than the organ-

ization, and wherever there is duplication or over-lapping of work the agency that is best fitted should do the work.

3. My final word is addressed to you who represent these children's protective societies. The cases studied show radically different methods of treatment for like situations. They also show fundamentally differing conceptions of the type of work you are developing. With an opportunity such as we believe you have, there is real need for unity and for the development of a type of work which will be accepted by us all as sound and efficient. There are some large tasks of national importance before you. To accomplish the largest service we must have efficient and progressive societies. Your work must be adapted to the needs of today and pressed with vigor from the standpoint of the defenceless child whom you serve.

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## COMMUNITY PLANNING FOR INFANT WELFARE WORK.

By Wilbur C. Phillips, Milwaukee.

A plan for effectually reducing infant mortality in any community, large or small, must recognize the right of every baby in that community, whether it be the child of rich, middle class or poor parents; to be well-born, and to be well fed and cared for after birth.

In discussions of this problem too little attention has been paid to the infant of the ordinary American mother—the woman in a family possessed of an income of from $900 to $1,500. Statistics gathered in Milwaukee show that the death rate among babies of such American mothers is greater than the death rate among babies of Italians, Jews, Poles, Germans, and every other nationality save one. Unless our communities recognize that the average woman with a baby, regardless of her race or income, is generally ignorant on matters pertaining to its health, and plan their work accordingly to reach 100 per cent. of the mothers within their midst, they will not proceed far toward the final solution of this problem.

In every community, large or small, infants are not well born, and not well fed and cared for after birth, for two reasons, and only two reasons.

The first of these is the ignorance of their parents.

The second is the inability of the huge majority of parents individually to purchase the knowledge and material things essential to their babies' health and happiness.

The social causes of infant mortality, in other words, are ignorance and poverty.

The task of enlightening parents depends upon those individuals who have the health of the community within their trust. These individuals (excluding special healers) are physicians, with the nurses and assistants who work under them. They are the agents to whom parents must look

for knowledge on health matters. In addition to these individual workers certain agencies and foundations, supported by laymen, exist to furnish material and economic assistance in protecting the health of infants and of the home. The work of these bodies, and the work of the doctors. nurses and assistants connected with them, can be divided into two parts.

1. Pre-Natal work—to see that babies are well-born. This work is carried on by Maternity Hospitals, lying in charities, homes for unfortunate girls, and the like.

2. Post-Natal work—to see that the babies are well cared for after birth. This work is carried on by infants' hospitals, milk stations, dispensaries, and the like.

The health policies of these agencies and foundations is determined by the physicians. The intelligence and effectiveness of the work which they carry on is likewise determined by the intelligence and effectiveness of the physicians.

In reducing infant mortality, therefore two things are necessary:

First: The physicians of the community in their individual as well as their public capacity must be intelligent and effective.

Second: The knowledge which these physicians possess and the material things necessary to the welfare of children, must be economically within reach of all.

Any community plan for attacking this problem effectively must set out deliberately to meet these needs.

Now the training of physicians is secured in three ways—in the medical colleges, in hospitals, and in the homes. This training at the present moment is almost entirely remedial in character. The reason for this is that the public has not yet realized the value of preventive work, and hence there has been no demand—no pay—for it. Physicians, reasoning back from medical effects to social causes, have seen the value of prophylaxis and education, but what they have done in this direction has been done gratuitously, or on a small scale, under the auspices of some one agency or foundation.

In their private practices they have had little opportunity to develop themselves along preventive lines.

Medical students study materia medica in books. Their clinical material is furnished in hospitals. Practically no opportunity is afforded them to study sociology—upon which preventive health work is based. Their training is didactic, dogmatic, largely theoretical. To equip medical students and physicians for preventive work, not only in order to reduce infant mortality, but to protect the health of the home upon which infant life depends, opportunity actually to do preventive work must be supplied these workers. You cannot secure intelligent practitioners, unless you employ them in work wherein they can gain experience and acquire intelligence. The two things go hand in hand. Trained agents to reduce infant mortality in other words can be secured only through actual service.

To make it possible, then, for every baby in any community to be well-born and well cared for after birth, ignorance on the part of parents must be dispelled by trained physicians, with nurses and assistants working under them, whose services must be placed economically within the reach of all parents.

This dispelling of ignorance is purely an educational problem—as medical men and social workers are beginning to realize. Already, nurses, working under the direction of physicians, are carrying on pre-natal preventive educational work in the homes, in connection with our best lying-in hospitals. These nurses in some instance continue their supervision and instruction *after* birth, recognizing that only part of their work is accomplished when the baby is well born that it must also be well cared for after birth. Other nurses are employed for post natal instruction and care. These nurses, seeing how impotent they are to effect conditions which arose before birth, are going back and doing pre-natal work as well, realizing that unless the baby is well born it is oftentimes useless to attempt much after birth.

Preventive educational health work by trained nurses, under the direction of physicians then, has grown increasingly less didactic and dogmatic, and increasingly more social.

To carry on this work effectively the sympathy, understanding and cooperation of the mother is absolutely essential. These cannot be obtained through coercion. The mother must be won.

This means a social program, similar to what is carried on in a "settlement," or "social center." Recreation, amusement and fun must be furnished. Tea and cookies must be served. The pill of knowledge must be sugar coated. Instruction must be given during the recess of a good time.

The dispelling of ignorance on the part of parents, in other words, not only needs trained physicians and nurses, but it must also use all the available social and recreational aids as well.

Even this, however, is not enough. In a certain family the father—and wage earner—is threatened with tuberculosis. In six months, if things go on unchecked he will need to be sent to a sanatorium. This will mean that his wife will go out to work. The baby, who is weak and puny, will be taken off the breast. Its life will be endangered. It may die. It will also mean that the family will require aid from the local charities. Proper instruction, joined with due material assistance, applied at an early stage would have forestalled most of this waste of money, health and life.

To solve this and similar problems, the health of the whole family must be supervised and guarded not only through education but also by bringing to its assistance all the material and economic benefits existent in the community. These benefits should be distributed tactfully, sympathetically, efficiently, and the trained agent of whatever relief agency may be employed could find no more informed adviser, or intelligent co-worker,

than in the trained nurse—the medical missionary, who is systematically visiting the family and in almost daily acquaintance with its needs.

In fact the time may come, as such work as this evolves, when the two workers can be combined in one. To achieve this, however, nurses must be given better social training than they now get. They cannot supersede at once the expert in relief work but they can further and illuminate that expert's work, and time will show whether two workers or one can best cover the field.

However that may be, one thing has been clearly demonstrated and that is that in all forms of preventive work, the agent employed must be given definite power and authority. The need for its use as a means of coercion will be rare. An agent adequate to the work will usually succeed through other means. But in the last analysis it must *be* there, in special and infrequent cases for actual use, and always as a foundation for firm and efficient dealing.

It becomes apparent, therefore, if ignorance on the part of parents is to be dispelled, that not only must the service of trained medical and nursing teachers be employed, but these workers must be given money power and authority to do their work which is the preventing of all conditions which may injuriously affect the health of the family, and of the child. It is also apparent that unless such workers are employed and given authority they cannot be trained and developed in preventive work.

Who is to employ these workers?

In the evolution of social progress we first have private charities doing remedial work with volunteer agents. Next we have private charities with paid agents, doing preventive as well as remedial work. Lastly we have community organization, with adequately paid agents, throwing practically the entire emphasis on preventive work.

The rapidity with which we can bridge the span between private charity, with volunteer agents, doing purely remedial work, to community organization, with paid agents, doing preventive work, the more quickly shall we attain social progress.

If infant mortality depends for its reduction upon the development of intelligent preventive-health workers to dispel ignorance on the part of the parents, and if the development of these workers can be achieved only through service then their employment in service is a matter of community concern. Private charity may help but the most immediate way by which this can be accomplished is by community effort.

To train intelligent physicians and nurses; to dispel ignorance of parents; and thus reduce infant mortality, the community must employ these workers as public health teachers and give them money, power and authority to do their work. In this way, and in this way only, will the sociological causes of infant mortality—ignorance and poverty—be successfully overcome.

Up to the present moment individuals and agencies working on infant

mortality (and health problems in general) have failed to grasp this concept, or if they have grasped it, they have grasped it only in part, and have seen no way in which the problem as a whole could be met. The reason for this is that the immensity of the task has staggered the imagination, and daunted the courage of the workers. The result has been that they have carried on their work in piece-meal fashion, at great waste and expense, and without unity or co-ordination.

What the mind cannot readily conceive or understand as a whole however is easily understood in part. Assuming for instance that the birth rate in any given community is 25 births per thousand population, any section of that community comprising 16,000 people, would have at any given time an infant population of 400 babies. The task of caring for these 400 babies is entirely practicable and feasible. To plan and carry out a complete program of educational health work in this section and to determine its cost is a comparatively simple matter. If 400 babies are too many, 300, 200, or 100 can be taken. The "unit" can be arbitrarily determined. The only thing necessary is that all the activities essential to the preservation of infant life should be carried on therein.

Just as in the care of sick babies some agency, such as an infants hospital, a lying in hospital or a summer tent is necessary, as providing the equipment and facilities to do this work, so in the prevention of sickness. Through education some agency is necessary through which all the social benefits existent in a community can be poured into every home.

The agency needed in this connection is what I have been pleased to call an educational health center.

This center is not a milk station, or a prophylactic dispensary, or a settlement, or a public school, or a social center, or a district branch of the Associated Charities (although it may be developed from any one of these)—but it is in some sense *a combination of all of them.*

We have one of these district units or health educational centers at the present time in Milwaukee. It has been at work for only 9 months. It covers an area of 33 blocks, comprising the exact boundaries of one of our large Catholic churches. This center already has secured a complete birth registration for its district; has exercised partial pre-natal and fairly complete post-natal supervision over every baby born therein; has organized and instructed the midwives; has elevated the standards of the physicians; has developed the recreational life of mothers and parents in the district; has found boarding homes for babies, and exercised medical supervision over them; has educated parents along health lines and has brought to the families in its area, all the social benefits existent in the community. Although maintained by the municipality, it has been organized on a social basis, exactly as any private philanthropy, with committees of citizens, who have contributed much thought, time and effort to its work. This paper is too short to enable me to discuss the character of its work at length. Suffice it to say that this station either

has actually carried on, or has shown itself able to carry on all the activities which I have pointed out as necessary to reduce infant mortality—namely, the education of the parents, the training of the workers (doctors, nurses and assistants—and I may say that I regard the function of the midwives as that of an assistant to the trained nurse), and the placing of the knowledge and material things necessary to the conservation of child life within economic reach of all who may have need of them.

It is our hope to develop this station during the coming year, making it a sub district branch of the local Associated Charities, giving its work the scope and character of a social settlement, articulating its activities with the recreational movement in our city, in short, making it a school for parents, wherein parents can be sympathetically and intelligently educated in the rearing of their children and the protection of the health of their homes.

A fundamental feature is the additional coordination of its work (thus developed) with that of our medical colleges, our lying in charities, and our infants hospitals; to the end that medical students, as well as practitioners actually in the field, may have an opportunity to study preventive medicine in the home, and to acquaint themselves with the sociological conditions affecting the public health.

The establishment of one unit health educational station is a simple matter. It is simple to determine its cost. It is simple to multiply. The developement of this station as an *effective* and *efficient* agent to reduce infant mortality on a 100 per cent. basis is practicable and feasible. It is easy to conceive. The infant mortality and health problem of the entire city when viewed merely as the problem of several of these statements, becomes comprehensible, understandable and something that can be handled practically.

Any community can achieve a complete program for reducing infant mortality by the establishment and development, one after another, until the entire city is covered, of district unit educational health stations.

This in my opinion is the only way in which infant mortality will ever be effectually reduced, because in its last analysis the problem of infant mortality is the problem of the health of the home, and it cannot be solved until we have met the entire health needs of the entire community. These needs, as I have pointed out, cannot be met until intelligent physicians and nurses, are trained in preventive educational work and their services placed within the economic reach of all.

I have said that the sooner the gap between private and public support, management and control is bridged, the sooner will the final goal be reached. This does not mean that I believe that community responsibility can be achieved immediately, or perhaps, for many years to come. Support, moral and financial by all, is needed. Committees, commissions or similar groups of citizens must act as advisory bodies to any official staff that is established. No city department can develop

this work *alone*. The main thing is for us all, officials and laity alike, to see the goal clearly and to set out definitely and consciously to reach it.

From the standpoint of cost the unit system of work is by far the most economical. This is recognized by every man trained in business, or scientific methods. Just as the cost of manufacturing and selling any single commodity by any single concern is very great, so the cost of maintaining any single charity is out of all proportion to the benefits bestowed by it. Manufacture your commodity in connection with a large line of similar goods; handle it through a well organized chain of bureaus; reduce the cost of advertising and over head charges, and what it was impossible to sell before except at a prohibitive price is now placed within reach of all who have need of it. Co-ordinate your social efforts; and the small, single benefits which they now distribute at great cost to a few, will be placed at low cost within reach of the general rank and file which has need of them.

The unit plan is applicable to every community—large or small. Figuring one nurse to 100 babies, each health station for a district of 16,000 population (400 babies) would require the services of four nurses, and one head nurse—at the current salaries paid in that community. The physicians should embrace all the physicians practicing in the unit district. If necessary these physicians could begin by giving their services gratuitously. As soon as possible they should be paid—if at the start all the better. As the success of these workers would depend upon the kind and extent of the social relief and recreational work done at the station, definite connection with all such agencies should be established; clubs should be organized, entertainments held, lectures given, exhibits, motion pictures—all the known aids of education and propaganda should be utilized. The cost of this work would vary with the community, but it could be easily determined. Any group of rooms, or small house, or space in a public school would serve the purpose of this station. The selection, in each community, would depend upon the peculiar needs of that community. No set rule could be made.

In Milwaukee the cost of our station (a small Polish cottage on the south side) for the first year will be approximately $6,000. This includes one head nurse, three assistants, seven physicians (three "regulars" and four "alternates") a clerk, cleaner, rent, statistics, etc. We will have cared for something over 1,000 infants by the end of our year.

The cost of this service for twelve months therefore per mother and baby is, at a high estimate, $6.00, or about half a cent per day.

As nearly as we can estimate, the actual cost to parents in Milwaukee of rearing babies to the average age at which they die (about 4 months)—of paying cost of confinement, clothes, baby carriage, high chair, layette, equipment, doctor bills, medicine, etc. etc., is not less than $120.00 *on an average*. The actual cash loss represented by one dead baby therefore would purchase medical and nursing supervision and care

for 20 babies for one year. The percentage of deaths to births in most cities being about one in nine, the cost of burying the babies who now die in any district would more than furnish this supervision and care for all—that is to say for 100 per cent—of the babies living therein.

Taking 16,000 population as an arbitrary unit area there would be needed in a city of 160,000 population, ten such district health stations, in a city of 80,000 population, five such stations.

In some communities where the population is scattered it may be advisable to cover smaller areas and have more of them with smaller stations. It is my belief however, that the grouping of several workers is more desirable, than to have them work separately, not only on the ground of economy, but also from the standpoint of the efficiency of the work, and the possibilities of its development.

In large communities the organization, and direction of the work of these stations should be definitely connected with medical colleges, lying in charities, infants hospitals, and all other institutions and agencies dealing in health problems. The men at the head of these medical colleges and hospitals should also be at the head of this prophylactic work in the districts, so that a uniform medical policy can prevail throughout the community, and all prophylactic instruction whether conveyed through district stations, hospitals, institutions, newspapers, physicians and nurses (publicly or privately employed) circulars, or printed literature, can be uniform in type.

Thus the instruction given, not only would represent the best knowledge and intelligence on preventive health matters, existent in the community, but also would have a cumulative effect; would always gain through repetition and reiteration.

Similarly a cycle of instruction and training would be evolved by which there would constantly be developed in actual service more effective and efficient medical instructors (versed in sociology as well as medicine) more intelligent and effective medical students and practitioners and nurses, and lastly, more intelligent and effective parents, wiser guardians of babies, teachers of clean habits and social purity, builders of strong and robust citizens.

In small communities where medical colleges do not exist and the number of hospitals and agencies working on the problem is small, the district health educational center will fulfill these needs, or if necessary lead to the creation of the other agencies. After all has been said and done the *agency* is comparatively unimportant. It is the workers who count. Preventive health work depends not upon equipment but upon men and women, banded together in an efficient organization for social betterment.

This in embryo is a community plan for reducing infant mortality. It has been sketched only in briefest outline. We cannot reach the goal tomorrow but we can set out for it to-day. Breadth of vision, combined with a practical and feasible method of going to work—these are the

two things needed. If we will approach the problem in this way ignorance can be overcome, the effects of poverty can be alleviated, and not only infant mortality, but the still greater problem of the health of the entire community (on which alone in the last analysis, infant mortality depends) can be met.

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## COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION FOR CHILDREN.

By Roger N. Baldwin, St. Louis, Mo.

The purpose of this paper is to show how the varied, chaotic and multiplying forces of an American community,—forces both within and without the established spheres of children's work—can be better harmonized.

We are accustomed to think of children's work as the exclusive business of public and private children's agencies and of propagandist organizations. One group of agencies deals primarily with families and individuals, and the other group deals not with cases but with conditions—with legislation for children, administrative reforms, health problems and the like.

We fail, however, in so limiting our thought and activity in children's work to these special organizations (mainly in the social service field) to take account of the tremendous influence on the conditions of child-life of such other quite different groups as organized labor, political parties, women's clubs, commercial associations, parents' clubs in the schools, neighborhood improvement associations and the like. The chief business of many of them, to be sure, is not with children, but they all deal with some aspect of the problems of child-life. As groups of normal community activity they are most powerful in forming public opinion, by which, in the last analysis, all our children's work succeeds or fails, especially in the relation of that public opinion to good government. With the tendency to demand of government so many new functions in the care of children—as instanced in the juvenile court, the playground, extension of the use of the public schools, pensions to widows and other forms of relief characteristic of private charity, we require a public opinion strong enough to see to it that government maintains that work securely.

The public opinion represented in the philanthropic forces of the community is not dependable, for in most American communities many people fail to understand or even sympathize with organized philanthropy. Indeed, even where understood, it is often held in contempt by a large part of the community—chiefly the growing labor and radical group. That group, in its demand for social justice and social reconstruction, is impatient with charity. While we are all working to remove the need for charity, must we not, to do it effectively, force back more and more

on these natural forms of organization that responsibility? Organized labor, the Socialists, the churches and other groups, will co-operate earnestly for the betterment of conditions affecting children, if the relation between these organizations and social work proper is carefully worked out.

But we have no such established relation. Even the relation between organizations dealing with children and families and those dealing with legislative and administrative reforms, has not been worked out. And yet it is to the interest of both to do so. The organizations dealing with individual cases of misfortune could eliminate much of that misfortune if they properly interpreted their work to the agencies which work through legislative action and the larger campaigns of reform. And these propagandist organiations need to draw on the "case work" societies for the preparation of their remedies and the facts of their campaigns.

### Survey of Organized Effort

Now, with the clear necessity for wide-spread correlation of all the active agencies of a community, the first step in working out a practical system anywhere is to survey the general field of organizations active in public matters. In practically every community these groups will be found:

1. **The charitable and philanthropic agencies,** dealing with problems of dependent and neglected children, with recreation, disease and education.

2. **Public agencies,** especially the school board, public library, departments dealing with relief, recreation, disease, juvenile delinquents, and the problems of non-support, desertion, divorce and the like.

3. **Women's clubs,** dealing with general health problems, the care of children, legislation for their protection, and the like.

4. **Parents' associations,** usually in connection with the schools—public or private—interested chiefly in education and recreation.

5. **School alumni associations,** composed of boys and girls who have graduated from either grammar or high schools, and who are frequently interested in the problems of the children who are succeeding them.

6. **Churches** of all denominations, interested chiefly in the religious life, moral conditions and the recreation of the children of their particular neighborhoods.

7. **Labor organizations,** interested in child labor, factory inspection, the sweat shop and the like.

8. **Neighborhood improvement associations,** interested in addition to the physical betterment of their neighborhoods, in promoting decent recreation and health.

9. **Commercial organizations,** frequently interested in legislation for children, the administration of municipal departments affecting children and charities endorsement.

**10. Political parties**, who are more and more commonly incorporating in their platforms planks in the interest of children.

We have done very little with the inter-relation of these different groups of organizations in any American community. We have done much with charity organization, with the confidential exchange of information between agencies dealing with families, and, in some communities, we have given a large democratic impetus to social effort through conferences and general "get-together" movements. But is it not still pretty generally true that all these agencies are working apart and separately, each one attacking from a different angle, and in a different way, what amount to the same problems? Is not much of the work set at naught by misunderstanding, friction, rivalry, and especially by a disordered program, each organization demanding that its reform be put through at once without regard to the rest?

In children's work, as in other work, public opinion is almost hopelessly scattered over a multitude of reforms without perceiving that the community's resources will permit the accomplishment of only a small portion of these reforms during a given year. Our reforms are slow very often because public interest and public opinion are so scattered. And conversely the rate of progress would be greatly accelerated if we could bring order out of that chaos, shaping for at least a little time in advance those things which we can see ahead are possible of accomplishment.

Is it not true that in any community a comparatively small number of people devoted to social progress divide their efforts between so many forms of children's work that they are constantly criticized for over-organization? New organizations add yearly to the difficulty in every community, while we are constantly beset with old-fashioned organizations which have outgrown their usefulness. Our Socialist friends bring the criticism, born of their well-defined program, that we reformers and social workers don't know where we are going, or how we are going to get there. And is not the evidence pretty much on that side?

### Difficulties in Organized Work.

Our chief difficulties in rendering to the community full service from all organized effort are:

1. Much of the work of the organization is duplicated, several dealing with the same subject without each other's knowledge or help.
2. Much work is ineffectively handled, one organization not securing the interest or support of others because of no definite means of exchanging information. Many organizations approve or condemn a movement with insufficient information.
3. Unnecessary prejudice and suspicion, born chiefly of lack of acquaintance, prevent united action on matters of common interest.
4. Much effort is wasted in ineffective or unnecessary organization.
5. There is no plan of progress showing a year or so ahead the

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development of the community's work step by step, and progress is therefore irregular, uncertain, confused, and, worst of all, competitive.

### The Creation of Delegate Bodies.

The first step toward proper correlation in the shaping of a program of orderly development, is the formation of delegate bodies in each naturally constituted group of organizations—the women's clubs, charitable organizations, business organizations, labor unions, etc., each one having its own delegate body.

These delegate bodies would have as their function—first, to determine the co-operative relation of any one organization to any others, to prevent over-lapping and duplication of work, and to tie together any group of organizations for the effective handling of a problem for which they are jointly responsible; second, to consider any new need of the community within their field of organization; third, to set a standard of work in the different lines of activity and to see that the organizations within each line of activity meet these standards; fourth, to express the collective opinion of the whole group of organizations in terms of legislative action, endorsement and the like; fifth, to consider the needs of the community from the point-of-view of the activities of the particular group of organizations, and out of all these activities and the community's needs, to define an orderly program of development, showing what can be done in the immediate future, what should be put off to a later time, and what, perhaps, would have to be put off indefinitely.

The work of these central bodies would, of course, be done through standing committees, the organizations thus having a definite means for working out their relations to each other. Not only that, but they would bring together in their committees private organizations and public officers, elected as members of these central bodies without, of course, power to vote, but with the opportunity to work out intelligent co-operation between their own departments and all other agencies coming in touch with their work.

### Co-Operation of the Delegate Bodies.

One further problem in co-operation, however, presents itself even after the organization of all the independent organizations into central delegate bodies. There arise very frequently questions which are of interest to several of the groups jointly.

For instance, the civic organizations may be interested in the problem of housing and that same problem is of vital interest to the social service groups, the church organizations and to the labor unions. The supervision of commercial amusements is of interest to practically every one of the groups. Yet the organization of central delegate bodies for information and joint action does not afford the opportunity for co-operation when two or more of the central bodies are jointly interested

in the same proposition. They may pass resolutions and all the societies may endorse any proposition, but endorsement does not accomplish the work. Before an object on which two or more of the councils agree can be intelligently accomplished, it is necessary for the executive officers of these central bodies to come into contact so that a plan may be devised for putting into effect the legislative action of the various bodies.

For instance, three of the delegate bodies may be interested in getting a better milk supply for the city, and the others indifferent. Each of the three councils have passed resolutions, but unless plans are devised as to how the campaign is to be conducted, there will be duplication, waste of effort and misunderstanding, as there was before. To do effective work, the executive committees of the three delegate bodies must get together and devise the exact plan under which the campaign will be conducted, pointing out just which executive agency will be responsible for the campaign, and just what assistance that executive agency will get through other bodies. This conference of executive officers can also be the means for defining the relation of the federated groups one to another, and for setting standards of co-operative work, for furnishing means of information—possibly conducting a publicity bureau of social and civic effort.

But the chief service of such a general conference of executive officers would doubtless be to see that a real program, representing the organized work of the whole community, is evolved out of present chaos, selecting first those things which most need to be done, putting off others until later, gradually bringing before the public the emphatic need of certain things, concentrating public attention on problem after problem, tying together the scattered ends of effort and shaping a community consciousness. Thus can be also developed among all the organizations the idea that they exist, not to carry out, regardless of other organizations, their own particular objects, but each in its own sphere to be the servant of the community, guided in its work by the expressed opinion of all other organized effort.

### Special Co-Operative Work For Children.

The development of special co-operative work for children—of a program of effort—requires the formation of a central children's committee made up of representatives of all the different federated bodies, acting under the general conference of executive committees.

Each delegate body of all the groups would either have one or more committees dealing especially with children's problems, or, in lieu of that would, at least, have children's problems brought to its attention for action. A central committee, therefore, made up from the children's committees or other representatives of the different federated groups would represent social workers, parents' associations, school alumni associations, labor organizations, public officers, churches, commercial organizations, women's clubs, improvement associations, and possibly, indi-

rectly, political parties. A committee so organized would bring together not only the workers for children with the forces making for public opinion—interpreting to those forces a knowledge of conditions—but would vitalize progress by using the strength of these combined organizations to push forward any program on which all were substantially agreed. It is not difficult out of the conflict of opinion and thought of so many people and organizations, to construct some large items in a program on which all organizations can essentially agree. Such a children's committee in our communities would be an absolute guarantee of the stability of a children's movement and would form a bulwark against the encroachments of politics and of evil, such as we have never yet been able to secure with present disorganized effort.

**Objections and Conclusions.**

Now I realize it will be objected at once that this whole system is all very fine on paper, but that it won't work. People are skeptical about co-operation, because, unorganized, it has often failed. But a large plan of organized co-operation compels a new and binding recognition in each agency that its first obligation is to the community, and co-operation becomes essential.

It is, of course, true that without the right kind of spirit and leadership no plan of co-operation can succeed. It will be workable whereever organized effort is led by enough men and women of the horizon of real service to broaden the whole— and it won't work where individualism in service, unwillingness to compromise, or the force of conservative intrenched interests hold the power.

Such a plan of organization in the interest of children and the community at large, is founded upon the ideal of a real democracy. It is democratic achievement to have the community forces so related that each one has an equal opportunity with every other, and that the action of each is based entirely upon full discussion and common understanding. Only by founding children's movements on such an inter-relation of forces and community education, can we expect to raise with speed and certainty the standards of child-life and public well-being. Such a combination of organized effort will also gradually awaken the unorganized community. In almost any city the entire numerical strength of all organizations interested in public affairs will be found to be very small—not often above ten per cent. of the adult population. Much organized effort must be directed to arousing the other ninety per cent. of the people to a recognition of their obligation to share the community's problems.

Thus, after all, the development of a program for children brings us in the last analysis to the great American problem of realizing a workable democracy based on active intelligence, co-operative organization, and a conscious program of progress.

## A COMMUNITY PROGRAM FOR CHILD CARE.

By J. Prentice Murphy, Secretary Boston Children's Aid Society.

As the children's needs of any community are related to and interwoven closely with all the other social needs of the place, no definite start in the shaping up of a children's program can be made unless there is a careful inventory of all the community's social needs.

There should be a survey, so far as the children's end is concerned, of actual conditions, of needs and resources. Before the first step in the formation of a program is taken one should know of the different kinds of children needing care in the community, and how they are being provided for; whether there is a generalization of work by each agency with inefficient methods, or whether there is specialization and efficiency.

Some five years ago, with the opening of the trust funds of the Seybert Institution in Philadelphia, the trustees planned a careful study of the children's situation in the city before taking any steps in the creation of a new institution or agency for children. The things they found in Philadelphia, and which had been presented to them through a state committee that had considered children's conditions throughout Pennsylvania, are the things that probably exist in every community that fails to plan wisely and comprehensively for its future citizens. There was a multiplicity of children's institutions, most of which were well filled, all working independently of each other, and no one covering anything like a comprehensive part of the field. Certain groups of children were entirely uncared for, as for example, illegitimate children. Very young children under four or five were poorly provided for, but whole orphaned children, the smallest in number and the least pressing for care, were more than amply provided for. There was no co-ordination of work, no stimulation of ideas, no proposals for better methods of work, and an almost yearly request for new institutions to care for more children, gave the community the impression that although sheltering many children's organizations, Philadelphia was still far behind in providing adequate and complete care for those whose homes were unfit, or which had been broken up.

The Seybert trustees made a study, such as has been recommended above, covering the particular functions of every children's society in the city, of the provisions for the three general classes of children, and of that other and most necessary feature, the placement of such children in family homes.

With the needs and the resources for meeting them well plotted out, the first step on the part of the trustees was to make overtures to the Pennsylvania Children's Aid Society, an efficient child placing society in the community, for the creation of what has been called the Children's Bureau. This bureau, as was noted in the announcements issued at the time of its organization, was to centralize and focus the

children's activities of the community in one place, and to strive to do for all children's agencies what an Associated Charities does for all charitable agencies in any given community. It was hoped also that the Bureau would be able to standardize investigations and methods of care, to arrange an extensive placing-out program by the institutions, this work if possible to be co-ordinated with the placing-out work of the Pennsylvania Children's Aid Society, to show that more institutions were not necessary, but in fact, fewer; that careful investigation work with each family problem would indicate less need for the separation of children and parents, less extension of institution care, and more emphasis on prevention.

The bureau was likewise to be a center of information about any local child problem, and was to maintain a group of experts qualified and equipped to diagnose any child problem, and to advise with those immdiately concerned, upon it.

Shortly after its organization, the Pennsylvania Society for the Protection of Children from Cruelty joined the Executive Council or committee of the bureau, and became likewise responsible for its direction. Through this close working organization the three sustaining societies began very gradually to change their programs and to harmonize their work with that of the city. The same may be said for the work of the institutions and other children's societies co-operating through the bureau, but not directly represented on its board.

There are many communities in which institution care must be used for the present until the placing-out facilities have been extended. This work of extension of child placing can only be worked out definitely and helpfully when it is a part of the whole scheme of community child care. In Philadelphia institutions will be necessary for some time. They might exist indefinitely but for the progressive ideas now being proposed by the group immediately concerned with the Children's Bureau.

In the re-shifting of institution plans it was possible to arrange for better medical and physical care, for a more careful reception of children, for a quicker moving of institution populations, for a merging of work done by institutions so that there would not be an overlapping of one particular phase of work. The idea of the Bureau may be carried further so that in its council there will be an extensive representation of all the children's charities. This program has been concerned today solely with the care of children apart from their homes, and such as are on probation or under preventive supervision in their own homes. The community program must still be worked out for a wider use of the schools, for a more extensive development of play grounds, and for a tying up of the children's problem with the larger social problems of the community.

Last summer a few of the leading social agencies in Philadelphia shaped up an inventory of the more urgent present social needs for Phila-

delphia, with the results noted in another paper. It was not the first time that such a study had been made, but the changing conditions made a new one necessary. For special reference as to what the original community plan was as worked out by the Seybert trustees, the first Seybert Institution report, issued three years ago, is worth study. Certainly the planning of the whole job has given the children's field its proper emphasis. The community now knows of the needs for infant hygiene, baby saving work, and of greater and more extensive convalescent care; and is thus supplied with the facts, (which in turn have received the widest publicity) for the prevention of some of the unwise charitable bequests devised for children's work in Philadelphia during the past six years.

It hardly seems possible or likely that seven millions of dollars will be left again for groups of children which the community now knows do not represent a serious problem. I am referring specificially to the Carson bequest of four millions for the founding of a college or school for orphaned or half-orphaned white Protestant girls between the ages of nine and thirteen, and also to the Ellis bequest of almost three millions for institutional care for dependent children. This money released for more necessary fields of work would make the children's situation in Pennsylvania much different from what it has been, and will continue to be, inevitably, for some time to come.

It is the responsibility of every intelligent social worker to be able to plan for his community as wisely and as comprehensively as the engineer plans when he starts to build a railroad or a shop. The contributing public will look increasingly to social workers for expert advice in this field. No social agency worthy of repute will continue in the future to work out a social problem without relating it to the work of the other children's societies about it.

To summarize the above, an efficient program for child care means:

(1) A study of conditions and of resources, both public and private.

(2) The federation of the children's activities so that they will meet community problems as one.

(3) A central bureau to standardize investigations, and to do the diagnosing work for the small agencies, thereby bringing about desired mergers.

(4) The confidential registration of all cases treated.

(5) The proper development of needed agencies, this including facilities for the care by public authorities of those dependent children whose condition involves long and costly treatment.

(6) Private societies for the care of such dependent children as do not fall within the classification of those referred to above.

(7) The gradual closing up of institutions, the adoption of the placing-out method in their stead.

(8) Adequate facilities for the care of the defective children, and for the training of certain of the delinquent children.

(9) Adequate Juvenile Court and probation provisions, and the proper correlation of this work with that of the private societies.

(10) A proper relation of the children's program with other social programs of the community, with a constant emphasis on the preventive side.

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## DISCUSSION.

W. S. REYNOLDS, Chicago—In the many organized interests in child care there has been some element lacking. There is need of an intelligent, scientific survey of the facts of every community. There is need of a diagnosis first of each individual case, and finally of the entire whole of which the cases are the constituents. There is need of the federation or co-ordination of the forces which have been heretofore attempting the treatment of the cases. A need of an effective alignment of the forces and a definite assignment of duty, the performance of which will leave no case unprotected from the enemies now ravaging the field of helpless, innocent child life.

The truth of these needs cannot be questioned. The consummation of them will mean a program for child care. The mental conception of a plan of action is a much more possible thing than the actual experience of our proposed accomplishment. There has already been sufficient and efficient survey of conditions and facts in many of our communities to conclusively show that the mere care of the child, whether dependent, neglected, delinquent, feeble minded, epileptic, or in any degree of abnormality, is not to be the real purpose of a program.

Do you know how very elementary we are in the solution of this problem? Are you aware that eleven of our states have no provision for even the actual custodial care of the feeble minded? Have you been told that sixteen states have not made provision for the care of the epileptic? A survey by which definite information as to what is actually being done for children was recently made in thirty-six different states. A careful study of the facts obtained by this survey shows that as yet in many states the mere custodial or material care of unfortunate children is not provided for, and further, that in no state has there been a satisfactory program provided, and we believe because of this some of the most dangerous symptoms and most subtle forces have been entirely overlooked and neglected.

The splendid outline of Mr. Baldwin of the "getting together" of all interests in a given community, and by a definite concerted action to promote the things most needed, would be a successful possibility, we believe, provided each community is able to stand as a unit controlling all interests within itself and not subject to pressure from without.

The powers and possibilities of our program should be as broad and far-reaching as the powers which make possible our problem. It must be possible for us to accurately and intelligently test the efficiency of any

and all agencies professing to do a work in child care. And, finally, this program must develop an efficiency which will be able to determine what agencies are needed and what agencies are not needed in this diligent search for child freedom. May we not suggest that we head our program with a person, committee, board or whatever form of organization thought most expedient, with full power to effectively and intelligently survey all communities of the state? Such a survey will determine the needs of not only one locality but of every community. When this is done in light of each locality, and in the light of all localities in any state, certain conclusions may be reached and by a united and definite demand results of far reaching effect may be accomplished.

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## UTILIZATION OF SCHOOL PLANT.

By William Wirt, Superintendent of Schools, Gary, Ind.

The Twentieth Century public school saves the tax payers money by providing, first, class rooms and libraries where the child can study books and recite from books; second, playgrounds, gymnasiums and swimming pools where the child can play and secure a general physical training; third, shops, gardens, drawing rooms, and laboratories where the child can work and learn to do efficiently many things by doing them; fourth, an auditorium where by lectures, recitals, dramatization, phonograph, player piano, stereopticon lantern and motion pictures the visual and auditory education of the child may be done efficiently. Four separate and distinct places are provided for each child, but the total per capita cost is not increased fourfold. The per capita cost for class room study under good conditions is from $100.00 to $200.00, for play and physical training from $10.00 to $25.00, for work from $20.00 to $125.00, for an auditorium from $10.00 to $25.00. The total per capita cost for the four departments is from $140.00 to $400.00, or from 40 per cent. to 100 per cent. greater than the per capita cost for the study and recitation room alone.

But each child can be in only one of the four places at the same time. The new school so arranges the classes that different sets of children are in the four separate departments all of the time. By this plan the new school accommodates four times as many children, and at a per capita cost of $35.00 to $100.00. By providing facilities for the child's play, work, and recreation as well as facilites for study the per capita cost of the school plant is only 35 per cent. to 50 per cent. that of the traditional study class room school. There is a corresponding saving in annual maintenance cost. Extra teachers and special supervisors are also eliminated, and the per capita cost for instruction is less than in the exclusive study school.

A much more important feature of the new school is that the children want to go to such a school every day in the year and eight to

ten hours each day. The universal problem of keeping the children in school has been solved. The school provides a real life so that the child wants to educate himself at the very moment that he has the opportunity. The play impulse is transformed into a work impulse so that real pleasure is experienced in work, The school life creates a need and desire for the academic and cultural work of the school. There is no attempt to remove the difficulties. The supposed distasteful work of the school is not sugar coated with sentimentalism. The wasted time and the misdirected energy of the street and alley are utilized to awaken ambition, develop initiative and create power in the child, so that he can find real joy in the mastery of difficulties. The child is busily and actively engaged the year round educating himself.

The worst possible form of an educational plant is a massive brick and stone building with every device perfected for keeping children quiet in a straight jacket school seat all day long. Children are annihilated in such a school, not educated. The traditional class room study school building may answer very well for the mechanical study of text books. But real education demands much more than the formal study of text books. The new school gives the child one-fourth of his time for the formal study of text books and for the formal organization of what he has learned the remaining three-fourths of his time in real activities. The addition of facilities for real activities in a combined work shop, playground and school makes real, genuine education possible. The new school does not dispense with books or culture. It provides for a more efficient use of books and a more genuine and thorough acquisition of culture.

When the child is interested in the work and activities of the school, when the child has developed the power of application and concentration, when the child is in a condition where he is capable and anxious to put forth tremendous effort to master the difficulties of the school, then it is easy and natural for the time and energy of both teacher and pupil to be used efficiently.

Eliminate the plan of teachers trying to teach things that they do not know by means of special supervisors. Permit teachers to teach only the things that they do know and know how to teach. Arrange the size of the classes so that with classes numbering four students or four hundred they are the best possible groups for the work in hand.

Break up the rigid grouping of children in fixed classes. Any child should secure as much time as he needs in any subject or department. If the child is weak physically and cannot undertake for the present formal text book work, he should use the other facilities of the school as a sanitarium for the recovery of his physical strength. If the child is deficient in percentage because of lack of preparation in common fractions and decimals, he should not be flunked and kept repeating work in percentage. He should go on with his work in the class in percentage and in place of some of the recreation features of the school take extra

work in a class several grades below where he can get directly the needed drill in common fractions and decimals. The same principle can be applied in all subjects and for pupils who wish to advance more rapidly as well as for those who wish to make up deficiencies. The retarded, subnormal, and abnormal child can be accommodated without extra teachers or facilities.

Use the great outdoors. Use class rooms, laboratories, shops, auditoriums, gardens, playgrounds, gymnasiums, text books, library books, real objects, real activities and occupations; but use each only for that educational purpose for which it is best adapted.

Every part of the school plant can be made an educational opportunity. There is no reason why the school furniture and much of the equipment cannot be made in school cabinet shops under the direction of a cabinet maker selected for his teaching ability as well as his mechanical skill. There is no reason why the school painting, stage scenery, plumbing, electrical work, carpentry, printing and book binding, forging, foundry and machine work cannot be done in the same way. There is no reason why the school engineer should not be selected because of his teaching ability as well as his mechanical skill. The boys can work with this engineer as apprentices, during certain hours in the day and learn to fire boilers, operate pumps, engines, generators, motors, heating and ventilating machinery. There is no reason why some of the nature study teachers should not be selected because of their practical knowledge and skill as well as for their college degrees. A practical landscape gardener can take complete charge of the school garden, lawns, shrubbery and trees, and the children will be delighted to assist him. Even the stairways and school corridors provide the highest possible educational opportunity, if we will but use them.

The Twentieth Century school does the work of the public library and public playground much more efficiently and much more economically.

The school employs specially trained teachers to direct the outside reading of children and cultivate an appreciation for good literature. These teachers meet every child for a thirty minute period on alternate days. By means of stories and reading from sets of books furnished by the public library, the children are interested in the best literature. This literature teacher's class room is in reality a library of literature for children, and the teacher is in the true sense a children's librarian. Many of the books furnished by the public library are supplied in sets of thirty or forty copies of the same book so that class work is possible in this directed reading.

Similarly the nature study teachers have a nature study library in their laboratory, the music teachers have a music library, the drawing teachers have an art library, etc. The library work is supplemented by pictures, Victrolas, piano players, stereopticon and motion picture machines in the school auditorium; and by the museum specimens in school corridors. Every child is reached regularly in an organized way.

The library maintenance and salary cost per book circulated and read is about one-fourth of one cent, only 5 per cent. of said cost in public libraries. The life of a book circulated in sets under the direct control of the special teachers is ten times that of the usual library circulating book.

In Gary it is hoped to have a branch of the public library in every school, with an assistant librarian from the public library in charge, and with the special teachers in the school co-operating in cultivating and directing the reading of the children.

The unit school plant will accommodate about 2,700 children. The buildings are open evenings, Saturdays and vacations. Adults use the school buildings as freely as children. The branch library is so placed that it can be entered directly from the outside and without climbing steps. The location of the branch library in the same building with the social, recreation and study facilities brings to the library many readers who would not otherwise form the library habit. In turn the library helps to promote the other social, recreation and study features of the school.

The opinion is becoming fixed that we have not utilized the school plants completely unless they are used for recreation and social centers by adults. Fortunately a school plant that provides for the constructive play and recreation activities of children is also most admirably adapted for similar activities with adults. The playgrounds, gymnasiums, swimming pools, auditorium, club and social rooms, library, shops, laboratories, etc., make a complete social and recreation center for adults. Experience has demonstrated that the facilities for academic instruction add to the attractiveness of the plant as a social and recreation center.

Compared with the cost of such facilities and their use when separated from the school plant, the economy in favor of the combined playgrounds, work shop and school plant is indeed surprising. The City of Chicago has a most elaborate system of recreation parks and field houses. Selecting the eleven most successful parks of the South Park Commission we may compare the total cost and use of the eleven parks with the cost and use of one Gary school plant. Note that the attendance of the parks is the total, not the average for the eleven parks. Also note that the cost of the school includes the furnishing of complete school facilities for 2,700 children, in addition to the social and recreation features.

| | Total for Eleven Parks | One School |
|---|---|---|
| **Population** | 800,000 | 20,000 |
| First cost, less land | $2,000,000.00 | $300,000.00 |
| **Annual Maintenance** | 440,000.00 | 100,000.00 |
| **Annual Attendance.** | | |
| **Indoor gymnasium** | 310,000 | 1,000,000 |
| **Shower baths** | 1,325,000 | 500,000 |
| Outdoor gymnasium | 2,000,000 | 2,000,000 |
| **Swimming pool** | 725,000 | 300,000 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Assembly halls | 270,000 | 1,000,000 |
| Club rooms | 70,000 | 30,000 |
| Reading rooms | 600,000 | 1,000,000 |
| Lunch rooms | 320,000 | 20,000 |

The Twentieth Century school is planned to secure the highest possible efficiency from buildings, grounds and equipment, and the time and energy of teachers and pupils. It gives the child, not a shop, not a playground, but a life.

# Public Inspection and Administration*

Report of the Committee by the Chairman, H. C. Bowman,
Chairman of the State Board of Control of Kansas

Institutions and systems of management and supervision are like individuals. No man is wholly good and no man is wholly bad. The same is true of institutions and systems of management and supervision. Each man should be the best judge of his own needs, and in the failures of laws it will provide the system best adapted to its requirements.

In the early development of a state the work is always more or less crudely done. Institutions are built as needed and placed under separate boards of managers. Some states still have the separate boards and nothing more. In a number of the other states in addition to having separate boards of management for each institution they have a board of charities, which, in fact, is a supervisory body and has nothing to do with the management except to suggest methods or criticise the management of the institutions. Some states have in addition a civil service commission to examine all applicants for positions and certify the names to the appointing power, and some states have a board of public works to superintend the erection of buildings, additions, repairs to buildings, and the construction and purchase of systems of sewerage, heating, plumbing, lighting, water-supply and improvements of grounds. The most progressive modern states have united all of these boards into one Board of Control, with a central office at the capital. The duties here enumerated by a single supervisor, called Commissioner of Charities.

A board of charities is primarily intended to carry on the work of advisory supervision, but in some states the supervisory board of charities has acquired executive duties. The supporters of the board of charities system are divided, some contending that the best departure from a strictly judicial attitude is to merge, while others are convinced that a board of chari-

*Read at meeting with Association of Fish Officials and Fish Section Meetings, page 187.

ties can exercise executive and administrative duties without impairing its supervisory character. Some boards of charities have financial supervision of all the institutions subject to the board's inspection and keep a complete set of books upon which all bills and vouchers of all the institutions are entered. In some states supervision is given over charities only, while in others the field is much broader.

Just where the fully developed board of charities system ends and the board of control begins is hard to determine. Usually in states having a centralized board of control they do not have local boards of trustees, and usually in states having a centralized board of charities they do have local boards. Both of these systems have a tendency to establish an expensive office machinery and to spread over a field much broader than any board can efficiently cover.

While boards of charities want to centralize and unite the charitable and correctional work of the state, and while they do not want to devote their entire time to the work, yet they do not want to be wiped out of existence by boards of control. They contend that two main principles should be observed in the management of any public institution: First, that there should be one responsible head in control of local administration, and that the board of control exemplifies this principle alone; second, that the acts of such a head should be reviewed by some supervisory authority; that a board of charities is supplementary to a board of control and would give balance and safety to the system. They unintentionally misrepresent the organization of the institutions under the board of control system. The organization of each of the institutions under charge of a board of charities or a board of control is as follows: First, the governor; second, the board or boards; third, the superintendent.

It might be well for boards of control to limit their supervision and management to certain state institutions and for the boards of charities to cover the balance of the field—private charitable institutions and hospitals receiving state aid, children's home-finding associations and institutions for children, county poorhouses and jails, vagrancy and other problems—and not interfere with state institutions under the supervision and

management of other state boards. Or it might be well to divide all of the state institutions—penal, educational, charitable and correctional—into proper groups and have a board of three properly constituted members for each group. This would bring the institutions having in the main the same kind of management and the same objects in view together. Then these groups should be united in a sort of a compact whole, a central board composed of one of the members of each of the other boards and the governor, who would be president of this central board by virtue of his office, and the state auditor who would be the secretary of said central board by virtue of his office. The people of the state hold the governor responsible for the enforcement of laws, the amount of taxes and, to a certain extent, the conduct and condition of the state institutions, and he should have some say in the general management of them. The state auditor audits all the vouchers and payrolls of the institutions and in most states is required to recommend the items for the appropriation bills for each institution to the legislature. It matters nothing to the legislature whether the institutions for which it has to make appropriations are educational, medical, penal, charitable or correctional. They are all created and maintained for the cure and prevention of social evils of some description—of ignorance, of disease, of poverty or of crime—but all social evils grow out of general social conditions and can not be successfully studied except in their mutual relation, and a central board familiar with institutions of all descriptions will not lose sight of the difference between them in its perception of the points of general resemblance.

Very little is known about the institutions ot a state by the people who own and support them. Even chancellors, presidents, superintendents and wardens of the institutions know very little about the management and facilities of the other institutions. Each lives in a world of his own in which everything pivots around him, and there is no concerted action to accomplish a common purpose. From the point of view of some executive officers of state institutions, the organization of an institution is: first, the executive officer or officers; second, the board in charge, to act as a shield or buffer for the executive officers; third, the governor, whom they will treat

with courtesy if he does not interfere with their appropriations or their ideas of running the institutions, and fourth, the people of the state who pay their bills through taxation. The correct organization should be the direct opposite.

At almost every National Conference the old question of local boards with and without the supervisory board of charities *versus* state boards of control with and without the supervisory board of charities, has been discussed. The system which covers the field and accomplishes results is the best system for a state, regardless of the name. The question is to get the proper results. The hardest thing in the management of institutions, both public and private, is to get the executive head and officers of an institution to realize that the institution is maintained for the benefit of the patrons and for the public and that all else is secondary. Too often institution people forget the very purpose of its creation and the thing runs along rather for its own benefit than that of its patrons or the state. This happens with very worthy people who are quite honest and well meaning. It is simply a lack of perspective. Their very pride in having "the institution" a model helps to make them forget its purpose.

In writing the members of the committee as to what should be discussed in this report, I made a statement similar to the one in the above paragraph. Dr. S. E. Smith, medical superintendent of the Eastern Indiana Hospital for the Insane, answered as follows:

"Before closing I am obliged to dissent from your views of the executive officers of our state institutions. My experience of nearly twenty-five years in a state institution has not developed in me any desire or inclination to change the motive of the institution from the interests of the patients and the people of the state to myself, the board of control, the governor, or any other persons or organizations; and, moreover, I have been unable in my contact with many institutions and institutional officials to observe the selfish tendency which has come to your attention."

I replied that I would incorporate this part of his letter in the report of our committee, and I also said:

"I had considerable experience with state institutions as county attorney before I became a member of the Kansas board. During the past six and one-half years I have devoted all of my time to this line of work and have visited boards and institutions in states east and west and north of Indiana, but have never visited the institutions of Indiana, although I am well acquainted with Alexander Johnson and Amos W. Butler and have often discussed the Indiana system with them. I understand that for a long number of years Indiana has been blessed with good memberships on the state board and with very efficient and capable secretaries. Then, too, once in a great while you find a man who is capable of looking at things from the point of view of the people, notwithstanding the fact that he has grown up in the atmosphere of an institution."

To counteract this tendency of human nature, the laws of some of the states provide that a superintendent shall hold his office until removed by the board for official misconduct, neglect of duty, incompetency, or other cause, and there is no appeal from the decision of the Board. Also that the board in fixing the compensation of a superintendent may permit him to receive food supplies for his family—his wife and minor children—but only from the supplies furnished for the patients and inmates of the institution, the intention of this law being that the state institutions are supported by the people for the benefit of the patients and inmates and not for the benefit of the board, the superintendent or his family or the employees. That the ones for whom the institution was created should come first.

To what extent should state charitable and correctional institutions be managed by state boards? The duties of state boards should cover both the business side and the professional side of said institutions.

There must be perfect fealty of the board to the state and a corresponding loyalty of the institution to the board. The superintendent is the agent and executive officer of the board, and the board is entitled to the same faithful service from a superintendent as the superintendent is entitled to have from each and every employee of his institution. Everything pertaining to the institution, of such a nature as to be important,

should be reported to the board—nothing withheld—and each should be in perfect accord and with equal knowledge of all transactions.

Boards of control as well as boards of charities hold each superintendent accountable for the internal management of his institution. If you have not the right man at the head of the institution, and if you have not the right kind of subordinates under that man, it does not make any difference what kind of system you have or how perfect the equipment of the institution may be; you will not have the results you seek. A board of control supervises the man, the equipment and the results, the same as a board of charities.

The state board and the institutions under its charge, is simply one division or department of the state government, and other departments—the governor, the state auditor, the state treasurer, the state board of health, the state accountant, the state architect, the attorney general and sometimes other departments, have powers and duties in connection with the board and in some matters have full power and authority over the board. The board and the institutions are also subject to investigation by a joint committee of the legislature, and when the legislature is not in session the governor, lieutenant-governor and speaker of the house usually have the power to appoint a committee of five to investigate any of the state institutions and all persons connected with the institution. It also should not be forgotten that the people of the different states are waking up and that the people intend to supervise the state government and every department thereof, and make the same responsive to their wishes. The time has passed when the supervisory powers of boards of charities and the administrative powers of boards of control can be discussed with profit, and the time has come when institutional officials, the same as all other departments of government, must realize that they must get closer to the people. The people demand progress in every department of the state and nation and that all public officials —the agents and servants of the people—render efficient service.

To What Extent Can and Should the State Supervise and Control Private Institutions: (1) Those Receiving State Aid: (2) Private Institutions for the Insane: (3) Children's As-

solicitation for Improper and Neglected Children, and (4) An ordinance and Instructions of All Kinds Soliciting Throughout the State.

The right of public supervision of private institutions in receipt of public funds has long been generally recognized and exercised, while the right of public supervision of private institutions not in receipt of public funds has not been generally recognized or exercised. Nearly all of the laws providing for the supervision of private charities not in receipt of public funds are comparatively recent. The right of the state to supervise private corporations is being recognized more and more in other fields of activity and the work of private charitable institutions is now being recognized as essentially a work of public concern and that it is the duty of the state to see that such work is conducted in a manner conducive to the public welfare. Private charitable institutions and associations should be under state supervision whether receiving state aid or not. The question of who supports them is of very little importance, but the public is interested in knowing that the function assumed by private parties is properly performed. This is specially true in the case of children, as the quality of future citizenship is involved.

Almost every project of public benefit has some element of peculiar personal profit to individuals and hardly any attempt along the line of a private purpose is without some plausible pretext of public good. Individuals are eager to earn an easy living by starting orphanages or home-finding societies or rescue homes and using the greater part of the money collected to run their institutions. Many maternity homes are refuges of crime.

A private charitable institution should be required to incorporate and have a local board of good financial business men and professional men or women and then should be supervised by the state to the same extent as state institutions are supervised by a state board of charities. The legislature should not appropriate a certain sum to each or certain ones of the private charitable institutions of a state, but if state aid is given a large appropriation should be made to the state board to be apportioned by the state board according to the needs of such

institutions and the amount of charitable work carried on. For a form of an appropriation act covering everything along this line, see Chapter 46, Session Laws of Kansas of 1911.

No person or physician should be permitted to establish or keep a hospital, asylum, institution or house or retreat for the care, custody or treatment of the insane or persons of unsound mind, for compensation and hire, without first obtaining a license therefor from the state board. Application for such license should be accompanied by a plan of the premises to be occupied, with a description of the situation thereof and the length, breadth and height, and reference by figure or letter to rooms or apartments, and a statement of the quantity of ground for exercise and recreation of patients proposed to be received therein, and also a statement of the number of patients to be received and whether male or female, and if for the reception of both, what number of each sex proposed to be received and the means by which the one sex may be kept apart from the other. The state board should be required to visit the premises and after examination of the buildings and plans employed, or proposed to be employed, to take care of insane persons or persons of unsound mind, should determine whether the same are sufficient and proper for such purpose, and if so the board could then grant a license and make such terms and regulations in regard thereto as it deems just and proper for the care, protection and health and for the occupation of the insane patients, the board having the right to revoke the license for reasons deemed satisfactory to said board.

As to private associations and institutions for dependent and neglected children, chapter 569 of the Session Laws of California of 1911, seems to fully cover the ground. It prohibits persons, societies and organizations from engaging in the work of placing dependent children in homes without first obtaining a permit therefor from the State Board of Charities and Corrections. The State Board of Charities and Corrections of California has full and complete supervision over such agencies and can cancel or withdraw their permit at any time. It is a misdemeanor for any person or persons, either as individuals or officers of any association or society, to engage in the work of placing children in homes or to solicit funds there-

for without a permit from the state board. The act, however, does not apply to any regularly established orphans' home or any officer or official thereof acting for or on behalf of such home, receiving aid from the state for the care of such children.

While the legislature of California was enacting this law, the legislature of the state of Kansas at the same time was enacting a law that goes still farther. The Kansas law, Chapter 132, Laws of 1911, provides that all charitable and benevolent institutions proposing to solicit, in more than one county within the state, funds for the maintenance thereof, must be incorporated. That the word "institution" as used in the act means any aggregation of individuals, whether two or more, working for a common purpose. That before any such institution, by its officers, agents or solicitors, shall solicit such funds within more than one county of the state, its charter and its general standing and purpose shall be carefully examined by the State Board of Control and a certificate granting the privilege of so soliciting issued by said board, but that said board may refuse in its discretion to grant such certificate if, in its judgment, there is no necessity or general demand for such an institution, or for any other reason satisfactory to said board. That any person so soliciting for any such institution that shall not previously have complied with this law shall be guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction be fined in the sum of not less than ten dollars nor more than one thousand dollars, in the discretion of the court.

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## DEPORTATION OF INSANE PERSONS, PAUPERS, AND OTHERS FROM ONE STATE TO ANOTHER.

By W. Almont Gates, Secretary California State Board of Charities. San Francisco.

This subject first appeared in this Conference in a report by Mr. Frank B. Sanborn at the Denver Conference in 1892. At that time, however, there was very little data obtainable on which to base a discussion. In 1895 at the New Haven Conference, Dr. H. H. Hart, then secretary of the Minnesota State Board of Corrections and Charities, presented a paper upon "Interstate Migration," which gave some of the facts which had come under his observation up to that time. The matter was further taken up in 1896 at Grand Rapids by a section of

the Conference upon "Immigration and Migration." At that conference, Mr. Hart again presented this subject and urged upon the Conference its importance. The substance of Mr. Hart's address was the advocacy of a federal law to regulate the migration of paupers and dependents from one state to another. At the New York Conference in 1898 a committee on Immigration and Interstate Migration presented a report upon this same subject. Of that committee, Hon. Richard Gunther of Wisconsin was chairman, and at the same conference I had the honor to present a paper upon "Alien and Non-Resident Dependents." The discussions at the New York Conference resulted in the passing of a resolution providing for "a standing committee of seven, to be appointed by the president, to be renewed from year to year in the judgment of succeeding conferences, whose duty it shall be to take steps to devise means to bring about uniformity in the laws of the several states of the Union with reference to the legal settlement or residence of dependent persons, so that the responsibility for their support can be readily established." In obedience to this resolution, a committee was appointed by the president, which considered very carefully the legal questions involved and came to the following conclusions: That a national legal settlement law would be unconstitutional because it is undoubtedly within the powers reserved to the various states to determine when a person shall be deemed to have gained a legal settlement, so as to compel that state to furnish relief in case of need. It had been maintained by some that a federal legal settlement law could be enacted under that clause of the constitution which provides that congress may regulate commerce among the several states, but it was the unanimous opinion of the committee that the commerce clause did not cover this question, and that there was no other clause in the constitution which would cover it.

That committee reported at the Cincinnati Conference in 1899, recommending a uniform law to be adopted by all the states, and it further submitted a proposed bill for such a law, which provided uniform conditions under which a legal settlement could be acquired, placed all matters of deportation in the hands of state authority, and prohibited counties or municipalities from making deportations, and gave the state board or officers charged with the enforcement of the law power to arrange for arbitration of all disputed cases. The matter was considered of such importance by the general Conference that the report of the committee was ordered printed and circulated. The committee was continued to attend to the circulation, and it wrote letters and sent copies of the report to officers and boards in every state represented in the Conference. The next year the committee was dropped and nothing since has been done by the National Conference to carry on the propaganda for the enactment of this proposed uniform law. So far as I know, this law was enacted only in Minnesota and Kansas. The officials who by their experience had seen the need of such a law, have since retired and their places have been taken by new men, who have now come to see

the need felt by their predecessors. New interest is now being taken, on account of which this subject again occupies a place upon the National Conference program.

I have thus far given the history of this subject before the National Conference. I have seen, no reason to change my opinion from that of the committee given in the report of 1899. There have been no amendments to the National Constitution affecting this matter, and no decisions of courts that I can find that would chahge our interpretation of the Constitution. I believe that the only solution of the question at the present time is the urging upon the various states of the Union the necessity of passing a uniform law.

The essentials of a uniform law are as follows:

1st. It must provide a uniform period of residence in the state. A year probably is the most satisfactory period to adopt, and probably more states have adopted that period than any other. Those states that insist on a longer period and especially fix severe conditions for acquiring a legal settlement, are doing an injustice to the person becoming dependent, and also to the other states. The western states are more liberal in their legal settlement laws than the eastern. The time of residence is usually shorter and there are no other conditions. We believe legal settlement laws should be in the interests of humanity and ours are as severe as is required. All that is necessary is a residence sufficient to establish good faith on the part of the immigrant. Then if he becomes dependent he should be entitled to aid from his adopted state.

It is a principle of common law that a legal settlement once gained in a state continues until a legal settlement is gained in another state. As soon, however, as a legal settlement is gained by the laws of the new state of residence, then the legal settlement in the former state of residence ceases. This being the principle of common law, it will continue to be the law of every state in the Union, except Louisiana, until abrogated by special statute. So far as I know, no special statutes have been passed by any state which abrogate this principle of common law, and I think it is safe to conclude that it exists practically throughout the United States. This being the case, a man moving from Massachusetts to Minnesota gains a legal settlement in Minnesota in one year's residence, and then loses his settlement in Massachusetts. If he then comes to want, he is a charge upon Minnesota and cannot be sent back to Massachusetts. On the other hand, if a man migrates from Minnesota to Massachusetts, he must remain five years before he gains a legal settlement. Any time that he comes to want before this settlement is gained, he can be deported to Minnesota. Massachusetts thus takes an advantage over her sister states, because she insists on an unreasonably rigid law, which other states for reasons of humanity do not wish to enact.

2nd. All deportations should be by state authority, and deportations or the sending of dependents out of the state by county or municipal

authorities should be prohibited. The proposed law provided that all such cases should be referred to the state board and by it investigated, and the merits of the case passed upon. The state board would thus act in all cases, whether they were state, county, or municipal charges. Such a provision would prevent the abuse of unloading dependents from one community upon another, whether in the same state or another state. In most cases, county or municipal authorities act without law or justice and most of the abuses complained of arise from this irresponsible, unregulated action, moved solely by a selfish desire of the municipality to shift a burden of support. The authorities, too often of the lower type of politician, think they are serving the interests of the tax payers. It is very essential that no deportations be allowed except upon the order or direction of the state board, or a properly constituted state authority.

Under this proposed law, whenever a county or municipal authority finds itself charged with the care of a non-resident, it must notify the state board, and the latter, through its committee, secretary, or duly authorized agent, must make an investigation into the facts both of dependency and legal settlement, and if it finds that the person is a public charge and likely to remain so, and that his legal settlement is in another state or county, then an order of deportation issues, and is executed under direction of the state board. The state board should, and no doubt would, consider the humanitarian aspects of the case. If, for instance, a family had moved from one state to another in good faith, and one of its members became insane before a legal settlement had been acquired, it would be unjust to that family to deport the dependent one to the old home and thus separate him from the rest of his family.

3rd. The question of legal settlement may be disputed by the other state interested. It then becomes necessary to determine this question by other authority, for the findings and order of a state board of one state have no binding force in another state. Even with uniform settlement laws these disputes would arise, and with the conflicting laws that now exist they are numerous and cause much trouble. I have heard it advocated at some of our recent conferences that a federal law should be enacted, requiring the state where an insane person had a legal settlement to accept into one of its insane hospitals such insane persons direct from the deporting officer of another state. Such a law is beyond the powers delegated to congress. It is reserved to the states to regulate their own internal affairs. Nor could an agreement between the states effect the desired result. The findings of a court in an examination in insanity stands on the same basis as a conviction for crime. No one probably would contend that a person could be convicted of a crime in one state and then sent to another state to serve the sentence in its prisons. Nor can a person be found insane by a court in one state and admitted *ipso facto* into an insane hospital of another state. There must be another examination in the state of legal settlement where it is proposed he be confined, and such insane person can only be confined in the insane hospital

of a state by a finding and an order of a court of that state. Nor would I have the law otherwise. While simplifying deportations in many just cases, such a law would also be subject to grave abuse.

The question of legal settlement should be settled before a deportation is made, especially of an insane person. The facts, as ascertained by the first state, should be submitted to the state board of the state where legal settlement is claimed, and by that board investigated. After all the facts are obtained, the case is usually clear enough to avoid dispute, but if not, the state board under this law might agree to arbitration, and the facts, as obtained by the two state boards, submitted to the arbitrators for decision. I believe that when the legal settlement cannot be clearly shown to be in the state where deportation is sought, that it should not be made. The state where the person is found insane should accept the burden of the doubt. When the case is of sufficient importance, and there is no better remedy, the federal courts are open. One state can sue another, or one state or one county of a state can sue a county of another state in the federal courts; but one county or municipality cannot sue another state in the federal courts. This is another reason why it is desirable to make all deportation cases state cases. But the federal courts, while open to settle disputed legal settlement cases, have, so far as I know, never been resorted to for that purpose.

The state courts are always open to hear these cases. The deporting officers may take the insane persons directly to the county where his residence is claimed to be, and submit to the court of that county both the question of insanity and that of legal settlement. In my experience in Minnesota that was the method usually followed, and I invariably received fair treatment from the courts of other states. I do not now remember a single case where the question of legal settlement was decided against me. In several cases, the court did not find the person insane, but accepted him and put him under surveillance. There are times when the deporting officer is justified in delivering the insane person to his family, and where he has a responsible family and they are willing to receive him, that is not only justifiable, but best. There being no doubt of the legal settlement, the family should be given the privilege of deciding what should be done with the case. However, the practice sometimes indulged in of taking an insane person into another state and leaving him at a hotel, or on the street, or in fact dumping him, is reprehensible and should be punished as a crime, and yet this practice has been followed frequently.

My conclusions upon this question are now the same as they were in 1899.

1st. That an effort be made to secure the passage in the various states of the Union of a uniform legal settlement law similar to the one recommended at that time.

2nd. That efforts be made by the states interested to arrange with similar bodies in other states to submit all legal settlement disputes to arbitration.

3rd. That a public conscience be aroused to treat all such questions in a spirit of humanity and justice. I refrain in this paper from mentioning by name certain states where the officials in the past have neither been just nor humane. It might be best hereafter to publish the acts and names of the offenders.

I am fully aware that my conclusions here are not satisfactory to all of you, but I am certain that no federal interference can be had in these cases without an amendment to the National Constitution. That could not be secured without years of effort, if at all. It would not come until those of us here to-day had passed off the stage of activity. If each state had a law similar to this, and a deporting officer to do the work, and this officer acted in the spirit of right and humanity, the abuses would soon cease. This is only one of many similar matters where uniform laws between the states are desirable, and which are likely to receive greater attention in the future. It is a proper subject for consideration by the newly organized "House of Governors."

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## DEPENDENT AND NEGLECTED CHILDREN.

By C. E. Faulkner, Superintendent of the Washburn Memorial Orphan Asylum, Minneapolis.

The establishment of a Federal Children's Bureau, at Washington, whereby the whole field of public and private child-helping service in the United States is to be studied, and the information thereby gained is to be published for the profit of all, is an invitation extended by congress to all the states to align their policies and methods in joint cooperative effort to promote this, the most important, and most deserving of all the conservation movements in which the nation and its states may engage.

State co-operation through the agency of state children's bureaus, or other sufficient systems, to report to the national bureau precise information concerning laws and methods for the care, treatment and disposition of children who become objects of public concern by or on account of the many misfortunes which afflict helpless childhood, is an immediate duty certain to be recognized by all good citizens. An inevitable result of such research and publicity will be the discovery by all our states, and many public spirited philanthropists who administer private charity in behalf of children, that while as a people we have been comforting pride and complacency over the many good things accomplished for the welfare of distressed children, we have almost as many different systems of so-called relief, as we have states and philanthropists, and have been strangely neglectful of the available knowledge whereby improvements may be promoted. It may be truly said that uniformity of law and method does not encourage the greatest measure of

progress and that the losses occasioned through the independent experiments of numerous states, may be converted into gain for the nation, if the lessons which they teach are made available to all.

One of the greatest hindrances to progress in public affairs is the failure of individuals to demand and expect as high a standard of community morals in state or nation, as they apply to personal affairs, and in no department of public service is this hindrance more keenly felt than in that which relates to the welfare of children dealt with directly by the state, or indirectly by agencies commissioned to exercise its authority. The state as a controlling guardian is morally bound to know that all such children are gainers and not losers by the interference practiced, or permitted, and yet there can be no denial of the fact that our states, without a single exception, do not maintain such systems of supervision and administration in their dealings with dependent and neglected children as are necessary to determine with fair accuracy the balances of profit and loss in the sum total of manhood and womanhood developed.

The saving grace of such a situation is the fact that our states are, through various means of education and appeal, becoming sensibly conscious of their own shortcomings, and those which already have to their credit the largest measure of accomplished good in behalf of child humanity, are among the first to welcome the aid offered through private benevolence, or now promised through the establishment of the national children's bureau.

Massachusetts, with the aid of the Russell Sage Foundation, has given a limited, but valuable report on the after care studies of the case histories of men and women disposed of under the law of public guardianship relating to children, and showing with fearless fidelity to truth, a startling large per cent. of individuals who fall below a median line of efficiency in the walks of industrial endeavor.

Minnesota has begun under authority of the legislature a study of the causes which contribute to the misfortunes of the defective, degenerate, and delinquent classes, and it is hoped and expected that the study will be extended to all wards of public concern.

Michigan, which was the first state to put into effective operation a State Public School for the care, training, and disposition of dependent children, is becoming concerned over the necessity of affording better opportunities for industrial training for these wards of public kindness.

The destruction caused by the ills which undermine the integrity and comfort of family life, may be fairly well understood, but society has been strangely indifferent to the truth that in the effort to destroy these ills the greatest power which the state may summon to its aid is that which is generated by the motive of natural affection which is blind to the faults of those upon whom it is placed. Any policy which does not preserve to children the duty and privilege of sharing in effort to protect, recover, and rehabilitate the family life, imperilled, or interrupted by any manner of misfortune, including even the unfitness and

inefficiency of parents, is fundamentally wrong, for **the state rests upon the family, and not the family on the state.**

The preservation of the State's foundations, when threatened by social dissolution, is a first and paramount obligation of statesmanship.

### Ethics of Child Placing Service.

Child dependency and neglect is in the main a problem of the cities, and from the very beginning of organized child-helping service, the farm has been made the convenience of the city in placing children, upon the theory that gains caused by the change of environment, would fully compensate for losses in educational advantages, and choice of available opportunities.

The losses to the farm homes of country-bred children who are attracted to the cities because of the better opportunities for education and congenial employment, has created a children's market upon the farms which is in part supplied by the children disposed of under the laws of public guardianship. Little or no thought has been given to the possible injustice of depriving city bred children of their natural inheritances in the cities to which they belong, and binding them to the opportunities of the farm, without securing to them the kind of education essential to success. Because of the neglect to meet the obligations of public guardianship in this regard, and to prepare children for the farm by necessary preliminary training, the failures in home placing are increased, and children who desert the farm and return to the city, are obeying a natural impulse which is as irresistible as the law of gravitation.

This condition is leading some of our states to recognize the duty of affording at least the beginnings of an agricultural education to children destined for the farm. Michigan and Minnesota are both well equipped with excellent state agricultural schools, but the conditions of admission preclude the reception of children from their state public schools for dependent children, with the result that the names of children who become the particular wards of state benevolence, are not to be found on the registers of their agricultural schools. Efforts are now being made to remedy this defect in policy, by installing competent instructors in the state schools for dependent children, so that choice and fitness for vocational callings, may receive the notice which they deserve.

The injustice of narrowing the opportunities to the lines of industry afforded by the ordinary farm, and then failing to open the door of opportunity to those who would enter to learn the ways of successful farming, must soon be remedied by every state now under an indictment for neglect.

### Intelligent Co-Operation in Child-Helping Service.

The real problem of statesmanship, and social philanthropy, in dealing with needy children, is not the discovery of ways whereby either institutions or societies may be reduced in number, but to discover ways

whereby these resources and aids in each state may be brought into a harmonious working relationship to each other under state direction, so that the state itself may provide for the certain discharge of its duties as a supreme guardian holding in trust the compulsory powers of the society which it serves. It is not necessary to discuss the place of the society, and the place of the institution in child-helping service, or to encourage criticism which serves no good purpose. It is enough to say that there is a place and a work for every society, and every institution engaged in work with and for children, not afraid of public official scrutiny concerning resources, methods, and accomplishments. For others than these there ought to be no place in any state. It is the plain duty of each state to know what is going on within its borders, and to at least know how the children are faring who are dealt with, and disposed of under its permissive authority.

**Hospitals For Deformed and Crippled Children.**

Thanks to the aid of the surgical profession, several states have made provision for the hospital care and treatment of deformed and crippled children belonging to families unable to otherwise afford them relief. Such work is beyond the resource and skill of small communities, and appeals very strongly to the broadening vision of duty opening before an improving civilization.

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## PROBLEMS OF THE BLIND, ESPECIALLY THE ADULT BLIND.

By Charles F. F. Campbell, Executive Secretary Ohio Commission for the Blind.*

(Synopsis)

Since the needs of the blind were discussed at this Conference in Portland, Maine, two phases of work for the sightless have commanded increasing attention; one, the campaign for the prevention of blindness, is being considered at length in the report of one of your sub-committees, and the other is the effort which is being made all over this country to render practical assistance to the adult blind.

Within the last few years it has become generally known that a majority of the blind lose their sight in adult life and the movement to render efficient assistance to adults has gone forward with marked vigor during the past ten years.

The most notable characteristic of this recent work has been the tendency to aid the blind as individuals, instead of as a group in a centralized, residential institution. During the end of the Nineteenth Century "working homes for the blind," in which employment and residence were the chief features, were the accepted policy. With the establishment of the State Commission for the Blind in Massachusetts in 1906 (the temporary commission was appointed in 1903), the emphasis

*This address was illustrated with stereopticon views, showing blind people at work at various occupations.

has been placed more and more on the individual, or at least upon comparatively small groups of individuals.

In Massachusetts a "chain of workshops" has been opened in seven of the larger cities. The majority of the workers at these shops live in their own homes or board in the vicinity just like seeing workmen.

The home teaching of the adult blind has been increasing since 1900. The first work of this kind was commenced in the eighties by a voluntary organization in Philadelphia but in recent years that society has received state aid. Several states now make appropriations for the instruction of the blind in their homes. The first efforts along this line were chiefly devoted to instruction in reading, but now a certain amount of industrial instruction and occupation has been provided for the home workers.

During the past six months the State Commission for the Blind in Ohio has been giving a good deal of attention to this phase of the work and has been supplying blind women with raw material with which they are able to make simple household articles. As soon as the work is finished and returned to the headquarters of the Commission, the blind worker is paid the difference between the cost of the raw material and the retail selling price, all the expense of supervision, transportation and selling being assumed by the Commission. The work is being sold largely through the co-operation of some of the leading stores in Ohio. Such concerns as The Higbee Company in Cleveland, The Rike-Kumler Company in Dayton and The McKelvey Company in Youngstown, have provided a counter, free of expense, for the sale of the home work of the blind women, which is being carried on under the supervision of the State Commission. This method of aiding blind home workers deserves wider consideration than it has so far had and it has been spoken of here in the hope that other organizations may be interested to try the experiment in their localities.

As this conference is being held in Ohio attention should be called to the law which was passed in 1908 whereby "A person who by reason of loss of eyesight is unable to provide himself with the necessities of life.....is entitled to relief not to exceed $150 per annum." About $400,000 a year is distributed to the needy blind by boards in the several counties, appointed by the Probate Judge, known as the County Blind Relief Commissions.

While the constitutionality of this law is questioned by some there can be no doubt that the relief has proved a blessing to the majority of the recipients. When it is remembered that fully one-half of the blind are over 50 years of age, the problem of support is an extremely difficult one; in many cases industrial occupation is impossible and the relief which has been given in this state has done much to alleviate the condition in which many of the blind find themselves.

When the time comes that the blind who are in need are provided for with some form of relief and those who are able-bodied are furnished with adequate remunerative employment, then, and not till then, shall we be able to say that the problem of the adult blind is being solved.

# Families and Neighborhoods*

Report of the Committee by Rev. Dr. William J. Kerby, Chairman.

The Committee on Families and Neighborhoods begs to report as follows to the National Conference of Charities and Correction. In making this report as Chairman, I take occasion to express my gratitude to the members of the Committee for their spirit of co-operation and for the unfailing and helpful suggestions by which they aided in organizing the work. I desire also to express the thanks of the Committee to all of the speakers who have undertaken the preparation of papers.

All of the work of the Committee was grouped around the central theme, the Maintenance of the Family, under the following sub-divisions: Maintenance of Individuality; Maintenance of Integrity; Maintenance of Income and of Health; Co-operation among Relief Agencies in its Bearing on the Maintenance of the Family. Problems related to income and to health are taken up in one of the Section Meetings. Papers on the Day Nursery and the Pension to Dependent Widows, were to have been taken up in a Section Meeting related to the Maintenance of the Integrity of the Family. It seemed best, however, to join with the Committee on Children in the study of Pensioning the Dependent Widow.

Plans were made to devote one Section Meeting of this Committee to problems and methods in dealing with the Dependent Family in Cleveland. It was thought that some such innovation as this, would tend to stimulate the work in the city in which the National Conference meets for this year. Unfortunately, it was found impossible to carry out the plan. Papers bearing on the Maintenance of the Individuality of the Family and on various features of Co-operation as related

*For Joint Section Meeting see page 466.

thereto were reserved for this General Meeting. They will follow the presentation of the Chairman's Report.

This National Conference is practically a constitutional convention. Its work has a profound meaning in the upbuilding of our social institutions. All constitutions fail at some point for no institution is universal in its effects. Neither political nor industrial constitutions provide for their failures, nor on the whole, can they. Failures in our modern life are too numerous and their problems are too complex to permit neglect or indifference. The work of the gleaners who follow in the wake of civilization and pick up our failures, is exacting to the last degree and it is no less noble than exacting. Our relief agencies are endeavoring to understand the rights and the wrongs of our dependent and defeated social classes. Our work, if it means anything, means that we must devise a supplementary constitution through which these classes will find their rights defined and protected, their wrongs understood and redressed. Hence, our work has a fundamental organic relation to social organization as a whole. It should not be looked upon as gratuitous nor as unimportant. There is great need of restraint on the stronger classes and of discipline of our institutions. There is equal need of restraint on the good impulses which lead us to work in the interests of the poor. There is need also of understanding the rights of these poor and of intelligent methods in putting an end to the abuses under which they suffer. As in science progress lies in the direction of unclassified remnants, so also in social progress the advance of the race is located in the guarantees which we can bring to our unclassified dependents.

As our political constitution rests practically on the Declaration of Independence, this supplementary constitution rests on a declaration of dependence. As our political constitution aims to secure life, liberty, property and happiness to us, this supplementary constitution aims to secure those rights to our defeated classes. Our political constitution protects these rights not in their full amplitude, but only as it defines them. In our supplementary constitution we are en-

deavoring to widen those definitions in order to make them include guarantees against the distinctive menaces of modern life. Our political constitution and the statutes under it, punish crime as it is defined. We are in our supplementary constitution, endeavoring to widen definitions of crime, of neglect, of theft, of injustice in order that our institutions may carry real guarantees to the neglected classes. The curse of modern society is not so much in ignorance but in enslavement to narrow definitions. Our political constitution underlies the state. This supplementary constitution on which we are engaged, underlies the community as a whole.

In both constitutions, the family is fundamental. In one way or in another practically all problems of dependency and delinquency are related to the family. Simply because our political and our industrial constitutions have failed to give adequate protection to the family in its normal function and because the distinctive modern menaces to the family were neither anticipated nor understood in our social organization, the family stands today in modern society shattered to its very foundations. It is our supreme task in this great field with which we are identified to rebuild the idea of the family and instill respect for it; to catalogue the menaces to the family and face them; to crystallize public conscience on its rights and its wrongs and win all of the decent forces of society to their attention; to widen our definitions of the rights of the home and deepen our understanding of them; and then to compel, to induce or to scourge our industrial and political constitutions to take care of the family as thus understood, or to take the consequences.

I suggest this fundamental thought merely in order to register my understanding of the relation of the National Conference to our institutions and of the place that the family hold in its work.

The Conference works under the limitations of its composition. We represent a wide range of temperament, of outlook, of historical perspective, of philosophy and of policy. Our work is possible just in proportion as we are tolerant, patient, objective and disposed to reasonable compromise in

our practical views. The Conference wisely refrains from binding its members by vote. Now a constitution is a resolution, a conclusion, a binding instrument. We are not to be tied together by any binding vote. May we not, however, be solidly united in common understanding? If we realize our great mission in the work of civilization and the commanding position held by the family in our work, may we not gradually establish among ourselves a common understanding of problems and processes, of rights and wrongs, of aims and methods as these affect the family, and if then we present these results with practical unanimity to our industrial and political leaders, may we not hope to see our political and industrial constitutions gradually readjust themselves to our ideals and thus hasten the day when we may proudly claim that justice is done to the family as the foundation of society?

I turn from this broader and somewhat theoretical consideration to some practical details with which the Committee has busied itself.

The Committee recommends to the Conference that an effort be made to develop a continuing program for its work. We believe that a program of fundamental topics arranged to cover three or four years, would systematize the work of the Committee and greatly improve its efficiency. There is a point where variety ceases to be a virtue just as there is a point when system becomes a virtue. The freedom which the Committee now enjoys, insures great variety but possibly not sufficient system. The many aspects under which any fundamental may be treated, and the annual change in the composition of the Committee, offer sufficient latitude for discussion. The Committee does not go into questions of detail. Out of a total membership of twenty-three, fourteen members of the Committee expressed themselves on the general proposal. Ten favor some such plan of continuing program; one favored it conditionally; one opposed it; and one was noncommittal.

Your Chairman consulted the Committee as to the possibility of expanding the social service of hospitals in cer-

tain conditions. The development of the medical social activity of our hospitals is well known and highly to be commended. The modern factory is taking on a range of activities which have been regarded as peculiar to the home, the hospital, the church and the school. The modern school is taking on a range of social activities heretofore regarded as peculiar to the home, the hospital, the social settlement, the church and the factory. Modern society is insistently asking that the church take on activities which concern recreation, social service, and the school. We find, in a word, that most of our social agencies or institutions are being asked to multiply their functions into some form of organic completeness, as distinct from the separation and speicalization which have heretofore marked them. The process is general and it is a striking one. We have already asked the hospital to expand its medical work in a way to touch social conditions and social relations in as far as these affect conditions of health. May not the hospital in certain conditions go farther and become a genuine social center, going a step beyond the lines laid down at many former meetings of this Conference? The hospital has an organic relation to the home, to the city, to the neighborhood, to the scientific life of the city and to its religious organization. In our larger modern cities, the work of the hospital is necessarily restricted by its location and modified by the hundreds of agencies at hand to undertake social work, but in smaller cities where resources are limited and the social conscience is not always keen, may not the hospital become a normal center of social service beyond its strictly medical duties? If, for instance, a hospital is located in a neighborhood where dependent families are easily reached, where other agencies are somewhat inadequate, may it not take on in a modified way, activities which are ordinarily found in the social settlement or are undertaken by the average typical relief agency? As a factor in its own neighborhood, may it not work to refine and elevate that neighborhood? As the friend of every home where sickness enters, may it not be a friend in the homes of dependents where sickness does not enter? As a civic institution, may it not

represent civic ideals in its neighborhood? Personally, I am convinced that this can be done successfully. The Committee, however, is against me. Out of a total of 23 members, 13 replied to my inquiry as follows: Six were non-committal; 4 voted against it; 2 favored it conditionally, and one favored it without qualification. Respecting the vote of the Committee as I do, I offer no further argument in the matter. I confine myself to a reference to one hospital wherein the work is carried out with great success.

Providence Hospital in Washington is conducted by the Sisters of Charity. There are 26 sisters and 50 nurses engaged. In addition to its medical social service to which I need not refer, the hospital conducts a Day Nursery in its neighborhood; a Mothers' Sewing Class; a Mothers' Cooking Class; a Lunchroom for school children and for the unemployed. Instruction is given to mothers in marketing, in the purchase of food and clothing and in the utilization of odds and ends in cooking, and partially dependent families are enabled to make their ordinary purchases under most favorable conditions. A stable system of friendly visiting is maintained, and students from a local women's college are instructed in friendly visiting and in personal service of the poor whenever that service is asked. The hospital enters into active co-operation with eight different relief agencies in doing this work. The opinion of the management of the hospital, including the physicians of the staff, and of outside experienced social workers, commends this whole range of activity as quite feasible and desirable in the conditions under which it is done there, and all are agreed that the hospital force is not overworked thereby and that the efficiency of the hospital as such, is in no way impaired.

The Committee believes that much closer relations might be developed between labor unions and relief agencies in dealing with many problems of poverty. It is much to be doubted whether either understands fully the advantages of this closer co-operation. The labor union stands in closest intimacy with the laboring class. The leadership in the unions is the democratic result of democratic institutions

among laboring men. The relief agency comes to the poor from outside their ranks. While it is true that a very large percentage of dependents will come from among the unorganized and unskilled rather than from the organized and skilled, nevertheless everything should be done by relief agencies and by labor unions to understand one another thoroughly and co-operate systematically. I pass over the hundred interesting questions that might be taken up in view of this suggestion and confine myself to one which is fundamental in the family, namely, wife-desertion. Can not the labor union, the labor press and the union officials do very much in helping us to deal with the problem of wife-desertion and non-support? One member of the Committee answered my inquiry as follows:

"Concerning the assistance which labor unions may give in the matter of non-support and wife-desertion, I find the point well taken. I have had practical experience with a dozen different unions in this connection. The evidence of the secretary in assisting to convict a wife-deserter has been invaluable. I find that the unions are the quickest to condemn a man who is not living up to his parental duties. We have had instances where we have traced a deserter from one state to another through his union and where through the union records we have secured data of his earnings, which have given valuable evidence in non-support cases. I believe that the representatives of the union would gladly join the relief organizations in a discussion of mutual helpfulness along these lines and also that the labor unions could and would be willingly a tremendous factor in pushing federal legislation relative to wife-desertion. I have found union representatives so drastic in their condemnation of the wife-deserter (much more so than the average judge) that I believe they would heartily rally to the support of any such bill."

The following letter from Mr. James O'Connell who was President of the International Association of Machinists for twenty years, was sent to me as the outcome of a conversation which I had with him on the matter. It is so direct and

encouraging and it reflects so creditably on the efficiency and the spirit of organized labor that I take great pleasure in presenting it herewith:

Washington, D. C., June 7, 1912.

Dear Sir:—Recalling our conversation regarding wife-desertion and the relation of organized labor to that problem, I take pleasure in writing according to my promise to you.

I was for twenty years President of the International Association of Machinists. The organization includes in its membership about 80,000 skilled mechanics. It is natural to suppose that during that long time of service I came into very close contact with our members and their families throughout the entire United States. My position as executive head of that great organization gave me more or less influence over the conduct of its members. As a result, I have received intimate confidence in hundreds of cases where domestic difficulties threatened to break up the home. The Machinists' organization keeps an individual record of its members by which it is possible at any time to locate a member in any part of the country. By this means we are enabled to trace a machinist no matter where he goes. Even if he should attempt to change his name, it is only a question of time until this deception is discovered. In this way I have in hundreds of cases. been able to run down wife-deserters and men who neglected their families and have been able to compel them to return to their wives and their children or in case of their refusal, to strike their names from the rolls of membership of the Association. What is the practice of machinists is very naturally true of all other labor organizations in the country. In addition to tracing the wife-deserter, I have been able in hundreds of cases to restore peace between husband and wife and I have had the pleasure of seeing families thus broken up, reconstructed with the happiest results.

My experience leads me to believe that intemperance on the part of the husband, extravagance on the part of the wife and temperamental disagreements, are the chief causes of wife-desertion.

In any number of cases where intemperance has been the cause of wife-desertion, I have succeeded in bringing the husband back to temperate habits and in reuniting the separated couple. When husbands have come to me to complain of the extravagance of their wives, I have been able by conferring with them together, to restore peace and to correct the condition which threatened to disrupt the family. Likewise, in hundreds of cases where disruption was threatened on account of temperamental disagreements, I have been able to show to both husband and wife the folly of such differences and it has been my good fortune to restore harmony and head off the threatened disruption.

Organized labor is performing a wonderful work in eradicating the causes which result in wife-desertion. We are endeavoring to make men more temperate and to educate husbands and wives in a way to enable them to understand the ideals which should govern the home and hold the family together in unity and happiness. By eliminating these causes of wife-desertion and of family disagreement, organized labor is performing a duty to society unequalled by any other form of organization or association in our time. It is not generally understood that organized labor aims at any reform or any high standards of family ethics. This is indeed a great mistake. The executive of a labor organization is the natural confidant of its membership. In this way he is in position to render services of a very high order in maintaining the integrity of the family.

With assurances of my great respect, I am

Very truly yours,

JAMES O'CONNELL.

The Committee voted as follows on the general question of bringing about closer co-operation with the labor unions, particularly in the matter of non-support and wife-desertion: Thirteen out of 23 members answered the inquiry; 12 expressed themselves strongly in the affirmative; one was noncommittal.

The Committee is unanimous in favor of the widest possible use of the United States Postal Savings Bank in developing the habit of thrift among the partially dependent. It is felt that all relief agencies should familiarize themselves with the organization, function and aims of the Postal Savings Bank. It is felt that we as a whole, should endeavor to encourage the United States Post Office Department to take steps at the earliest possible moment in devising ways of making known among dependent classes, the work of the Savings Bank. Beyond any question, the federal government had these classes in mind in creating the Postal Savings Bank. The limit in the amount which may be deposited, the limit placed on monthly deposits, the superstitious fear of banks found among the poor, the success of saving stamp devices already achieved by our voluntary relief agencies and the advantage of removing from the relief agency all responsibility for the stability of private savings banks, give us a series of concurrent arguments from the force of which one can with difficulty escape.

Finally, the Committee believes that it would be well to attempt to compile a booklet containing general instructions which would tend to protect the poor against their own ignorance, indifference and lack of outlook. The use of such literature by health departments in our cities and particularly in the work against tuberculosis, seems to indicate that some such booklet might serve a real purpose in re-enforcing the work of the friendly visitor. The Committee confines itself to the general suggestion. Eleven members expressed themselves on this point; nine favoring it absolutely; one favoring it conditionally; and one voting against it.

Summarizing, then, your Committee on Needy Families and Neighborhoods recommends, first, that an endeavor be made to develop a continuing program for this Committee's work. Second, that closer co-operation be aimed at with labor unions, particularly as to non-support and wife-desertion. Third, that relief agencies encourage the early development and utilization of the United States Postal Savings Bank among the partially dependent. Fourth, that endeavor

be made to compile standard booklets for the instruction of the poor. The Committee votes negatively on its Chairman's proposal to develop wider social activities around the hospital in certain specified conditions.

In concluding, I return to my original thought. This National Conference of Charities and Correction is endeavoring to build up a supplementary constitution for modern society which will take adequate care under right idealism, of those classes which are failures under our political and industrial constitutions. We should derive our inspiration from this fundamental character of our work. We should formulate our aims in its terms. We should derive our spirit of zeal, toleration, sacrifice and patience from our fundamental reverence for such an exalted mission. I believe profoundly that we are attorneys for the poor before modern civilization. Not until we shall have established the supplementary justice for which our neglected classes appeal to us, may we aquit ourselves honorably of the great responsibility which we have assumed.

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## A STATE PROGRAM IN ORGANIZED CHARITY.

Rev. C. N. Pond, Oberlin, Ohio.

### Digest.

I. The Place of a State Charity Program in the Family Section.

A definite order of procedure in behalf of the needy of all classes, to secure for them in every part of a commonwealth that combination of benevolence and business, law and gospel, science and art, personal friendship and public administration which we call organized charity, such is the aim of this program. It is a work to be accomplished not in a day or a year but to go on steadily without delay and without hurry, since the cause is age long and world wide.

1. It is appropriate in this section because every element of a good home builds up a wise charity, and every element of a wise charity tends to make a good home.

The two are inextricably interwoven. Here as elsewhere the family is the social unit. The orphan child, the homeless man or woman, though indeed a unit of humanity of inexpressible value, in the scheme of general society must be only a fraction and not a whole.

2. Also because the two are inextricably interwoven so that at every step in charity procedure the actualities and potentialities of the home must be considered.

3. Here as elsewhere, the family is the unit. An orphan child, a homeless man, a lone woman is indeed a unit of humanity, of inexpressible value. But in the scheme of society such a one is a fraction and not a whole.

II. The Aim of a State Charity Program is the Common Good.

This aim is:

1. To discover actual conditions, detect imposture, discern real want and relieve it in the wisest way without fostering pauperism.

2. Ultimately to clean up all the slums, and make grinding poverty, as one has said, "as obsolete as slavery."

3. Meanwhile, the current year, to travel as far as we can along the way toward that far-away goal.

III. General Method in a State Charity Program.

To unite the helpful forces of each community in:

1. Ascertaining and relieving immediate need; ascertaining, we say, that is, not only taking the mask from pretense but with a quick eye seeing conditions of suffering in any who are too self-respecting or too modest to ask aid which they really ought to have.

2. Curing the weaknesses and disabilities that have caused that need.

3. Preventing such weaknesses and disabilities in the future by promoting all the habits and aptitudes of general thrift.

IV. Order of Procedure in such a Program.

1. Organize the larger cities and keep them organized and ever watchful against degenerating into the lower ranges of mere relief. Every city of ten thousand people or more can well afford a salaried expert. They will save money by such investment.

2. Extend the method of co-operation to smaller populations until the rural townships themselves adopt suitable plans to prevent the mischiefs of indiscriminate giving and of professional begging.

3. Where no definite organization, though of the simplest kind, seems possible, let the ideals of organized charity be inculcated until the isolated trustee or generous private giver may observe correct principles, in fact may "organize" his own charities.

V. The Working Distinction between Essential Principles and Operative details.

1. The essential principles are universal and permanent, and must never be neglected, but detailed methods are subject to limitless local variations and adaptations.

2. The substance of what is meant by the radical terms "Organization, Investigation, Registration and Co-operation" should in some way be included in every plan of organized charity, and should definitely represent all classes among the people.

3. Hence, no name should be adopted that implies a limit either in representation or in function; such for instance as "Union Relief Society," because in the terms used that implies relief, but not cure or prevention, or "Woman's Charity Association," because that seems to shut out the men.

4. The names "Associated Charities" and "Charity Organization Society" have become well settled by usage and mean precisely what is intended in this line of endeavor.

5. The constitution or written regulations, especially in a smaller city or village, should be brief and simple, pre-

scribing only the general outlines, leaving a thousand details to be discovered by experience and settled by good judgment as they arise, and then formulated into definite rules as may prove to be needed.

VI. Auxiliary Methods in the State Program.

The above named essentials being provided, a multitude of auxiliary methods may fall into place, as needed and practicable, such as the following:

Friendly visiting.

The employment bureau.

The wood yard, sewing room or other special industry.

The savings bank, stamp savings, school savings, penny provident fund or other similar plans.

The sewing school, cooking school or other industrial training.

The visiting nurse, visiting housekeeper, or district visitor.

Loan relief, remedial loan, or people's pawn shop.

Legal aid in the poor man's rights before the law.

Housing reform, with practical provision for getting and improving a real home.

The needle-work guild.

Vacant lot gardening.

Special means for moral improvement, such as plans for school and church attendance.

VII. A State Program in Charity and the Conservation of the Family.

1. Throughout the great campaign in every city, town and township, all the workers, speakers, trustees, directors, agents, secretaries, visitors must be impressed by, and must themselves impress, the sacred duties and privileges of the family and home.

2. Wise and generous relief in straits must rescue the household from being scattered by "the wolf at the door."

3. No child or other dependent is to be taken from God's first school and sanctuary, the home, unless from sheer necessity, moral or material.

4. The deserting husband, the truant father or mother, must be suitably dealt with, persuasively and gently always, yet when needful, with the firm grip of the law.

5. Remoter kindred must, if needful, be led to make good the ties of consanguinity, it being understood that such family assistance is not charity but part of the duty and joy of life in a beautiful world like this.

VIII. The State Program and Existing Institutions.

1. In the sweep of this beneficence every beneficent institution is to be fully utilized, as there is opportunity.

The home as before named.

Civic government in township, town, city, county and State.

The church, the school and the public press.

The Salvation Army, Grand Army of the Republic, Relief Corps, and the aid society of every kind.

The hospital, asylum, infirmary, children's home.

The lock-up, jail, reformatory, prison.

The juvenile court, the junior republic, the Y. M. C. A. boys' or Y. W. C. A. girls' club, all must have proper place and recognition.

2. And this naturally carries all recognized personalities.

Parent, child and every title of kin; governor, law-giver, marshal, magistrate, judge, teacher, editor, superintendent, manager, church member, deacon, steward, elder, pastor, priest, bishop; and with these the private relations of child, neighbor, friend, pupil, laborer, voter, taxpaper. What a catalogue of institutions and personalities, all to be vitalized and unified by the inflowing of charity, that is of love.

IX. The State Program as Related to Statistics and Conditions.

1. The remarkable tables published by the Secretary of the Board of Charities under the statutes are to be fully considered.

2. Statistical blanks are to be circulated to ascertain the organization and work of the innumerable private charity associations.

3. All good done must be gladly recognized and aided if to afford any aid is possible. State Program never is to weaken any good actually in progress. Existing conditions are to be carefully ascertained. For instance, if a local society other than a true organization of all charities, is extensively useful, but does not cover the field, and yet is so jealous of any seeming interference as to stand squarely in the way of adequate organization, the problem is to ascertain that fact, and to strengthen existing good while at the same time bringing in the greater.

4. The facts and statistics obtained are to be thoroughly used. For instance, if the people of Ohio are subject to a burden of ten million dollars in cold cash for the defective, dependent, and delinquent is not this one reason why taxes are high? And if an army of over a hundred and twenty thousand, mainly of the young, yearly fill our jails, reformatories, prisons, hospitals for the insane and pauper lists of city and township relief is there not a call for a change from destructive almsgiving to constructive life-giving in true, upbuilding charity?

X. The State Program and the Dynamic of Religion.

1. True charity, developed to its best, must include the vital energy of religion.

2. To be non-sectarian does not mean, as has been said, to be a "nothingarian." Each is to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience, but that does not mean no conscience. Liberality is not indifference or license.

3. Church, cathedral, synagogue, religious society of every kind in which men embody their sacred convictions, may work for the uplift of fallen manhood. Each champion of charity is to be loyal to his own convictions in his own connection. The test is, are you willing to help a fallen brother or a fallen sister, to rise?

4. To teach temperance, obedience to law, industry and integrity, that is, to make men self-supporting and self-respecting, we must bring them to feel their duty to God. The ungodly are ever the devastators of society. The school for

instruction and the church for moral character are indispensable, and this without belittling the power of the home.

5. Everybody working according to his ability, everybody attending school according to his opportunity, and everybody worshiping God according to his conviction and duty, such is the final aim of comprehensive charity.

All this is indeed a dream. But it is based upon realities and the dream is coming true. And the program of State Charity leads us to dream and do, under the spell of a confidence that does not waste itself in rhapsodies, but expends its energies in efficient action. We do the seeming little thing that we can do now because it furthers that final divine event toward which the whole world moves.

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## THE MAINTENANCE OF THE FAMILY AS FURTHERED BY CO-OPERATION AMONG RELIEF AGENCIES.

By James F. Jackson, Director Cleveland Associated Charities.

The family in distress is the chief problem of charity. Its preservation is vital to civilized life. The distress of a family is due to a definite cause or a series of causes. Both the family in distress and society with which it is intimately related are as fully entitled to the benefit of a careful determination of the reason of that distress as is a person who has a problem requiring the services of a lawyer, a doctor, or a clergyman, because social difficulties are as serious as are those legal, physical or moral. Now, in most instances neither society itself nor the family in distress has any proper knowledge of the reasons for their mutual misery. Each one who would deal with a family is under obligations to use all means of knowing the entire problem.

Social difficulties are frequently the forerunners of difficulties legal, physical and moral, because poverty paves the way for every other ailment. If you question this fact, compare a map showing the distribution of poverty with others showing bad housing, juvenile delinquency, sickness or lax regard for religious requirements. The very fact that any weakness or deficiency brings on other weaknesses or deficiencies is a powerful reason why the applicant for charity should have the benefit of the most expert, the most effective assistance which experience has devised, the best which loving hearts can apply in the interest of the beneficiary, and for the permanent economic improvement of the body politic. To quote Sir Walter Besant's words, "It is a most expensive thing to allow people to drop and sink and we are laying a burden upon posterity if we do not continually ourselves spend and be spent in lifting them

up.'' Moreover society is entitled to have exact and scientific knowledge of the circumstances and causes out of which the troubles arise.

I would supplement the old dictum, oft quoted by certain relieving agencies, ''No matter how he got in trouble, help him,'' by adding three little words ''out of it'' so it would read, ''No matter how he got in trouble, help him out of it.'' To help out of dependence is a condition precedent to the text of the evening, i. e., to aid families in distress to live normally. For, with rare exceptions, which may for the time be disregarded, a family cannot long live normally and be dependent.

Therefore all forms of relief agencies must so deal with the unfortunate as to ameliorate or remove their difficulties, rather than to intensify or perpetuate them.

In these days of multiplied charities the removal of distress, i. e., the rehabilitation of the family, requires the co-operation of all agencies concerned, whether dominated by the State, the City, the Church or by purely private philanthropy; whether institutions or societies, public boards, or individuals. I would emphasize the need of co-operation among material relief agencies because there are so many of them. There are many relief agencies because they can exist on good intentions, old clothes and a limited amount of cash. They are easily formed, but their effects are both intensive and extensive. Their value is usually determined by the degree to which they use trained service and the degree to which they effectively co-operate with other charities.

There are two essentials to effective co-operation, mechanical and personal. No co-operation will be effective that does not utilize the mechanical device of the Charities Clearing House. I would congratulate those communities which have a Charities Clearing House, for there is no other possible way except by its use to know who else is dealing with the problem in which you are interested. And unless you discover who else is working with your problem, of course there can be no co-operation.

Having found what other agencies are dealing with a specific family problem, there is necessity for a mutual working together to develop a common plan of action for the applicant's good. The development of that common plan brings into play the personal element, the second essential to effective co-operation. After having found who else is dealing with your family the interests of the unfortunate, which first demanded the discovery of the facts, now require the use of those facts. That is, the interest of the unfortunate requires that the two or more interested agencies shall work together in mutual regard and mutual confidence to effect the family's rehabilitation. If that is not possible, at least these organizations should so work together as to develop or conserve the family's self-respect. That of itself is often as difficult as it is important. To conserve this necessary self-respect several essentials should be regarded in fairness to the recipient.

First, the recipient is entitled to have a thorough sympathetic study made of his condition, not merely to qualify him for temporary aid, but as an essential basis of continued helpful treatment. This is absolutely necessary if we would lead applicants out of their distress, rather than simply help them in their distress. The agent must find out what really caused the distress and what will enable the applicant to readjust himself to current conditions. Considering the limitations subjective and objective, how can the applicant be readjusted to meet the situation himself?

Someone must determine what forces should be applied to each separate problem. Which of the helpful agencies of the community—school, church, library, the courts or the charities—which of the vast and varied resources of government—city, county, state—shall be marshalled to re-establish the man or the family?

It is essential that the officer of any institution or society when called upon for aid should remember that he is dealing with an indvidual who is part of a family. Whether it be the hospital superintendent treating a patient, the judge considering a parole, the housewife dealing with an applicant at the door, each if they would be useful must have family rehabilitation in mind.

The cause of a boy's waywardness is usually found in a defective family life. The present policy is to correct the boy in an institution, or in another family. How much better were it possible to change the family with the boy, rather than to change the boy without the family.

A woman, over-worked, undernourished in mind and body, becomes insane, we place her in a hospital for the insane for a few years at a cost of $200 per year, and then return her to the conditions that caused her insanity.

A man goes to a hospital with desperate and constant headaches. Medicine will somewhat relieve him. But the cause is within his family, the way it lives and the way it does, and the cure is through a change in the family life. Medicine is scarcely efficient, much less sufficient.

A man is sent to prison. The wife must earn the living and neglect the children who run the streets, learning the lessons which shall in time land some of them in prison. Why should not the prison authorities at once secure the entire available social record of each inmate which in numerous instances could be furnished by the Associated Charities?

And so the story runs with every sort of institution. The individual patient or inmate is received and treated as a unit. The purpose is to do the best possible to recover him of his weakness, but he is treated as a unit. The institution misses the point. The family is the unit. No far-reaching and lasting good can be achieved unless the whole family is considered.

What are our Boards of State Charities, and our Boards of Control thinking about to neglect this vital fact? The Cleveland Associated Charities has careful records of 28,000 families with whom it has dealt in

the past eight years; it also has Clearing House cards of 14,000 additional families with whom other charities have dealt in the past three years. And yet there are not a dozen inquiries a year from our State Institutions concerning the hundreds sent to their care from Cleveland, large numbers of whom are inevitably involved in these records. This represents a grossly neglected opportunity. This neglect in Ohio typifies a general neglect either to appreciate the fullness of the problem, or to make use of the means available for its cure.

Not only do the Associated Charities, generally, possess an unworked mine of information, but it is the peculiar duty of its agents to help discover just what part each agency shall play, and just when and where each shall get in action to bring about that all important result, the rehabilitation of a temporary dependent family.

We sometimes compare the agent's investigation of the applicant to a physician's diagnosis of his patient, but that comparison is most apt when we are considering the easier problems. Every day, summer and winter, we must deal with problems which are more the counterpart of those with which the lawyer deals. When a man is out of adjustment with society or some of its members, and seeks legal advice, the lawyer cross-questions him, examines writings and witnesses, and uses his utmost efforts to discover the facts in the case. This he must do in order to determine what law applies to the case, and how his client can be readjusted and the situation relieved.

The agent of every relief agency should, in fairness to the applicant and the community, deal with a similar situation in like manner. An applicant who is out of adjustment with society, and who does not himself know what is wrong, comes for relief; the agent, like the lawyer, must discover all the facts and their inter-relation before it can be determined what social and economic laws apply, and how a re-adjustment of the applicant is to be effected.

It is as essential to fair treatment as it is to an effective co-operation that the above described examination or investigation be made available to each of the co-operating agencies either by its own trained agents, or by those of a central investigating agency. It is essential that the other relief instrumentalities utilize that comprehensive investigation in every instance unless they can make as careful and complete an examination themselves. To expend time and money otherwise is inhumane and extravagant.

It seems inconceivable that any so-called charity should content itself with a call at the home or possibly some equally superficial work when the organization assumes the serious responsibility of participating in the family concerns where there is at stake the future of the family in this life and in the life to come. Nor should a family be subjected to the indignity of calls from innumerable charity workers. Of course this indignity would not be permitted if the society fully realized what is actually done through its members or its agents. All such organizations

should utilize the best facilities of the community as adjuncts to their work. And they will when donors demand the best for their money.

In addition to an efficient investigation and adequate relief there needs to be a comprehensive plan of action calculated to get the needy out of his distress. This also can be determined by those interested, only after the aforementioned careful investigation. Again, both the unfortunate and the community are insisting that every relief agency knows just what it is about when it is dealing with each separate problem, in demanding that each organization plan its work and then work its plan.

Another factor in co-operation is a sympathetic appreciation of one another's views and methods. Successful co-operation must be based upon appreciation of one another. It is as important in charity as in manufacture or in teaching. More than one well located factory, putting out a useful product, has failed because the heads of departments were concerned exclusively in their individual successes. More than one professor fails because he is interested only in his own department, and does not concern himself with the human equation. When you regard a pupil as merely a student of Latin, you are not doing the best for your student, even in Latin.

The possession of good intentions is not sufficient warrant for the practice of law, medicine or the ministry. There is no reason why good intentions should be deemed sufficient warrant to interfere in the lives of the poor. But the willingness of interested societies to work together is now the only practicable way to protect the poor from such blundering interference. The less an agency is effective for good, the less it is willing to exchange information and join in the making and execution of constructive plans.

In banking, in merchandise, in manufacture, those working to achieve a particular result, all work together. If co-operation is essential in working with things, how much more is it essential in working with people. This need may be illustrated by the recent experience of a friend who went to a hospital for an operation. The principals in her attendance were: The surgeon who performed the operation, the family physican who had previously attended and knew the patient, the bacteriologist, the physician who adminstered the anaesthetic, the house surgeon who directed action when my friend's physician and surgeon were not present, the nurses who carried out the doctor's orders, and all co-operated to give complete treatment. Thus in medical practice they deal completely and economically with the sick patient. If co-operation is necessary in working over our bodies which we cannot make white or black, how much more important is it when dealing with people's sensitive personalities wherein are determined the issues of life and death. It is generally thought that any one can help the poor but whoever goes to assist a family in distress undertakes one of the most delicate and important acts that can be assumed. Unless she is prepared to take the entire responsibility for the family, unless she is

ready to answer at the Judgment Day for that family, then let her work with others in all honesty and singleness of heart for the improvement of its conditions, for the promotion of self-respect, for its complete rehabilitation.

If one is not willing faithfully to work with others, to co-operate with them in all fairness, let him limit his activities to those who are wholly without family life. This reduces the number to less than that of the tramps, for thousands, probably tens of thousands, even of these nomads have shunted family responsibilities to which full effective co-operation would return them in thousands of instances.

It is found in practice that, to be effective, co-operation must extend over a period of months, or possibly of years. The human life, the human soul, is a mighty important fact, and patience is essential, not only patience with the applicant, but patience one worker with another. A pressing current problem in charity, in correction and in prevention is to determine how this essential co-operation is to be achieved among all forms of agencies with their varied limitations and possibilities. In spite of mistakes, discouragements, and occasional set backs, it is encouraging to note that the principles of co-operation are being more and more widely applied. Co-operation is more and more vital.

The main object of every charity is the successful relief, the rehabilitation of the family in distress; not the credit or the glory of the agency, but the strengthening of human society through the benefit of the family in distress. The attitude of every form of relief agency needs to be objective rather than subjective. We may well apply Abraham Lincoln's statement, "Not they for us but we for them."

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## "CHARITY, THE FAMILY, AND THE MODERN SOCIAL MOVEMENT."

By Charles F. Weller, Secretary of the Associated Charities of Pittsburg.

### Is the Family Disintegrating?

The family home is venerated, rightly, as the cornerstone of our civilization. But we must recognize the fact that it is undergoing vital changes which seem almost to threaten disintegration.

Not long ago, the family epitomized the community; it was well nigh complete and self-sufficient. But the factory system has taken away the home industries and its bread-winners must work elsewhere. Not only the adult men, but the daughters, often the children, not infrequently the mothers themselves, are employed from eight to twelve hours daily away from home.

Family discipline in difficult cases is now shared or usurped by juvenile courts, probation officers, reformatories and industrial schools.

Medical treatment; the nursing of the sick; the birth of babies and the care of infants, are assumed or shared in rapidly increasing ratio by hospitals and dispensaries.

Schooling has long since become a public function, from kindergartens to high schools, trade schools, colleges and professional schools.

Custodial homes for defectives and, for normal children, day nurseries, orphan asylums and the extensive placing of dependent children in foster households, suggest that the natural home is not so final, so inviolate, as it used to be.

### Many Home Activities Removed.

The making and repair of garments, shoe shining, manicuring, hair dressing, reading, recreation, amusement, the enjoyment of pictures or of music, sanatoria for the weary; in short, a great many of the activities which formerly centered in the family have largely become public or semi-public functions.

If some one suggests that the begetting of posterity is the final, inalienable purpose of family life, it is interesting to note how largely courtship is crowded out of unattractive tenements into dance halls, parks and other public places; while apartment houses, restaurants, hotels, servant girl problems, late marriages, bachelor maids, working women, divorces, desertions and "race suicide," roll up a great weight of evidence and influence against the ancient family home.

### Spiritual Issues Clarified.

Surely, what remains must be spiritual. Of the material, formal functions of the family, many are proving non-essential.

To me, it seems that the family home is not undergoing disintegration, but readjustment. Its social content is enlarging. Its essentials are being clarified. And in these essentials of the home there is now demanded, more than ever before, the conscious, voluntary co-operation of its members. It is necessary that the family life, with its beautiful potentialities, shall be discovered and won by the free spirits who inhabit it.

### Consequent Responsibilities.

Charity's responsibility for the maintenance and strengthening of family life is not lessened, but increased, by these considerations. If so many influences threaten family dissolution, charity must not augment their power. If spiritual issues are the final essence of the home life, philanthropy must emphasize responsibility and co-operative activities.

Let charity be diligent, therefore, to encourage and enlighten all the loyal responsibilities of father, mother, growing sons and daughters and even little children.

### Destruction by Relief.

Specifically, the kindly givers of material alms have strewn their pathways, throughout history, with the family wreckage of deserted

wives, vagabond fathers, irresponsible kinsfolk, ill-mothered infants. Better that the doles which weaken twenty families should be united to provide such personal service and such adequate relief as will vitalize one home. Let the charitable become less like the ostrich which believes it is concealed when only its head is hidden in the sand. Let charitable people be less eager to assuage superficial sympathies by the temporary relief of need. Let them address themselves resolutely to the basic problems of the spirit, realizing that gifts of food and fuel are unkind if human souls be thereby lost or weakened.

### A Criticism of the Least-Material Relief.

How the customary charities of a community should be influenced by the conscious desire to preserve spiritual values in the family, may be indicated by considering one of the least material forms of popular philanthropy. Christmas charity, for example, is not commonly recognized as an offender against family life. It is so beautiful, this spirit of good will which prompts to generous Christmas giving, that men forget how much more wholesome it is to give than to receive, even on holidays. At "Neighborhood House" in the National Capital, we observed that a considerable proportion of the poor people round about lost the joy of planning and working together for Christmas because they had been taught to look to strangers for their toys and feasts.

The common splurge of Christmas giving, this mad carnival through which undeveloped Charities appeal for popular support, this tardy search for some ragged family to feed once and then forgot forever—does it not have spiritual dangers which overbalance its material importance? It may be good—though not really very good—for the giver, but it is often a deterrent to family wholesomeness among the poor. It exemplifies the general fact that beauty, significance and power of spirit may be sacrificed—easily and ignorantly—for a mess of pottage.

### Destructive Irreligion.

Thus the worst materialism of all, the deadliest infidelity, may lurk in that charity which—while inevitably producing spiritual consequences—is carelessly indifferent to the real issues of character, self-expression and family loyalty.

Why does the charitable impulse throw so many people into a blind trance, unseating their normal understanding of humanity? In these very days, when the popular novels and short stories show how general is the appreciation of real life, the majority of resourceful people still think of "the poor" as mainly stomachs to be filled and backs to be covered, rather than as lives to be enlarged. They disregard the infinite richness, color, tragedy, comedy, pathos, individuality, which are the inalienable characteristics of needy families, as of all others. One goes through the "slums" as he travels in foreign climes, seeing through a glass, darkly, conscious of poverty as a picture only, not as diversified, detailed, life-grinding reality.

### Spiritual Issues Paramount.

And yet, among the poor are some of the strongest springs of life—broad sweeps of impulse, comparatively unimpeded by introspection, foresight or self control. Thus working men will plunge their families into want in manifesting loyalty to a labor union cause. In the same spirit they were the first to move for international fellowship.

### Much of Our Charity Were Better Discontinued.

In contrast to such vital facts of human experience, charity, in too many instances, views its beneficiaries as flat people, with only two dimensions. When philanthropy should be co-operating, appreciatively, with the vital life forces of the family, it is too often befogging and diverting them.

And, after all, what good are these charitable doles? Did a basket of food occasionally, an old coat, an uncertain dollar, ever build or revolutionize a life? Possibly, in the past days of neighborliness, a smile or handclasp went with the gift and made it vital. But many almoners have yet to realize the ptomaine poisoning of the spirit which is one of the commonest effects of dead, charitable canned goods. Inevitably, unless the spirit moves with your alms, they must weaken and degrade.

Indeed, it were well for the souls of men if the giving of doles could be stopped entirely. Even if no substitutes were available, I should say—deliberately, after sixteen years' experience—the poor would be benefited by the abolition of all unplanned, inadequate relief.

Obviously, I am not condemning, but advocating, the modern conception of "adequate relief," or the courageous, efficient use of as much money as is really needed to sustain and enlarge, instead of weakening and bewildering, the life forces and activities of a needy household. For such "adequate relief" especially, the prime requisite is competent personal service.

### Suggestive Examples.

Need instances be cited to indicate the dangers of family disintegration which infect a large proportion of contemporary charity? Many charitable agencies and individuals in numerous cities still extol their interest in material relief as opposed to "administrative expense"—or personal service. Thus the leading, old, honored general relief society of a great city boasts, in 1912—while holding itself aloof from auxiliary agencies for personal service—that of every dollar contributed, eighty-six cents go in direct alms to the needy. What more needs to be said concerning the social consciousness of thousands who still endorse such an appeal? And yet, do not all Charity Organization workers throughout the country encounter similar misunderstandings of the poor and of their needs?

### To Reverse "the Burden of Proof."

(1) My first suggestion, therefore, is as follows: Is it not time for a more resolute attack upon these misinterpretations of needy people and their problems? Ought we not to make the issue clearer in the public mind? Should we merely continue the patient efforts to add something vital, gradually, to these dole-giving charities? Instead, might we not persuade our Charities Endorsement Committees and other exponents of public judgment to declare themselves definitely against any philanthropic work which is not accompanied by adequate personal service?

Such definite attempts at standardization are already to be seen in the charitable field of placing dependent children in family homes. Here a clear tendency is observable—in law and other expressions of public opinion—to require that certain minimum standards of competent personal service shall prevail.

Similarly, in the contemporary movement for the Organization of Charity, ought we not to shift the "burden of proof"? It rests now upon the modern Associated Charities or Charity Organization Society which is constantly required to prove that its "administrative expenses" are justifiable. May we not reverse this and teach the public to demand, instead, that charities of the other type shall justify their inadequate administrative expense—that they shall be discountenanced unless they show that adequate, competent personal service determines and accompanies their material aid to the poor? I sometimes feel that we have "turned the other cheek" long enough; that we ought, now, to force the fighting in behalf of the modern principle of competent, employed service.

### Employed Advocates of the Poor.

(2) My second suggestion is that, as a means to such an end, we should talk less about our charities and more about the poor. If our communities can be educated to understand the real needs of dependent families, they may judge for themselves whether the various charities fit those needs. That the Charity Organization Movement is right in its emphasis upon constructive investigations, records, a confidential exchange, co-operation and preventive measures, will be shown most readily and conclusively by studying and reporting the actual conditions of the needy.

Might it not be wise to reverse the usual procedure by leaving to less expensive employes the problems of organization and finance, while our general secretaries and the highest paid workers of our societies are concentrated mainly upon case work and its interpretation to the community?

### Of, For and By the Poor Themselves.

(3) Thirdly; Is not the time ripe, also, for one further step? After forty-three years or more of the Charity Organization Movement, are

we not ready to recognize and strengthen another tendency which is already observable?

Thus far our best work has been to affect the lives of needy families individually. Might we not treat them also in groups and neighborhoods?

Our best achievements have been won by organizing resourceful people in behalf of the poor. Why not organize the poor themselves, in their own behalf?

The well-to-do we have enlisted—as contributors, whose money is transmuted into employed service—and as volunteers, whose work in committees, Friendly Visitors' Conferences and other ways, may benefit individual families. Also we have organized resourceful people into social movements for playgrounds, summer outings, anti-tuberculosis crusades, preventive legislation, the reduction of child labor and the improvement of housing conditions.

Why may we not stimulate and organize poor families themselves to help win—for themselves and for their neighbors—the enlarged and ennobled family life which democracy demands?

### Social Settlements and Related Efforts.

Social Settlements have progressed somewhat in this direction. Their clubs, classes, social gatherings and interpretations of neighborhood needs, have discovered paths along which all charity should advance. The playground movement has already made social settlement methods, in some cities, an organic function of municipal government. Social workers have also helped to stimulate and guide labor union movements and other organized strivings of the people themselves for enlargements of the common life.

### A New Key Note for Philanthropy.

Is not this to be a dominant key note for charity in the twentieth century? Shall philanthropy alone remain aristocratic, while other social forces are becoming "of the people, by the people, for the people"? Shall it not change its ladders to bridges, its word "for" to "with"?

May not charity summon the universal religious instincts, the growing sense of brotherhood, the enlarging ideals of democracy—to inspire and co-ordinate those efforts which groups of poor families need to make together, for the elimination of common obstructions and the realization of common opportunities? Resourceful people need not be excluded from such organizations; they would best be community efforts; but we need to emphasize the inclusion of the poor themselves in the movements which are especially designed for their benefit.

### Not as Self-Conscious Paupers.

This does not imply that charity's beneficiaries should develop class consciousness as such. Indeed, my small experiences in organizing groups of dependent families indicate that the weakest and poorest will

not so regard themselves when brought together. Self-respect is too instinctive. American communities, at least, are as yet but little pauperized. And, you cannot assemble a group of the poorest people without including a goodly number who have never asked for alms.

### Take the Family as the Unit.

An essential feature was the fact that families were the units. Men, women and their children met together—ostensibly for entertainment, but also to consider common problems and opportunities, which no one of these three groups could master by itself.

(4) My fourth suggestion is this: I am sure we have not, even in our most democratic philanthropy, sufficiently emphasized the family—the whole, diversified family—as the unit of our endeavors. Instead of married men and women having their social activities apart, while the children are drawn off to separate playgrounds, we might often plan recreation and other activities for the three groups together. Each will draw the other, for God made it so. Have we employed adequately the signal powers of children to lead and co-ordinate their parents?

### Self Activity as the Purpose.

It is generally agreed—is it not?—that the central, dominant purpose of modern charity is to enlarge and improve the activities of its beneficiaries. Dr. Cabot phrases it, "to minister to character in adversity." Others say, "to promote self-support and wholesome home life"; others, "to up-build the poor." If such is our purpose—this betterment or strengthening of the self-activities of our applicants—should not larger use be made of organized self-expression by groups of needy families?

Should they not form auxiliary or original organizations for the abolition of child labor, of preventable diseases, vicious influences, destructive politics and vile living conditions? Should not the conscious betterment of home life be adopted as the organized purpose of groups of families who themselves need such improvement? Already one could point to some spontaneous efforts in this direction.

### Can the Name "Charity" Suffice?

(5) A fifth suggestion seems unavoidable; such democratic movements as I have pictured cannot well be organized under the title "Charity." The poor, and nearly all the rest of us, abhor that word. Indeed, has not the value of the ancient name—in drawing together the followers of older philanthropic ideals—been sufficiently realized? Have we not spent enough of time and labor in redefining "charity"? Would it not be better now to choose another title—like "Service," for example, or "Co-operation"—which shall be free to define itself by the activities which it enrolls? Our leaders have often said they would gladly exchange the name "Charity," if only something better could be suggested. Why not "The League for Service"?

### A Brief Vision of the Future.

Finally, let us get a vision, for a moment, inadequately, of what it will mean to society when part of the splendid force of personal service that charity has enlisted is diverted from the organization of the resourceful to the organization of the poor.

In that way the great labor union movement may be broadened to include less specialized workers, more of conscious self-improvement and more generous social service. Socialism, in its immediate, practical application, may be advanced. Universal suffrage may find some of its best effects among those who have shared least in the advancing activities of the common life. Religion and the church may win that democratic content for lack of which they languish.

Thus charity shall realize more fully its ambition for self-effacement. It may be swallowed up—transmuted—into the organized power of human brotherhood to win for itself—and for all its members, together—a larger realization of co-operative, loyal, wholesome family life.

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## CASE WORK AS A FACTOR.

By Miss Mary Goodwillie, Baltimore.

I wish to speak of casework as a factor in the maintenance of the family, to point out some of the dangers which threaten it and to make one or two practical suggestions as to how casework may be developed to a higher point of efficiency.

I have a Socialist friend who prefaces any argument on the subject nearest her heart by saying: "Of course all *intelligent* people *are* Socialists."

I wish that we could say that all intelligent people believe in the principles which modern charity is trying to teach—or that all who believe, act on them.

I think that we can safely say that the number of people who now see the connection between careless, indiscriminate almsgiving and the family wreckage of which Mr. Weller has spoken, is growing every year. Also we can say that more people are eager to make their gifts of money and service of real and permanent value to those whom they seek to help and are looking for leaders to show them how. The leaders they trust are not those who talk, never so beguilingly, about family rehabilitation, but those who can point to families saved from physical and moral disaster.

The little home where a widowed mother is bringing up her four boys to be sturdy, obedient, useful citizens is no miracle of charity. The pension which has been given her for the past five years, may be counted by hundreds of dollars; but the happy result is a triumph of case work. The steady rise in the intelligence, efficiency and character of the whole family is the result, first of knowledge and insight on the

part of the case worker and secondly, of a multitude of small tasks patiently and faithfully done. The careful watch that has been kept over the health and schooling of the children; the education of the mother in their physical and moral care; the sympathetic hearing and wise advice which were ready for each crisis; the winning of confidence and trust; the wearing away of prejudice; the enlightening of stupidity—all this was not done in a day or without many discouragements. But of such bricks is built the solid structure of family life! And the case worker is at once the architect and the humble bricklayer.

So the first thing that I would say about case work is that it must be *done,* and it must be done better and better, with more originality and flexibility as our knowledge and skill grow.

Every year we are seeing more deeply into the possibilities of case work—we are learning to make finer adjustments as our knowledge is increased by the work of psychiatric clinics, by Societies for the Prevention of Infant Mortality and of Tuberculosis; by workers in the field of vocational guidance, etc.

To my mind there are two great hindrances in the development of case work. In the first place we have not nearly enough people who are capable of doing this highly specialized work of family diagnosis and family treatment. Each year the number of social workers increases by the hundreds while the proportion of case workers increases far more slowly and is wholly inadequate to the demand.

Some way must be found to increase the opportunities for training in this practical field. The class work and lectures in the schools of philanthropy furnish only a part of this training; the other part cannot be done in classes but must be passed on from one individual to another. This is met by the schools in their field work, but how limited are those opportunities in comparison with the number of workers who should be trained!

I quite agree with Mr. Weller that our highest paid workers—by which I take it he means our best—should be concerned with case work, but I feel that it is on the training of case workers that their efforts should be concentrated. There are two obstacles in the way of this more extensive training—this conserving of case workers. One is the lack of money. Most training is done on fellowship for which only small funds are available. With the growing standard of case work and the growing demand for case workers in all agencies dealing with families and individuals, is not the time ripe for fellowships for training in case work similar to research fellowship? And for such fellowships must we not look to endowments or special gifts to help out the already overburdened treasuries of Charity Organization and other Societies?

The second practical obstacle is the comparatively small number

of workers, who are capable of giving training of a high order. I am inclined to think, however, that there are more workers who are fully able to furnish training than are at present being used, and it is a waste that we can ill afford, to have one good case worker who is not passing on to some one else her spirit of careful, patient investigation, her acquired insight into the lives and motives of others, her skill and resourcefulness in organizing the forces of rehabilitation.

Now the second hindrance in the development of case work arises after we have trained our worker. The same difficulty is met with in medical dispensaries, in schools or in any field where patient, permanent, discriminating work is done for the individual. To every case worker comes far more work than she can do even reasonably well, let alone superlatively well. The danger is that in getting through the daily routine, she will drop into a rut; that while doing good, conscientious work, she will do nothing of a high order and the standard will gradually become mediocre.

I would make the suggestion that every case worker should select a certain number of families for intensive work—that on these cases should be put her finest effort. In this way she will test and develop her powers and keep a high standard before her. She will keep her mind fresh and original instead of allowing it to become dulled by the hopelessness of numbers. The selection of cases might be made along several lines; families to whom pensions are being given; families under discussion by district committees; or in charge of friendly visitors, or all these groups combined. Selection might also be made of special types such as widows with young children, or deserted wives. This latter plan is valuable for study, but not quite as stimulating for the development of case work as it lacks variety.

The ideal is of course, the small district where every family receives the maximum of care and study and where familiarity and understanding of local conditions shed an illuminating ray on individual problems. This is a far off ideal and must, for the present, be dismissed as impracticable by most of us without the backing of endowment funds. The Russell Sage Foundation in connection with the Charity Organization Society is trying it out with striking success in the Clinton District, in New York.

My plea is for the highly specialized worker whose field is the rehabilitation and maintenance of the family. As I see it, there are two main currents which tend to bear the worker away from her specialty. One is the administering of an emergency relief fund. Most societies which exist for the relief of distress are handling a relief fund. Many Charity Organization Societies which began without one have found it to the best interests of their community to take over such a fund.

To the good case worker material relief is merely one factor in treatment. There come times, however, when the pressure of work and of unenlightened public opinion, seems to make her forget that

her business is laying the careful foundations of family life and forces her to become a giver of doles. At such times the worst harm is done, not to the discouraged, overtried case worker, not to those whose material needs have been met and their other needs ignored; but to the public mind which feels that splendid charity work has been done.

It does not take a disaster, a panic, a strike or a cold snap to test our ability to withstand this dangerous current. Mr. Weller has spoken of our use of Christmas. Here is a holiday deeply connected with family life. Do we use it for the strengthening of family ties? Do we make its gifts symbolic of family affection? Do we encourage parents and children to plan together for a festival in the home? Do we turn the attention of the generous public to some permanent good which their gifts can accomplish? Or do we keep alive the spirit of Christmas gamble by leaving anonymous baskets on door steps, by scattering candies and oranges and tin trumpets broadcast, by planning that little children shall have their only fun at some public entertainment, while the tired mother has no share in the season of joy and the lazy father no responsibility in providing it? Is not the current of indiscriminate, unthinking Christmas giving often too strong for us?

The other dangerous current which threatens to bear the case worker away from her special work of family rehabilitation, is the temptation to take a hand in the many attractive schemes for social betterment. There are so many things which we should like to see done, or which others would like us to do—legislative campaigns for better laws for women and children; the organizing of neighborhood forces to act for neighborhood good; the forming of all sorts of clubs and classes, etc. Each may be excellent, essential to better conditions and to each let the case worker give her sympathy and encouragement and such help as she can give from her knowledge and experience, but as a leader or an organizer let her keep clear of them all!

The moment her energies are diffused, that moment her power as a case worker is gone. Unless the case worker can steadily withstand these two currents and stand firmly on her own ground, she will not be the factor in the building of family life which she has the power to become. No large social programs, such as Mr. Pond outlines, can be effective without her. Indeed her work is the beginning and end of all social programs. The facts which she has for many years carefully accumulated should be the foundation of every forward movement in the interest of the family—while to her in the end will fall the task of bringing to the family the higher social life of the community.

The good case worker is a pearl of great price. Let us train her, let us guard her, let us follow her and let us help her with money and with service.

## NEIGHBORHOOD WORK AND DAY NURSERIES.

By Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, New York.

Among the problems which command the attention of sociologists and philanthropists today, none are more serious than those which directly or indirectly affect the home, for the family and the home are the institutions in greatest danger from the increasingly stringent conditions of industrial life, the overcrowding of our cities, the many problems brought by the horde of ignorant alien population not yet adapted to the new life and its best ideals.

In some industries, the indifference to human life, added to these, casts a burden of support either upon the state in the increasing number of dependents becoming a public charge, or upon the charitably disposed in every community.

The most pathetic figure in the busy world today is the mother, compelled by any one of a thousand accidents, illness or other misfortunes to become the breadwinner of the family, and the children of the unfriended working-woman are a serious menace to the state.

The working mother may be assisted in her difficulties regarding the children in several ways. She may be fortunate in having a member of the family who can relieve her while away; she may possibly be assisted by some pension system; she may place her children in an institution thereby depriving them of home and mothering, or, if one is at all accessible she may place the younger children in a Day Nursery, for her working hours, thus having them with her in the home evenings, Sundays and holidays. Assistance in the family may be satisfactory as to loving care, but where is the child's play ground and who are his associates? The institution in some cases is indeed the only solution, in a decreasing ratio let us hope, for though a noble and loving work is often done, one cannot but deplore loving and training in platoons as a substitute for that double right to home and mother of which the institution child is thus wholly deprived.

The pension system has advantages, and is well enough theoretically, if the plain ordinary mother possesses even a fair proportion of the qualities desirable in every mother, but even so ardent and experienced an advocate of the pension system as Dr. Lee K. Frankel has said, "We cannot solve all the problems by a system of pensions, I have no hope of that, and I realize the absolute need of a system of caring for the children of mothers who work."

If then the mother's helper, the institution and the pension system do not entirely meet the need, there remains a large field for the Day Nursery to occupy.

At the Day Nursery Federation Conference in 1900, Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell gave information which threw a flood of light on the largely increased demand for more nurseries. The facts re-

garding the commitment of children to institutions had become so striking that in an effort to prevent the breaking up of families on account of poverty only, the then Commissioner of Charities, Mr. John W. Keller, New York City, gladly assented to the request that a representative of the Charity Organization Society should examine the records regarding such children. This has now become a part of the routine work of the organization, but at that time, having been in operation only about two years, 1145 children had been saved from institutions and kept with their mothers. Quoting Mrs. Lowell, "Even where the Charity Organization Society has secured the rent, the mother has to provide food, and here comes in the demand for Day Nurseries. A woman who supports her children cannot give them adequate care beside, so that if she is to be the bread-winner, others must step in and help in the daily care of the children, or they suffer in every way."

Miss Wald of the Nurses Settlement says, "We have been roused to a sense of the wrong to both, in separation for reasons of poverty, and the facts prove that there is a true demand following the effort to spare the family and the state. Day Nurseries we must have, not as panaceas for economic evils but as immediate relief to the sufferers therefrom."

One cannot treat as separate problems, mother, child and home. No woman can make her application without in some way revealing at once a measure of the domestic situation, a friendly visit is an entering wedge and a tactful visitor knows how to gain confidence. The benefits conferred upon the child in the nursery throw open wide the door of opportunity. Here is where the great advance in the requirements for a good matron has helped not only in administration, but has assisted greatly in the expansion of the work toward the neighborhood idea. Beside personal high character the qualities required include the love for children, administrative ability, tactfulness and thoroughness in investigation, sympathetic interest in both mothers and children, and wisdom to meet the contingencies which cannot await the decision of a Board of Managers; in fact a combination of virtues and ability which are required in the best settlement worker. When all these qualifications are found in a woman who has been trained in nursing so much the better, otherwise there should be a trained nurse directly or indirectly connected with the staff. The matron should have a sufficient corps of workers to give her time not only for necessary investigation, but for friendly visits in cases of illness or slack work. She should be a sufficiently keen observer to detect ordinary fraud, and experience has proved that the right kind of matron is the best possible investigator.

Here is the first great factor in the many features of Day Nursery work which conserve family life and expand the scope of our work—for, far beyond the primary idea of shelter, care and food for babies

up to three years of age, has the work of our nurseries grown—until where space and means allow they are doing a vast amount of neighborhood work. One earnest manager averred, "I hardly dare smile upon the nursery baby, lest I shall be led into some movement for the re-arrangement of the inter-stellar spaces," for no Board of Managers can maintain the attitude in the scope of its own nursery "thus far shalt thou go and no farther." The claims of the child and of the home have been met far beyond the anticipations of the earliest Day Nursery Managers, and it is no mistaken claim that this movement is the most fundamental agency in the training of future citizens—for beginning with the baby in arms its protection is thrown over the child not only through kindergarten age, but where space and means allow through after school classes in dancing, games, sewing, cooking, carpentry, metal work, providing libraries, etc., a guiding hand is kept, frequently until the period of self-support begins.

The basic rule of assistance for deserted women or widows obliged to work underlies all Day Nursery work, but industrial conditions have changed to such an extent that exceptions must be made and there are now more cases where father and mother are working. The low prices paid for unskilled labor, the scarcity of work for men in some communities where women find no difficulty in obtaining employment, illness or partial physical disability of husbands, are all factors in determining cases, always deemed exceptions in admitting children whose parents are living together, such cases being thoroughly and continually investigated. Considering this principle, there should be and are few very young infants in our care, but infants there are and it is often through this tiny one that the nursery has its opportunity to furnish the mother, perhaps for the first time in her life with systematic instruction is the first principles of hygenic care of the child, herself and the home. In not many instances are these advances repulsed on the ground that our mothers' ways are good enough for us, or that these are troublous new ideas. Most mothers are genuinely anxious to learn the best ways and the wise matron meeting the mothers morning and evening has endless occasions to inculcate better ideas. The well fed, contented, clean baby is an object lesson without need of words and a few experiments in following the matron's advice teach their lesson.

Definite instructions are given by bathing and dressing baby in mother's presence and though the home equipment may be pitifully inadequate to wholly attain the desired end many brave efforts are made. Instruction in feeding, preparing milk in bottles to be taken home for overnight feeding, so that the baby may have the same modification as is used through the day, has doubtless saved the life of many an infant. Such succulent dainties as bananas, ham bone, or tea, coffee, beer in nursing bottles, have been found in chubby baby hands,

and the unwise feeding over Sunday with children of all ages, is perceptible on Monday in every nursery.

It is a fact that some maternity hospitals dismiss mothers with babies of ten days. Few nurseries receive them as young as this and the Federation is urging upon the nurseries some system for keeping the mothers at home for as many weeks or months as possible in order to nurse and care for their babies at home. It has long been the custom to encourage mothers to come to the nursery at noon to nurse their babies, when this is possible.

Some concerted action in this direction must be taken which will lead to another development in nursery administration. At the recent Conference of Day Nurseries held in St. Louis, a most interesting and important contribution to this subject was given by Dr. Caroline Hedger, of Chicago, in a paper on "Medical Aspects of Day Nurseries." Dr. Hedger showed tables indicating the difference in development and also of mortality between breast fed and bottle fed babies, and said: "It takes mother-love, mother arms, mother breast and considerable common sense to grow a human properly for the first nine months, and no institution no matter how scientific nor philanthropic can replace these things. You must do your share to educate on this point and if you will persistently demand relief of relief societies until seven or eight or nine months is past, according to the condition of the baby, you will be a tremendous factor for good."

As the child grows into kindergarten age his powers for influence in the home increases with the development of his powers of observation and his growing experience in the comforts of nursery life. The gay paper creations, the geometric stitched designs decorating the rooms, the spirit of gentle play, the songs, all become a part of the home atmosphere. Superhuman efforts have been made by many mothers to overcome old habits and ignorance and to supply some refinements of home life that the critical eyes and tongue of the child may not draw too sharp contrasts between home and nursery. Most mothers too, are sensitive to the improvement in cleanliness, good habits and manners acquired by their children, and frequently a moral and social uplift is evident in a desire to live up to the higher standard in which their children are being educated. The Nursery Matron has presented for her attention in her sympathy with the families, nearly every problem of home economics. The importance of proper food is a trifle which has too frequently never engaged the interest of the nursery mother. If she has means to procure it, does she know how to cook the simplest dishes? She does not. Therefore cooking classes with instructions as to where and how to buy. One nursery employs a domestic science teacher to whom the mothers go with many of their difficulties and her work in the home is most valuable.

The moral effect of garters, buttons and how to make and mend

were never a part of her education and sewing classes are instituted. Acquaintance with the scrubbing brush she may have as a means of livelihood, but many have not, and one nursery is kept immaculate by the instructions in such practical work there. The difficulty of laundry work in tenement homes is appalling and a nursery in Chicago has extensively laundry facilities where the women may bring their own work regularly and be shown how to do it properly—not only this, but the work of their private patrons they may do there when once skill is acquired.

Another nursery by the earnest co-operation of the managers has made a systematic effort to train the mothers in general domestic skill so that they may find employment in homes, in order to keep out of factory life, not only as being more healthful, but in order to give them different ideals for their own homes and such help as the personal, friendly interest of the mistress may provide.

Probably no happier element in home development is provided than the Nursery Mothers' Meetings held usually once a month. Custom varies as to the nature of these. In Boston illustrated talks on American History, or familiar pictures of their own native countries have been given; others provide a short talk on some point where instruction is needed for themselves, their children or their homes. Others give chiefly entertainments, dancing or games. One manager in New York was inspired by the happy thought of taking a party of mothers to the Hippodrome and again to have them enjoy the delights of Luna Park at Coney Island. On this last occasion they exhibited the delight of children, their cares and burdens fell from them and the pleasure of that day remains a joy in memory.

On some occasions fathers have been invited to the mothers' meetings. Some of them have provided music for the evening. Healthy social instincts have been fostered by encouraging the mothers to allow the older children to have their playmates sometimes in their own rooms, as an offset to the modern club spirit, which, while doing an immense work for social betterment draws away from the home.

Mothers have been invited to bring their native handiwork to exhibit to managers to encourage proper pride in their own skill. In fact everything that the ingenuity of the sympathetic womanly mind can devise has somewhere been done to give encouragement to overburdened, ignorant or discouraged mothers, to provide some joy in their joyless lives.

Discouragements are many in the fight against absolute ignorance of the first principles of cleanliness or sanitation in the home, and in the endeavor to restore ambition to those utterly cast down, but there is no work more productive of success because it begins with the plastic mind of the child, usually before vice or unfortunate environment has made too deep an impression. Dr. Elgin R. Gould, of the New York City Tenement House Commission, has said: "The Day

Nursery is classed in the category of preventive philanthropy because it deals with the home. The home is the character unit of society and upon its character depends whether we have good citizenship or bad, whether society becomes increasingly a prey to various forms of social degeneration and conduct, it is fundamental also because it deals with the child.'' The state recognizes the necessity for education, after a certain age, usually not later than six years, but the mind acquires a vast amount of knowledge during the first six years of life. Fully realizing this truth, the aim of our nurseries is not only to care for the physical well being, but to use every agency which means permit, toward character building and in the endeavor to develop the child's own resources. In so far as this is accomplished is the child the better fitted to become in his time, a parent, the head of a new home which should surely be one more unit toward social betterment and public economy.

Patience and broadmindedness are needed to pursue the given task, encouraged by the knowledge that many sociologists and philanthropists have recognized in the Day Nursery, the earliest educational influence in the training of otherwise neglected children for good citizenship, and the most valuable medium for conservation of the home in the class among whicht it labors.

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## EXPENDITURES OF THE POOR.

By Mrs. Wm. E. Gallagher, President of St. Mary's Settlement and Day Nursery, Chicago. (Condensed.)

### Abstract.

Why, emphasize expenditures of the poor? Are those expenditures so widely different from those of groups of society, in better financial circumstances? What are those expenditures? What governs them? What meets them? What influences tend to increase or diminish them? In the hope of relieving, where is the best place to begin?

Are there any helpful influences at present? Are they adequate? Giving the subject, careful and earnest consideration, two essentials seem lacking in the poor: namely, education and individuality. Finding the largest percentage of poor, to be of foreign birth, adds a difficulty, in the necessity for learning language, customs, etc., of the adopted country. Different nationalities live very unlike one another except as to close quarters, and to this unfortunate crowding is due much of the unsanitary conditions, careless habits, imitation, ill health, loose morals and loss of individuality.

Undoubtedly then the greatest need in this connection is that of education. Not only in the methods of purchase, etc., but still more in

the value of the objects bought, but they may no longer yield that money for that which is our bread.

Will it not be very necessary in some way to educate more farmers' customers and dealers in the necessaries of life that "Live and let live" is a good axiom that does not weigh and lose to sell cheaper is a poor one that does it well, to make large contracts to save agents' charges or other such profits, it is wise to pay little more than the market prices, to pay a little more for produce by buying smaller packages of food which will have quality to please each family, that is the poor customer the larger profits by number of small sales and cannot afford the same expert and consideration as the so-called wealthy customer, whose expenditure is his fortune and his object to waste?

Is there not a chance to assist some by that proof of honesty in weights, punctuality, as customers of all times in coming for it, to ensure the sellers supply, that the poor neighbour who cannot buy what you sell is made by some economical charity better off?

Education is needed not for the poor alone but for classes to study the "why" which governs many of life and trade in particular the great waves put upon employers of the working classes by high prices in food, clothing and general furnishing here by the exports and, all the way of supplying the under a little lower in the money scale.

The expenditures of the poor in the main are for daily bread and other articles. Over the middle latter ways and wages in places—some grocers in small milk, light beer, tea and tea—because the latter are often the two and a half weekly wages paid for articles. The grocery and business customer thereby benefited that the foods fluctuations for the customer in wage of other daily purchases, as meat, coals, bonnet of pay. The purchases I and it cost clothes, and to all the way frequently be either, the weekly sell from the book, the purchase, making or furniture others for goods wages or time and often were not, before sale cash, or a reduction had of the customer taken on or the bad end, which of course the dealer never explained, so as to be understood, what customers was made. It, the poor customers the social part of the powers farmer by the scale of distribution and sale.

Food purchases of the poor are generally made at the outer grocery where the poor cannot carries a balance due poor is and out, and what about the good customer? Either prices for other, for example is many food products should three and fourth grade if possible to pay cost of short weights and measure.

What number of days the Londoners or Wigan and Yorkshire dwellers? Reports of these conditions proved nearly five per cent. grown in six all that of March, 1912, about double that was—and the work is beginning many times for lack of fuel to just cause two and other proper regulation is dealt by a modified employment of

interests. An item noted as to scales and measures may be cited. 4,464 scales tested, 987 of that number condemned. Liquid measures, 8,597 examined 3,715 condemned; milk bottles tested, 628,060, out of that number 23,105 condemned. Notice some time, inconspicuously placed on apple barrel—the word "short." It means barrel size, not up to standard, but the stamp "short" makes the owner immune from law. How few buyers notice the "short"?

Federal laws are vitally necessary, to cover interstate commerce, but state legislation must lead to it, and this work the Convention on Weights and Measures reports.

Formerly, a bar of laundry soap was supposed to weigh a pound—now a bar of American Family weighs eleven ounces. A pound raisin package quite moist, allows 1-2 ounce for the package. A pound package of pop corn weighs 2 ounces short, with instructions on package: "Keep in cool moist place." Why? Saratoga Chips (pound package) allows but 1-2 ounce for package.

Rolled oats package marked 22 ounces, 1 ounce allowed as package weight. Baking soda pound allows 1-2 ounce for cover. A quart of molasses with can weight 14 1-2 ounces. A package of Minute Tapioca marked 10 ounces net, actually proved. Note this company of Orange, Mass.

Is it wise to have associated charities take entire charge of needy families, furnish supplies, and take all responsibility out of the so-called uneducated hands? Where would any permanent uplift come in such arrangement, and would it not be increasing dependency and pauperism?

If strong physical conditions pre-suppose healthy minds, and consequent moral lives, the nit is wise to encourage the wholesome penny-lunch scheme adopted in some schools for the lesson afforded, as well as the nourishment received; to advance, wherever possible, public playgrounds and recreation centers and their numerous activities, with competent teachers, fresh air sanitariums for summer baby illnesses; properly conducted day nurseries, fresh air schools for tubercularly inclined children; manual training in all school grades, that hand, head and heart may work together; to emphasize domestic science in like manner; to have house-keeping centers in crowded neighborhoods, and social centers as well; to support heartily, kindergartens, kitchen- gardens, the marketing, nursing and laundry classes?

Persistent effort is needed to make the mothers' circles attractive, in the hope of being able sometime, to induce mothers to enter classes for the solution of the expense problem, the betterment of home conditions, and gaining an education generally.

Perhaps no one influence of recent years has done more toward solution of this domestic problem, and the improvement of many poor homes, than that of the visiting nurses. If of the correct type, her profession gives her an entree, that no other charitably inclined worker can hope to get. Many a family has learned, not alone to care, comfort and properly nourish the ill ones, but has had demonstrated the needs of

cleanliness, been taught food values, the proper foods for different seasons; how, when and where to market and frequently the nourishing food has been prepared with little expense, but proper time and care.

Is the proposed institution of co-operative stores going to be the success hoped, and what help will be afforded the poor? Will buying supplies in quantities be encouraged? Would such buying be helpful to the poor? With shelf-room limited, cash more so, store rooms impossible, and the poor neighbor, a good borrower, how manage? None so good to the poor, as the poor. Yes, each knows, what it means, to be poor.

Theorizing on economy is easy. Helpful plans must show practical application—demonstration—then satisfaction, and this, all seems feasible and possible in the outlined plan of co-operative stores for Chicago, followed largely after successful establishment of Calumet, Mich.; which was patterned after Rochdale system operating in England.

In this day, when the "commercial highwayman" throttles all classes, but with most cruel effect, the poor, it does seem, that the co-operative store, will be a long step, toward solving this question. Surely the plan is worthy investigation and adoption when found adequate.

Where and when an awakening to just responsibility for expenditures of the poor? Shall it be laid at the door of the business concerns? large and small whose motto, blazoned on acts, reads—"Give me mine, no matter who suffers!"

If a solution of the problem is to be reached, does it not mean determined resolution by each interested person, to be a truly visiting friend, to one family (two if possible) not for a day, a month, or a year, but until, the reason **why** conditions exist are learned; the cause ascertained the remedy applied; the last and youngest member educated and established as a self supporting, self respecting citizen, able to cope with all conditions of life, proud of his family; the pride of his friends and associates, and **living** life in health, happiness and some degree of prosperity.

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## BURIAL COSTS AMONG THE POOR.

By Rev. Quincy L. Dowd, Roscoe, Ill.

To determine the economic status of a family, whether its place is among the poor or not, the proper measuring unit should fit burial necessities and costs as these average. The modern unit of poverty has to include the expense-bill of what is called, "a decent burial," its costs, even among the poor, being from $75 to $300. Take this funeral-estimate, and how narrow the range of households to whose family budgets a modern burial does not deliver a staggering blow. Even the independent working people must feel how catastrophic is a death at home in their circumstances. A Chicago workingman's child was sick unto death. As the doctor left his door the worried father asked how it

was with the child. The doctor shook his head gravely. Plucking him in terror by the sleeve the man cried, "Doctor, you mustn't let it die, I can't afford it."

Some burial expense bills have been reported to me by responsible friends. A lady writes, saying that a friend of her gardener's buried his wife the other day. For six carriages he paid $60.00. The casket was $65.00. The hearse and other costs brought the whole bill for the funeral up to $210. My informant adds, "I suppose this would be an average cost for the laboring man." Later this friend writes me of a poor scrubwoman who died in their suburb. Her son came to a kind woman, telling her that he had only $20 to his name and he wanted to buy a casket for $30.00. "She wanted to know," writes my correspondent, "if I would help with the funeral and arrangements for burial." Last summer a young man living in a Wisconsin town told me of his sister who died at Duluth. The best this brother could do with the Duluth undertakers was: for coffin, $150, embalming, $15, and hack to the station, $5. The burial was at Eau Claire, Wis., where additional expenses, exclusive of grave, were $30.00.

Just to indicate how ignorant and helpless many poor families are face to face with the necessity to provide a burial I give the following story as told me by the president of a prominent Chicago undertaking firm. A widow came to the casket establishment under the conduct of an undertaker who was to furnish the funeral-order for her. He had told her that she ought not to think of buying a casket under $250 if she wanted a decent funeral for her husband. By good chance the salesman was left alone with the woman for a few moments, and, realizing her hapless plight, he said to her: "How much is your insurance money?" She said, "$300." "But, my good woman, don't you realize that if you get a $250 coffin it will take much more than your whole sum to complete the burial? Let me show you a casket costing $50.00 or $60.00, which is good enough for anyone to be buried in." She took his advice gladly and was satisfied with his choice. I won't repeat what I was told regarding the anger of the disappointed undertaker who came back to find that his victim had escaped his clutches. A very significant statement given me is, that a city undertaker said: "I can live if, at present prices, I have one funeral a month." The widow of a Modern Woodman received a benefit, or insurance, of $500. She did not wish to spend it all on a burial, and was advised to try an undertaking house in Chicago, which is supplying funerals at much reduced rates. But a sister-in-law interfered, urging the widow not to try to economize. "The neighbors," she said, "will think you are poor and want to save on burial."

### The Necessity and Religious Duty of Scientific Inspection.

There is urgent necessity to institute a country-wide and intermunicipal inspection of existing burial matters among the poor. As a basis to guide such investigation a commission of municipal and eco-

nomic experts ought to be appointed to report on the workings of state and communal management of cemeteries and of the undertaking trade in European lands.

A like Commission should set to work on a survey of burial conditions and requirements in all parts of America. Single handed I have attempted both of these services, the one by personal inquiries conducted in many foreign cities and by the cordial aid of United States consular offices in forty different countries; the other by correspondence with Boards of Health in twenty or more leading American cities, and by interviews with competent undertaking firms and settlement workers. But this individually gathered data must be necessarily inadequate, since facts thus collected want the force and appeal which would come from a recognized authority.

When one looks over the itemized schedules of survey-workers, of charity organizations, of international municipal congresses, there is nothing mentioned which bears on the handling and costs of the one universal burden, that of death and burial. Here is a public utility and civic service absolutely unescapable whose incidence, soon or late, falls on every household, far the greater number of them among the poor. Sickness and funeral charges, these are out-of-sight worries working final woe to the breaking point of home economics. Burials bring families to a last plunge of their used-up-chance to have anything and to be anybody.

In the last report of the New York A. I. C. P., it is shown that sickness is the chief cause of povery. Those in close touch with the heart of things have always known that sickness stands first. On the other hand, we have always known that poverty is largely responsible for sickness. There you have it, but still no mention of anything beyond "sickness" is made by the New York Society. If only "sickness" ended all. But not even death ends all. Then comes the undertaker; then the cemetery secretary; then the livery man; then the priest and the singers. And the end is not yet.

A visiting nurse in Chicago dropped into an undertaking establishment recently, and the undertaker asked how she was getting along with her work. "Very nicely," she replied. "I should think you are," he said. "You are about driving us out of business. Last year up to this time I had twenty funerals. This year I have had but three." "Meanwhile," he adds, "It is encouraging to learn that mothers are learning better how to care for the health of children, an important factor of the community's general advance in sanitary education."

While on this sub-topic of scientific inspection, let me refer to that American citizen, Wm. Henry Baldwin, Jr. "He learned that inspection, whether of sweat-shops, fire escapes, child labor or any other social evil, never becomes alert and effective till the public has been worried into some sense of its urgency." Surely if "cities are," as Rev. H. A. Jump declares," the graves of the human species," their citizens should be worried and urged into municipal mastery of their burial affairs.

**Efforts Among the Poor to Provide Against the Evil Day of Burial.**

When considering burial among the poor, it won't do to depend on the general ratio of deaths to population, nor on the comparative prosperity of various members of the community. Our estimates must be specific and intensive so as to locate the real incidence of burial costs and burdens as distributed among individuals and families. It will show a close relation between marginal poverty, and absolute bankruptcy following sickness, accident and non-employment. Burial costs add another dependent home to the public charge and conscience. Hundreds of thousands of the poor attempt to ward off this bankrupt fate by makeshift schemes of burial clubs, fraternal societies, or by taking out industrial insurance. The gross sum mulcted from the poor to pay these weekly dues to meet possible funeral costs on each member of the family is astounding. The number of industrial insurance policies in force in the United States is 19,659,868 according to 1908 report. Amount insured $2,668,595,294. The annual premium income of these companies is $95,373,691, while the payments to claimants reach only $36,691,216. This means that a small proportion of the poor of our country are paying every year nearly $100,000,000 to provide burial costs. Other people are wiser than we, seeing they are making public provision by systems of workmen's insurance, as in Germany and Great Britain. The German sick-insurance scheme includes among the items of benefits paid that of burial benefits.

**Some Remedial Program Affecting Burial Costs and Management.**

(1) The prime need is a campaign of education in burial matters, including cremation.

(2) To this end commissions of inquiry into burial and cemetery affairs are indispensable.

(3) People of light and leading are to be clubbed together into good sense and religious simplicity in ordering their own funerals and burial, or cremation preferably.

(4) There should be church leagues of compassion, settlement societies of burial-protection, woman's club sections devoted to common sense in burial matters.

(5) Charity, and civic, and religious organizations must agitate for improved legislation and ordinances for the regulation of undertaking to reduce over-competition. It might be best to limit the number of undertakers in each ward, and to put up the privilege of this trade to public bids under rigid contract requiring published fixed schedules of funeral supplies and service.

(6) Municipal cemeteries should be secured whose charges for lots, and care, and opening graves, and chapel-use should be at cost, equalized according to actual values. In cemeteries accessible to all sections of a city, crematories should be built and charges of incineration placed at cost.

(7) To render the whole public utility and necessity of burial complete for all citizens alike each municipality would necessarily have its Bureau of Burial-Affairs, possibly as a department of the Board of Health.

As a bit of recent burial costs news which squints toward the moderate standardizing of funeral expenses the following is contributed from a western Catholic diocese. "Vain display at funerals was denounced by the decrees issued for the guidance of Catholics of the Kansas City diocese at its annual meeting early in May, 1912. The synod declared any funeral that costs more than twenty per cent. of the annual revenue of the family may fairly be called extravagant. Excess of floral tributes also is undesirable."

But pause, and think for a moment what it means "among the poor" to devote even twenty per cent. of a family budget to a burial. One-fifth of its annual income, supposing steady employment, calls for the earnings of ten weeks and more. Where is this surplus to come from? What pressure is thus put on the margin of poverty.

# Housing and Recreation

By Joseph Lee, Chairman of the Committee.

### RHYTHM AND RECREATION

The general subject of the recreation part of this section is the meeting of boys and girls—especially girls. We have heard from Miss Hamilton and Mr. Chamberlain about what the boys' and girls' clubs have adventured in this line. We shall hear from Mrs. Israels about the dance halls; from Mr. Boyden about what a country school can accomplish as bearing on the problem, and from Miss Kennard about the education of girls for a fuller and more expressive life. My own particular part, in this report, is to introduce the general subject, and to speak more specifically of the great instinct of Rhythm as bearing on it.

We shall approach the question not as a problem of evil but as a problem of good, as a question of how to keep this great budding force of nature, the mutual attraction of the sexes, to its true task of producing strength and beauty, instead of permitting it to go to waste or worse.

### *A. Nature of Sexual Attraction.*

I. The first thing to remember is that this mutual attraction is not one but many things. Its issue is all the way from the worst to the best we know. If it has produced much of the evil in the world—if it is so high an expolsive that the spiritual doctors in many ages have forbidden it to the holy, and to the carefully nurtured young—it is also the source of the best things in life. True love is the dearest possession of the race. Its presence would redeem a world of ugliness. Romance is of the stuff that makes life worth living—partakes of the ultimate, of what the rest is for.

II. Sexual attraction is never simple. It is not merely all things to all men, it is apt to be a great many things to each man, whenever it happens to him.

In the first place no major instinct ever acts alone. Human nature is a sounding-board, which when one note is struck gives forth sympathetic vibrations, discords, harmonies, overtones. This note especially, is so deep in us that there is very little in our nature that its awakening may not touch. The instinct of the chase is aroused in pursuit of the flying nymph. The fighting instinct, enlisted in supplanting rivals, may be stronger than the original motive and sometimes survives it. Where Venus is present Mars is not often far away. George Eliot says there is always something maternal even in a girlish love. Again, at the heart of true love there is a David and Jonathan relation of pure friendship—*camaraderie*—a marriage of the qualities held in common, supplementing that of opposing attributes—a relation illuminated by the *hetairai* of Athens, in whom it seems to have been specialized. There is further in the social intercourse of boys and girls a large element of pure gregariousness. A crowd of them at a ball game is not very different from one made up of the boy undergraduates alone. In short, love itself, as the gossip concerning Venus has long suggested, is very susceptible and always brings other emotions in its train.

Then in both boy and girl, especially in the girl, the awakening of this feeling is so associated with the whole awakening of life that it is hard to say where the desire to live leaves off and that for love begins. To get into the game, to drink deep of the cup, to spend and be spent, to have lived and loved, to know the joy and beauty of life, its heights and depths—in some such formless way to every young creature comes the great vital impulse.

Girls coming out in society are well named buds. It is the budding power of mother nature that is in them. It is the universal power of life and growth, the strongest power there is, that they are charged with. How far this force is committed to one form of discharge or another is different in every case, and in every case is difficult to know, but that the form varies much according to suggestion and opportunity is unquestionable, and constitutes our great responsibility.

III. Besides being attended by other impulses, the love instinct itself is not a simple one. Romantic love is something

quite different from mere desire, and has as much influence in checking as in producing it. Romeo's love for Juliet kills his feeling for Rosaline not merely as having a different object but as being in its essence an opposing force.

The truth is that in this matter of the mating of human beings, even in its simplest terms, we encounter a larger emotional phenomenon than that of sex alone. There are other motives present in the very passion itself that materially affect the whole relation. The element of personal, romantic love is, it is true, an integral part of sex attraction—forty thousand brothers could not with all their quantity of love, make up my sum. But it is aimed at something different from mere reproduction. With its advent there came a new thing into the world.

This deeper, more lasting, element in human love, has solid biological foundation. Its absence, indeed would have made a controlling factor of our life inexplicable. What has chiefly caused the rise of man and of the higher animals above their myriad competitors has been the great phenomenon of infancy, that long period during which the young are in a plastic state, with a resulting capacity for learning and for adaptation. The existence of infancy, in its turn, depends upon the home created and maintained by a monogamous pair who feed and shelter and defend their young during the period of helplessness. But to create the family and home, to build the nest, to sustain the loyalty of the male through the long infancy of the offspring, required an emotional basis far deeper than that which had sufficed for less permanent relations. This great phenomenon of infancy, Nature's latest biological invention, responsible in the main for man's supremacy, is the creature, the outgrowth, of the deeper and nobler elements of human love. The lover is, biologically speaking, the decisive element in human progress.

### *B. The Practical Problem.*

Our practical problem is how to develop the best in this relation among all the vast possibilities that it contains.

I. The solution is partly quantitative. There cannot be too much true love in the world, but there is such a thing as

too much love-making. It is not properly a routine occupation, and if too steadily pursued will generate more emotion than can be safely handled.

In part the way to escape this danger is, as we all know, by creating a diversion, providing other occupations and pursuits. This motive is largely behind the great modern belief in athletics. It created the muscular Christianity of Thomas Hughes' day from which we still benefit, and is partly embodied in the Y. M. C. A. It is also largely responsible for school extension, for boys' and girls' clubs, for social centers, and indeed for all the lines of development we shall discuss.

Athletics for girls have not the same instinctive basis as in the case of boys, and can never take anything like the same place. Hard romping games may nevertheless greatly benefit girls in every way, especially in the matter of emotional stability. Miss Kennard tells me that it is necessary in order to develop true tom boys to catch them young, the crucial time in this respect being not at the age of fourteen but somewhere in the period from eight to twelve. If they do not become tom boys then through habitual participation in lively squealing games, they will be foredoomed to premature young-ladyhood.

From this purely quantitative point of view the question is one of maintaining due proportion. Everyone is familiar with Leigh Hunt's advice to young ladies that they should keep a debit and credit account, balancing so many hours crying over a novel by a proportionate time given to sweeping the floor or other less harrowing pursuits.

II. But there are more intimate ways of dealing with the problem. It is not all one of quantity. Besides, what we mainly want to do is not to side-track this great emotion but to preserve and utilize it, by encouraging its safer and its nobler expression.

The lamentable thing is not the evil that exists but the good that fails. Even our dance halls, as your Cleveland woman policeman refreshingly told us at the Playground Congress last week, stand upon the whole for romance—the incorrigible romance of the human race. The great evil of the dance hall is not in what it leads to but what it leaves out in

the lost chance for a finer romance, a deeper poetry. The worst side is not their surreptitious nature but their lack of beauty.

(1). Athletics have partly this effect. They are, in part, an expression of the secondary sexual instinct of competition. They are a contemporary form of chivalry, which is the idealization of the sex relation. (Note it must be athletics—hard competitive games, not cat's cradle.)

(2). A good prescription, I think, in the case of boys, is the encouragement of romance. It would be a good plan for every boy, before he becomes too wise to take them seriously, to read Scott and Lorna Doone. The better sort of love songs, like the Scotch ballads, have the same effect. Burns may not have been a model of virtue in his own life, but his poetic imagination enabled him to state the case in a way to make the blank prose of mere sensuousness abhorrent. There is no better police power than romantic love. As a mere question of safety it is a good investment. Nothing will make a lower satisfaction look more flat and tawdry than a remembered boyish ideal.

With girls, I am credibly informed, again by Miss Kennard, the case is different. They have as a rule too much rather than too little of romance and can be trusted to have enough of it.

(3). Then there is novel reading. It is a remarkable fact, and I think a notable confirmation of my theory that love-making is many things, that we can safely play with this emotion to an almost unlimited extent as presented in good literature. Of the millions of novels read every year (counting each one each time) the effect of those which deal with the matter in the right spirit is chiefly beneficial. Exception should, perhaps, be made in the case of the modern English school, which one could forgive if it claimed only to have invented sex and not to have a patent on it.

Good literature, especially in the form of novels, in which it is most likely to be consumed, is of great importance in our problem. After all, the chief intercourse of human beings is in the form of talk; and the best gift to any set of young people is something worth while to talk about. The heaviest indictment of war is still, as Madame De Stael complained, that it spoils conversation. After they have said "Hello."

## C. Kapton.

Just now there are in this country three conditions that make this problem especially acute.

First, there is the exclusive society of those under 21, already discussed at a section meeting, which we must learn both to recognize as satisfying a sound moral demand, and also to modify, especially by showing children of immigrants that Americanism does not consist in despising one's parents nor in scorning the ideals that have given beauty and nobility to their lives.

Second, there is the changing status of women from one derived from the family relation alone to one based partly on direct individual relation to the political and industrial community. This shift in status has made it impossible to handle our problem wholly through the family relation. The family is not dead yet, and will not die so long as there is anything of human nature left in man; and we must continue to act largely through home influence. For the rest, our general policy must be to mobilize the mothers—to turn loose upon society as a whole that surplus of maternal power and instinct that is left over through decreased opportunity in the home.

A third, pervasive and overmastering, condition in the meeting of our boys and girls, the one that just now makes the problem especially acute, is in the wave of rhythm that is passing over this country at the present time. Dancing has become a national obsession, amounting almost to a mania, both as to amount and kind. Folk dancing, social dancing, aesthetic and dramatic dancing, dancing in imitation of the less graceful of the lower animals, dancing by old and young, by rich and poor, by the wise and the foolish—dancing by all kinds of persons and in every variety of form—is incessant in the dance hall, on the playground, on the stage and in the street. It has invaded the very ballroom and captured professional "society" itself. The Bridge of Avignon, celebrated in song, is nothing to America at the present time.

The rhythmic madness is not confined to dancing proper—or improper. Our popular songs are all dance music, and are kept running in our heads so that we waltz through our sermons, write prescriptions in three-four time, and add up columns to the music of the Grizzly Bear. Even our politics are set to

metre. The failure of Mr. Taft to capture the popular imagination is traceable to a deficient sense of rhythm. The people are all dancing to the Roosevelt rag-time, the Bryan waltz or the Lafollette dithyrambic. Our very conversation is a song and dance.

The effect of this wave of rhythm upon the meeting of our boys and girls is seen in the great increase in the amount and what we may perhaps call the intensity of social dancing. The dancing of young people together, when permitted, has indeed always been, and always will be, popular. All the great forms of recreation are built where two main instincts meet. Our national games, for instance—including football, baseball, basket ball, bridge—are all at the junction of the competitive instinct with that of team play. Each of them satisfies, besides, a number of minor instincts such as striking, chasing, wrestling, throwing at a mark, and the great gambling, Micawber-like, instinct of waiting for something to turn up—as handed down to us from centuries of watching by the pool or forest path for something good to eat.

Rhythm, especially, is the most pervasive of all these active impulses. It is the female instinct, always married to some other in the production of a satisfying blend. But that a popular diversion should be established where rhythm and sex attraction meet was in any case inevitable. The present situation simply accentuates a permanent condition.

Of the specific good and evil of our dance halls and how to preserve the one and eliminate the other Mrs. Israels will speak. I want to speak more generally about the rhythmic instinct and its relation to sex expression, of what we are going to do with it and what it is likely to do with us.

1. Rhythm in the first place is our measure of time. It is, or comes near being, the very substance of time to us, our only method of conceiving of it. It enables us to drive a peg into a certain point in time so that we can identify it as we can with space—is the source of our whole arithmetic of duration. I believe it is a more ultimate measure, means more to our feeling, than the sense of space and gives the latter its chief reality. Rhythm is thus a very practical thing. I believe we could hardly do a physical act without it. Foresight of the

swing and ictus of a movement is a prerequisite of its performance—as I once discovered when learning to jump a horse over a fence. I found I landed, uniformly and with precision, just behind his ears, until I learned the rhythm of the motion and could foresee it with some accuracy before it started.

2. Rhythm, I think, is very deep in personality. The long suffering word temperament, ought, at least, to mean rhythm—the particular tempo or *motif* you are set to. The difference between Celt and Saxon is thus truly said to be a matter of temperament. It is the quick time against the slow.

3. Rhythm not only creates time for us; it also kills time. It is rhythm that through the long centuries has made monotony bearable to people who have had to walk or row all day, or knit or spin or tend the loom. We talk of being tired of routine, but more people dread to get away from it. It is hypnotic. That is one reason why children like to swing, for swinging is said by high authority to be a form of sleep. Rhythm may thus be a narcotic, putting the finer sensibilities to sleep, and leaving the rest to act on without them. Such lulling to rest is a great boon when the road is long and stretches straight ahead. The captain can sometimes safely set the course and go to sleep. But sometimes such sleep is very dangerous. Alcohol, for instance, as the doctors have now discovered, acts chiefly not as a stimulant but as an anaesthetic. Its festive and outwardly positive effects are due not to increased but to diminished self-activity. It lets off the brakes of custom, conscience and public opinion and leaves the subject free to be acted upon by chance or whim. So rhythm, putting to sleep our acquired inhibitions, leaves the stage free to the chance emotion of the moment. This effect of rhythm has important bearing on the dance hall problem.

4. Another function of rhythm, which also has direct bearing on the problem of social dancing is as the great get-together power of the world. It is the social alchemist—the full fusion of different minds and temperaments is possible only in obedience to its spell. When people sing, or march or dance together each knows with accuracy what all the rest are doing and going to do and in great part how they feel about it. And each knows that the other knows—and so on. To the

depth that the song or movement goes the mutual understanding is complete; and the common consciousness goes deeper and deeper with repetition—a ripple, a wave, a ground swell, until the whole emotional being of each member of the company swings to the same pulsation like a tidal wave. The religious dance culminating in the religious orgy was one of the earliest social functions. Almost every great social movement has been set to music, from the *musike* of the Greeks to modern ragtime and from Luther's hymn to the Carmagnole. Think what the Marseillaise stands for. The story of rhythm has almost been the story of civilization. I even believe that there is significance in the fact that the great rowing nations, the people of the Aegean, of the Baltic, of the German Ocean, with their training in rhythmic co-operation, have been the great democratic nations of the world.

Here we have an instinct protean in its manifestations, which has among its powers a hypnotic influence, the power of abolishing social conventions, of putting to sleep the conscience, the brain—a power that has manifested itself in orgies of many sorts, in religious and social frenzies culminating often in human sacrifice, from the first tribal ceremony down to the horrors performed to the cry of *ca ira.* And it is this aboriginal untamed power, coming up out of the great sea of our subconscious nature, that is turned loose in our dance halls without any effective regulation or restraint.

What are we to do about this situation? The answer, I think, is to be found in the final function of rhythm in our life. There is one good fairy left to make her gift.

5. Rhythm is the common element in all the arts, the true parent of the Muses, who are simply the different incarnations in which the god delights and satisfies mankind. So that in discussing rhythm we are considering not the dance problem alone but the whole question of art and what to do with it. Dancing is the primal expression of the rhythmic impulse and always at the core of it. It is as dancing that this instinct first appears in the child. It is as motion, not primarily as sound or sight, that it always appeals to us. It is the reminiscence of motion in music or poetry or architecture that makes its fascination. Chopin derived a part of his inspiration from Fanny

Elsler's dancing. Music is simply dancing freed from the limitations of anatomy.

Rhythm is less obvious in the arts that act upon us through the eye. But these also reach us most intimately, come nearest to our feelings, by what they suggest to haring and the sense of motion. Action is the form in which we live; and that which touches us—moves us as we say—has roots in motion—that is, in rhythm.

You cannot abolish rhythm. It is of the stuff of which our lives are made. You cannot safely leave it to direct itself. What is our safest course? Where is it a benefit, a creator of beauty, an enhancer of our life, and where does it become a danger or a drug?

I believe that the myth of Bacchus contains the answer to our question—Bacchus, the god of art, the god of wine, the god of life and beauty, the god of the great primal forces that well up in us—of song and ecstacy—the god that inspires us and makes us mad; the great god of rhythm who both entrances and intoxicates. The Greeks were very conscious of this problem. Their education was built on music, as they called it, that is on rhythm in its various forms. They knew what art was if anyone has ever known.

And they knew its dangers, and prayerfully considered in what direction safety lies. They even had their Puritans ,of whom Plato is an illustrious example. And their conclusion is expressed in this great myth—the myth of the great god Bacchus, whom the Thebans imprisoned and who, in revenge for such mistreatment, drove the king and people mad. In that story is compressed the conclusion of what was both the most artistic and the most philosophic race the world has seen. Our safety, according to the Greeks, is found in receiving the great god of life and beauty, of dance and song and rhythm, in listening to his message and obeying it; danger lies in the attempt to lock up the god and pretend he is not there.*

It is not enough simply to receive the god. The world's great mistakes in dealing with him through all the ages have come from supposing that passive reception will be enough.

*See Gilbert Murray; "The Rise of the Greek Epic."

The essence of our piety is in its activity. Inspiration must stir to achievement, not put to sleep.

The alternation between the denial of the god and his too passive reception—between license and puritanism—has been going on from the days of the Greeks down to the present time, and doubtless it was an old story when the Greek myth grew up. Following the period of ancient art, through the long middle ages, puritanism reigned. The ascetic was the ideal, and it was thought holy to deny the flesh in every form. Human nature at last rebelled, and there came the renaissance, the re-birth of man, of the humanities, the rediscovery of beauty and of art. Then, once again, the god was too strong for the people, or their obedience was too passive. Art descended into sensuality, and we had another puritan reaction. And now, once more, the god denied by us, as by the ancient Thebans, is breaking from his prison, appearing in his cruder form and threatening to drive us mad.

Human virtue, it seems, is like a hotel blanket. When you cover your feet it comes off your shoulders. When, feeling that you are too decollete for comfort and that the higher interests are being neglected, you pull it up about your neck, it comes off your feet, until human nature revolts against the cold. So the race has alternated between license and puritanism. The solution is that of the Kansas law—that hotel blankets must be long enough. (Kansas, you know, has had some experience with Bacchus and is something of an expert in this matter.) We must stretch our virtue until it will cover human nature as it is; must learn not to deny the god but to receive him heartily, and grant him positive constructive service—take this great element of rhythm and work it into forms of beauty as an essential part of life.

Specifically the danger is in the inartistic, the unformed. It is the too simple rhythm that is hypnotic, the rhythm to which you lie passive—that requires no effort of attention—a lullaby to the moral and restraining faculties. I saw at the World's Fair in Chicago a West Coast Indian

chief who could in a few minutes make his people nearly crazy over a simple bang bang on a packing case. The hysteria at football games is produced by cheering based on the same principle. It is the same with the hypnotic forms of political or pulpit oratory. "Let the people *rule*. Let the people *rule*. Let the people *rule*." At the thousandth repetition you begin to feel that it has some vast portentous meaning in it. Anaesthesia comes with the simple recurring rhythm, the swing that goes on forever, the sound that carries you upon its waves, that puts you to sleep in a world where there are no longer any outlines, where there are no landmarks, no fixed facts, no hard realities—only a feeling without form, a drifting on the infinitely succeeding waves. It is the *ca ira* that intoxicates, the repetition that narrows the active consciousness down to a pin point of attention, while the emotion generated keeps piling up until it reaches the bursting point or overflows. It is the dismissal of activity toward any concrete end, of concentrated attention, or any effort of the mind.

Danger is in the too simple rhythm. But contained in every rhythm there is a message of infinite significance—calling for unending richness of expression. It is in deciphering and elaborating this finer meaning that safety lies. your *ca ira* must get down to concrete patriotism, must condescend to schools and roads and drains and charity conferences, and to see whether the town will issue bonds for a new pumping station. And your charity conferences and the rest must still feel the throb and pulsation of the *ca ira*.

This concrete and infinite ideal of beauty is locked in every form of rhythm—in dancing among the rest. Safety is in pursuit of this ideal. It is evermore the passive that intoxicates, active obedience that saves. So long as it includes a striving after musical expression, every art—including social dancing itself—is a satisfaction more than an excitement, a safety rather than a danger. Wisdom is not in turning a deaf ear to the voice but in religious listening to catch the fuller message that it bears. Where attention is fixed upon the reading and realization of the ideal there will

be no vertigo, the whirling dervish effects of rhythm will be avoided.

Girls should be taught dressmaking, the art in which most interest is taken and most money spent at the present day, the true intention of which, from Praxiteles and Botticelli down to Worth, is, and has been, not to banish beauty but to interpret it. Such teaching will both release a power of expression and emancipate from foreign fashion-makers and the monstrosities they now impose upon us.

Evil has come to us not from art but from the absence of it. It is the bald uncultivated rhythm that puts the soul to sleep. Safety is in the elaborated, the highly wrought. Even coquetry—the frankly developed art of sex attraction—is, I believe, a safety on the whole. The spirit of an Irish dance, a Scotch ballad of flirtation is a spirit of purity as well as beauty.

Creative exertion draws off emotion into constructive channels, finding new forms of beauty in the unending pursuit of the ideal. A principal use of sex attraction is to be wrought into the infinite forms of art.

In conclusion, let us not be too fearful or too negative. Life, upon the whole, is good, not bad. It was made for living, not to be cast aside. The mutual attraction of boy and girl, that has in it not only the physical continuation of the race, but also the perpetuation of the family and of happy infancy, that has in it also great part of the interest and beauty of our lives, is not a power to be decried or fought against. We believe in life, not death, in art not in asceticism. We welcome the love song of the bird, the blossom on the tree. We believe that wings were made for flying, the heart of a man for the heart of a maid, and that the object of it all—to be furthered by us and not obstructed—is that they might have life and that they might have it more abundantly.

## THE DANCE PROBLEM.

By Mrs. Charles H. Israels, New York.

I need not begin by telling you of the universal need for the self-expression of the dance. My topic read: "Dance Halls—Can There be Decent Ones?" I am going to begin just where I shall end, with the answer: "Yes, there can be decent ones." Surely there can be no question that we must have places in which to dance. Even those parts of the Christian Church that have for many years stood against dancing, have come to the point of separation on the subject of whether the dance shall be recognized or prohibited. Let me draw for you a few pictures of dance halls, and each in your own community see what you can recognize.

Picture the little saloon with the sign of somebody's beer, the little dark passageway, and the dingy back room with a few lights, probably oil lamps, occasionally gas, seldom electricity; a few crude pieces of music; and young men and women there; the air stifling with tobacco smoke, reeking with the smell of stale liquor; and all sorts of clumsy perverted forms of the art of dancing.

Go down the street to another, larger and more brilliant doorway and a stairway leading upstairs; a few young boys are lounging around the entrance, smoking cigarettes, a few boys coming along the street and asking as they get to the doorway, "Got any girls up there? Can you do rag-time in here?" And when the answer is, "No," down the street they go, looking for the next place. Now a few girls come and go upstairs, and inside they find again stale tobacco smoke, the reek of liquor, tables around the edge of the room; and if a dance is just beginning, a fringe of boys, two, three, four deep, and only girls out dancing on the floor, with just a few exceptions. As the girls dance, or in other words display their charms, the boys step out, two at a time, separate the girls, and dance off in couples—the popular form of introduction in the popular dance hall.

These are two pictures in a city that has not as yet recognized that it has a dance hall problem. I have a collection of newspaper information upon dance halls, covering the whole of the United States, and in three years the cities that have had to take cognizance of the dance hall in some form or other—either because there has been a shooting there, or because so many girls have wandered into the courts by way of the dance hall, or because the indecent dancing has at last gone to the point of outraging somebody's sense of propriety, or because somebody has sensibly recognized the constructive possibilities of the amusement—number now over 150 different places in the United States, ranging from the little town that has only one hall or a little picnic place out in the suburbs, to the big city of New York, where we have nearly 500 licensed dance halls. When you have, in a community of 80,000, sufficient provision in dance halls to accommodate over 15,000 young people in a night; and when, where you have 500 dance halls, you dance a quarter of a

million people a night at a moderate estimate—and when in a city like Cleveland you have perhaps 115 dance halls and 75 or 100 dances a night going on in the season, we need to stop and look and listen before the train runs over us.

The inter-relation of the amusement problem of the adolescent is something that there is need for us not to forget. It is not exclusively the dance hall that forms the standard of amusement, the standard of conduct and the criterion by which these young people guide themselves. On the contrary, the dance hall reflects other forms of art—to use Mr. Lee's expression. The newspaper, the magazine article, the motion picture theater, and all forms of the show from the vaudeville and the burlesque up to the musical comedy, present pictures for imitation. No regulation of amusements that is exclusively a regulation of the dance hall will solve the adolescent amusement problem. They tell us no girls ever go to the burlesque theaters; that the only girls who ever go are girls who are no good anyway. You see only two or three women present. But that does not tally with the information that can be gathered at very little trouble. Even if it were true, it is no assurance that the girl will not learn what goes on there. The boy who is seated at the burlesque show tonight and is seeing the latest form of the Grizzly Bear presented for his edification and is hearing in the latest slang the nearest approach to ribald language, is tomorrow presenting these things as the latest smartness to the girl with whom he is dancing—perhaps at the church sociable. He forms his standard of taste, and he forms the girl's standard of taste, in other places besides the dance hall. And what he likes, she likes. What he wants her to do and what she believes will make him anxious to have her for a companion and a friend, is what she will do. She is influenced by the other girl only just in so far as the other girl has the things which she desires—plenty of partners to take her out for good times night after night.

You must take into consideration the kind of performances which the newspapers commend as being useful and good. You have no conception, perhaps, of the thousands of young people who read the cheapest newspapers and accept the verdict of the critic, so-called, who writes the amusement columns for those newspapers. If he says that the team that is appearing at the Orpheum theater next week, or appeared last night, is the last word in singing and dancing, every boy and girl in that town is mad to go and see it. Every girl wants to sing and dance that way and every boy wants to talk that way. And if you question it, "Why, the newspapers said so," is the unchallenged reply. The popular critic said that was a fine show, and of course it must be. Those are the things that form standards of taste, not only in the dance hall, but right through the whole social fabric.

That sense of social responsibility that feels that each one of the 250,000 young people dancing on a given night in New York City is a public charge, a public social responsibility—that sense of public opinion and of responsibility is going to make the decent dance hall.

There are a number of attempts at decent dance halls. We have the recreation center in the public school, where they are beginning to have dances, notably in New York City. We have attempts at municipal dance halls of various kinds, and a splendid system of public halls in the Chicago small parks. All of these things are going to help. But the big thing is to get the dancing which is offered at an admission charge, the thing for which everybody pays, up to a decent standard. And nothing is going to bring it there but our feeling that it is for us to accomplish this thing. Now, how?

Because a man has a big dance hall and because he charges five cents for three or four minutes of dancing and because he is making enormous profits during the season in which that dance hall pays, is no reason—just purely its commercialism alone—is no reason why it is not a decent dance hall. True, it may encourage young people to spend more money then they can afford. But at least they are spending in a clean and fairly wholesome environment. There may be, however, a number of other things connected with the management of that hall. And every one of those things of which you complain—the fact that boys and girls meet on the outside of that hall and go to dangerous places in the immediate neighborhood; the fact that saloons abound in the particular region where that dance hall is located; the fact that boys and girls can meet there and make promiscuous acquaintanceships of the wrong kind—those things are the fault of the community and not of the management of the dance hall. Now, take that with you and work it out on a practical basis and you influence the whole business of commercial recreation today.

There are progressives in the world of commercial recreation. There are progressive amusement men just as there are progressive politicians. And your progressive today believes that virtue pays. He suddenly had a new idea thrown into his head, and one of them in a far western city even goes so far as to advertise his dance hall, run on a purely commercial basis, as the social center of the people. Well, the only difference is that they pay to come to his social center.

All of these things, bad saloons in the neighborhood, or houses of prostitution, have come there because they know they are simply protecting themselves in a business way. They know that if they are let alone they can do business with the young people who frequent the dance hall. And they will make themselves so attractive and so interesting that the young people will come to their places. They will even go so far as to send people out into the hall or watching out on the street to attract trade to themselves. The manager of the dance hall may sometimes be strong enough single-handed to clean up his neighborhood and to insist—and this is the point of view you must seek to give him—that the young people who come to him for amusement shall not be compelled to run the gauntlet of vice in order to get into his hall, and he will take care of them after they get in. No amusement enterprise that is intelligently bidding for business in a wide-awake American city is so stupid as not to

see the opportunity that co-operation with the decent people of the city can mean. No manager who has any business sense will to-day set out to run a vile dance hall. On the contrary, he tries by every means in his power to make you believe that he is running a good hall. Sometimes he is sincere. Many times he is not. And that is where our particular responsibility comes in. Meet that business man on his own ground. Meet him on the ground of good business and bad business.

Recently in New York City we met for the second time the management of all the excursion boat lines running day excursions out of the city. We laid before them the proposition that if they had decent boats and if the young people who went on those excursions were properly protected, we would all of us be glad to see that young people in thousands went aboard those boats and made them pay. But just so long as we could not be sure that staterooms would not be rented and rerented throughout the whole day and liquor served in those staterooms and young people encouraged to go upon an excursion and buy the stateroom for the day, just so long as we could not be assured that those practices would be stopped, just so long would we continue to hold out the danger signal for young people. Just so long as we could not tell them that on board of every one of these boats was at least one person, one man or woman, to whom any boy or girl in difficulty of any kind could frankly go and state the cause of any trouble, just so long would we continue to withhold our sanction from their lines. And the most stiff-necked of them all, the line that sets the standard for all the others, tried the social supervisor on board of its boats.

Your dance hall manager will put the social supervisor there. He will take out of his hall every girl and every boy that you point out should not be there. But you must go there and point them out, not stand on the outside and talk behind his back and say you saw this and you saw that and heard this and heard that. Those things don't make for progress. It is to get down to work and do the thing. Find out. Have your facts that you can present to the very people who are creating the conditions about which you complain. If you want a regulation for dance halls, if you must have legal protection for what you want to do, you cannot convince a hard-hearted, stiff-necked councilman—and some of them are stiff-necked—that these dance halls in your city need regulation; unless you have the facts. And he is hard to convince for this reason; the minute you begin dealing with the dance hall you are dealing with the very deepest kind of business, big business. You are dealing with the liquor problem, with all the interests that it involves; with the sale of tobacco, because that is also an important phase of the business of the dance halls. You are dealing with all the things that hang around the fringes of the edge of society, that depend upon the vile trade that might come out of the dance hall. And those people have tentacles that fasten very deep into the fabric of the government of our American cities.

To come back to New York City once more, the most notorious dance hall, the name of which is known to every one of you—the Haymarket

dance hall—after a long, steady fight, had its license revoked. True, we convinced the Mayor, who was directly in charge of the licensing of that hall, and it was not easy convincing him—that the place was a menace to society. But it wasn't more than two months afterwards that another application for the license of that same place, on that same corner, under another name forsooth, came in as an application to the Bureau of Licenses. And this time, attached to it as the attorney of the firm is the name of one of the most prominent lawyers of the City of New York. He happens to be a personal friend of the Mayor.

You are dealing with big business, and you have to get down to the methods that mean something to the people of big business. You have to show them what you know, not what you think. You have to demonstrate to them that there are 39 or 53 or 180 dance halls in your city and that in this one and that one and the other one things are not as they should be. But you have to recognize, and you have to make them recognize, that you do not wish to kill dance halls; that all you wish to do is to make them safe and decent and wholesome places. The standard of wholesomeness is the ideal that needs to come more strongly into American life and into the daily life of every boy and girl. There is one armour-plate that the girl who goes out into the dance hall should have and must have. She must have the armour-plate of sensible, wholesome education in matters of sex. If she knows what this or that caress of this or that boy may mean to her, she has a protection that is stronger than any law you can put on your statute books. That is the thing on the other side, the personal, individualistic side, that you must work for.

And she must have another protection. I went last night to the biggest dance hall in Cleveland, out at Euclid Beach; and I called the attention of the friends who were with me, as dance after dance was played, to the fact that with the exception of the schottische, which they had to dance because it was announced, there were scarcely two couples on that floor who were actually dancing. Most of them were walking and slipping and gliding all over that floor, keeping some sort of time to the music. There was no standard of how to dance. There were no good dancers on that floor. The manager of one of your other dance halls said, "We have the worst dancers in Cleveland." That is not true. You have the worst dancers all over the country. They don't dance. You have to get back at the root of things again. If you have to educate the girl in matters of sex before you throw her out into the world, teach her how to dance; teach her folk dancing; teach her how to waltz and two-step; and teach her how to do it right. Show her the correct positions and their meaning. We don't tell it out very loud, but we are beginning to teach it through the grades of the public schools in New York City, teaching them before they learn how to do it on the streets, before they go out to work and sign their declaration of independence on the first Saturday night going through the first dance hall into society. Any mother does only as much as she can, and hopes that with the protection she has given to her boys and girls in the knowledge which she has given

them about themselves and other people, they will know how to bear themselves in the world, lessons of courage and patience; and after she sends them out she can only say, "God bless you. I have done the best I could for you."

These people work to exist and they must play if they are to live. And they must play in the only way they know how to play, and that is by means of the commercialized amusements that we offer them. But we must protect them at every possible point, before we send them out into the world of commercialized amusements. Teach them what things are good and what things are bad in the motion picture theaters. There is no regulation that can be applied to the dance hall or motion picture theatre or burlesque show like the formation of standards of public taste, public opinion, the great social chaperonage that every man owes to his brother and every woman to her sister. That is the kind of protection that people need.

When you come down to practical principles, the practical regulation of dance halls is not such a tremendous problem. There are only certain features you can consider; first, is the structure safe? Will the floor cave in when five hundred people dance on it? Is it clean? Is it properly provided with sanitary conveniences? In case of fire can everybody get out, and within how long a time? And then you can only provide that there shall not be disorderly conduct upon the premises. Then you have to get the best, most wholesome, whole-hearted man you can get hold of to enforce that law wisely. And then you must stand back of him with your co-operation and your help; not your criticism, not with the assumption that because a man is in public office he must be dishonest, but that because he is in public office he means to do his duty by the community and you are ready to stand by and help him. He couldn't have a bigger job than regulating dance halls.

A very practical and pretty piece of work has been done here in the City of Cleveland, and while you are here it would be vastly to your advantage if you could see some of it. They passed a dance hall law in Cleveland. All of its features may not be right. One will probably have to be changed. I went last Saturday night to a little saloon dance hall of the kind I first described—what I told you above, was before; I saw it after. It was the most charming, lovely evidence of neighborhood enjoyment, one of the simplest, most wholesome establishments that it has been my good pleasure to see. There wasn't a man in the room smoking, not a girl in the room with her hat on. It was just a little room over the tiniest kind of a saloon. No drinking, nothing to be had on that floor, no smell of stale beer. There were a few mothers sprinkled around the sides of the room, and scarcely a boy or girl in the place had been in this country a year. They danced some of their native folk dances, just as spontaneously as you would dance a waltz or two-step, because they wanted to. They had the best kind of music, and were proud and pleased because the officer of the law was in their company all evening.

In Kansas City there are less than forty dance halls, and a very good piece of regulation has been done there by the Board of Public Welfare, and it is because the people have stood back of them; and the people stood back of the dance hall law in the City of Cleveland. We are trying our level best to stand back of it in New York.

Don't walk away from the fact that it is you who make the good dance hall and the bad dance hall. Turn your face against them and say, "I don't go there and I won't go there, and I won't have any of my people go there," and you aid under the cover of darkness the very thing that you are decrying. Turn the light on it. Put the searchlight there. Put it right out into the glare of all the publicity that you can give it. Let every man in the town that runs a dance hall know that you are coming, and that you will come all the time and that you see just what he is doing and you are going to commend him when he does the right thing and put it up to him when he does the wrong thing. But I put it up to you, because you ought to, if you do not, form public opinion in your neighborhood.

When I tell you that fourteen churches in the Borough of Manhattan in New York City had dancing twice a week all through last winter, you will see the other side. Open your churches and your settlements and your schools to dancing. Yes, do it. But don't forget the big army of young people that won't come to your church or settlement, always wanting to pay for what it gets, wanting the liberty of paying five or fifty or twenty-five cents for the thing they think is fine and good. Make it wholesome. Clean it up. Turn on the light of day. Get the windows open. Let everybody know you are looking on. Then we won't have to ask if we can have decent dance halls. We can have decent dance halls.

Now I am back just where I began. The decent dance hall is just a matter of the assumption of social responsibility toward the biggest, most perpetual, most eternal amusement in this whole land of America.

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## EMOTIONAL LIFE OF GIRLS.

By Miss Beulah E. Kennard.

Seneca said of woman, "She either loves or hates, there is no third possibility." Women have been considered the emotional sex since long before Seneca's time and there is a sense in which this is true as well as one in which it is false. It is not true that women are without capacity for reason, objectivity and self control, but it is true that by their physiological structure they have a more massive sex organization then men which finds indirect expression through feeling and sentiment. They also have a stronger social sense and develop sympathetic emotion more spontaneously. But in addition to these legitimate sources of feeling they are emotional because of restricted interests and outlets for nervous energy.

In the adolescent period emotion is the great driving force, often excessive and seldom guided at all. Young girls once were sheltered and restrained by family life. They had violent emotions but no expression for them except in harmless forms of poetry or music or the explosive form of hysteria. The present freedom of girls from parental control and authority makes self control and inner restraint necessary to their safety. They are sophisticated to some extent but far less than their confident manner would indicate and are too young to regulate their emotions. The association of large numbers of these girls with boys of their own age or older men is entirely outside of their own homes. They meet on the street, in dance halls and skating rinks or by appointment at theatres and restaurants. Much of their intercourse is innocent enough but there is a growing laxness and an astounding indifference on the part of parents. We often wonder if girls no longer have any mothers. Yet there is an awakening conciousness that this is the greatest problem of the day. The continuance of the race and its welfare which is the main business of life is left in the hands of careless children without any preparation or guidance whatever. We cannot go back to the time when parents decided important questions for their children. There is no alternative but to guard them from premature and hasty judgment so far as we may and to train them to some sense of their high calling.

Two classes are in almost equal need of this training of the emotions. Girls of the leisure class whose life consists of busy idleness, whose thoughts are centered upon themselves and their amusements so that they are capricious and crave excitement because of lack of wholesome work and purpose, and girls of the industrial class who are overdriven by their work, lacking home restraints and crave excitement because of nerve exhaustion.

The safeguarding of our dance halls and places of amusement against the more obvious dangers is well but not enough. Training must be given in the homes—developing moral earnestness, in schools giving safe channels for emotion through art and music, at social centers by vigorous games. Those who have leisure should realize their responsibilities and the force of their example. The social standards of society in dress and deportment are copied by the people. The dress of our young girls has never been less modest since the days of Louis XVI. Dancing has never been less governed by decorum. Ragtime music is often suggestive as well as cheap and common. Whether dancing should or should not be suppressed is not a debatable question. Rhythmical motion is a form of pleasure not to be denied the young and active and an emotion outlet peculiarly needed by girls. Folk dancing has certain advantages. It is a group activity with a primitive and for the most part wholesome background of out of doors. Some folk dances are objectionable, the old English dances are better than those from southern Europe. But social dancing must

have conditions and atmosphere of present day society in order to remain popular.

The intensity of emotion in girls is justified by its great biological purposes. As Miss Addams has said the business of youth is seeking a mate. They may well feel intensely but the subversion of their most sacred instincts is due to unregulated or excessive emotionalism and vanity. The guardian of the future of the race must herself be guarded from her own ignorance and folly and the selfishness or vice of others. Nature only needs to be aided in her efforts to give girls more normal development not lessening their charm but giving them other balancing qualities.

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## SOCIAL ADVENTURES OF BOYS' CLUBS.

By Geo. D. Chamberlain, Chairman Executive Council, Federated Boys' Clubs.

The mass boys' club was started originally for the purpose of keeping the small boy off the street. The bright, cheery rooms, with their games, pictures and books prove a strong magnet to a class of boys for whom few seem to care, and whose future seems oftentimes to hold little promise.

These clubs have always been able to win a class of boys that are not found elsewhere. Boys who are suspicious of a small group club, for fear of being singled out for—they know not what—will flock to a mass club, where they believe they will be let alone, or at least will escape that dreadful experience which every "grown-up boy" in this audience can recall—of being cornered and talked to by some person more zealous than wise. This does not mean that these boys are allowed to run wild, although discipline will vary in boys' clubs as it does in day schools, Sunday schools and many other places where boys in large numbers are brought together.

Boys' club workers recognize the fact, that however desirable it may be to have boys spend their evenings at home where oftentime they are not wanted, and where frequently there is an entire lack of anything to interest or hold them, there are in most communities homes lacking not only everything that interests a boy, but homes that are a positive hindrance to the boys' mental, moral, and spiritual growth. Boys' clubs are non-sectarian and are open to all classes and conditions of boys. Most of them include on their membership rolls boys of many nationalities. Not infrequently boys of a dozen nationalities may be seen in the building on a single evening, busily engaged in the various activities of the club. These clubs, large and small, number fully 1,500 with a membership of 200,000. They occupy club quarters which, while generally leased, are not infrequently in a building owned by the club

organization. The value of these buildings exceeds a million and a half dollars.

The boys' club offers to many boys what they can get in no other way—a place where they are always welcome, and where they may always find those who are honestly desirous of helping them to help themselves. Here a boy is given opportunity to do the things he likes to do, provided he attempts nothing that is going to injure himself or others. He thinks of his club as being a place where he is free from restraints that in many homes frequently cramp and finally destroy the God-given ambitions of boyhood. Into these clubs come many a boy whose family and neighbors have given up as hopeless, boys who have never been understood at home. Indeed, in the case of many of them probably little attempt has ever been made to understand them. In the case of many of them they came into the home as unwelcome babies and the unwelcome child, be he in hovel or palace, starts out in life heavily handicapped. To these many types of boys, the boys' club throws open its doors and bids them enter and have a good time. It says to them—"You will not be told what you must do, and emphasis will not be placed upon what you are **not** to do. All we ask of you is, that you be clean of speech and person and in your play be always on the level." On these terms boys have come into these clubs by the thousands, and have taken their first step in the socializing process that makes good citizens.

The history of the boys' club movement is, that it requires but very little time after a boy has entered the club to interest him in one or more of the many phases of work or play that make up the club's activities. He has joined the club with the mental reservation perhaps that he will let no one boss or lead him, but he soon learns that his good time can come only as he gives and takes. And so he begins to understand one of the fundamental laws of society. From this point progress is rapid, and the club superintendent if he is the right man in the right place, witnesses in the case of the vicious, the wayward, the careless or the thoughtless boy, a steady forward movement toward a normal social being. Step by step, the younger members of the clubs have been introduced to the joys of reading, story telling, music and acting. In a number of clubs where serious attention has been paid to the always fascinating drama, boys have dveloped a remarkable talent for acting. They have gained on their amateur stages experiences that could come to them in no other way. Here they have been able to satisfy in a measure the passion that leads the thousands in every city to pack the threatres night after night. The love for reading, music and acting is carried back to the homes of many of the boys and the club is able to link itself with sisters and parents. The occasional concert or play given in the club gymnasium is attended by the families of the boys and these with occasional calls at the home by the superintendent, do much to lift the standards of many whose social cravings are so constantly catered to by the proprietors of cheap theatres, picture shows and dance halls.

As the boys have grown into young manhood there has been presented to club workers the serious problem of helping them in their social activities. While some clubs limit their membership to boys of fifteen years or younger, many clubs have long ceased to maintain an age limit, and every effort is made to co-operate with the senior members in their social life. The importance of guiding aright the natural instinct for companionship with the opposite sex, has led thoughtful club workers to face facts and to make ventures.

Hardly any amusement indulged in by boys and girls has a stronger attraction for both sexes than that of dancing and it has come about that this amusement, harmless in itself, is, by many young men and women in our cities unattainable, without accompanying evils that seriously threaten society. Recognizing the need of some counter attraction to the common dance hall, superintendents of several boys' clubs have encouraged their senior members to organize dancing parties to which they are privileged to invite their girl friends. These dances are generally held in the club gymnasium, which in point of ventilation, with the addition of a good floor, far surpasses any ordinary dance hall. It can at small expense be effectively decorated with bunting or crepe paper, and when brightly lighted becomes a very superior place of amusement. A small rental may or may not be charged. Frequently, rooms, heat and light are furnished by the club officials free. This leaves the only cost, that of music and refreshments. Some of the most successful dances have been conducted at a cost of not over fifteen cents to each boy attending. A Pennsylvania club that inaugurated these dancing parties the past winter, has had as many as 200 present, the cost to each young man not exceeding twenty-five cents. A charge was made for light used after ten o'clock—the usual hour for closing the gymnasium. In another city where dances have been successfully maintained for three years, the average cost to each boy of the evening's enjoyment was less than twenty cents. In still another city in New York State, where dances have been conducted for the first time this winter, a charge of twenty-five cents will next winter be reduced to ten or fifteen cents in order to successfully compete with the dance halls. Strangely enough it was found that some of the girls preferred the dance hall with its glamour, and at the same charge for admission—twenty-five cents—some of them were able to win over the boys. A club whose senior membership is composed in part of those who joined the club as young men, experimented with a series of dances for their special benefit. The group included many of the rough element among the young men of the neighborhood. At first many of them attended unshaven, without necktie or collar and with little idea of submitting to any restraint whatever. Accustomed as they had been when attending the ordinary dance hall to refresh themselves at a bar when fancy dictated, they at first rebelled against the rule of "No return checks." They were given to understand that under no circumstances would drinking be allowed, and that any one leaving the building on any pre-

text would not be allowed to return. Reconciled finally to the new order of things, it was perfectly natural that sobriety would beget cleanliness.

At the same time a regard for personal appearance manifested itself, and before the first winter had passed most of the young men were experiencing for the first time in their lives the fact that a "good time" is not necessarily associated with rowdyism. In most cases these dances are managed by the young men themselves, who engage the musicians, supply refreshments and attend to decorations and the printing of programs. In conference with the superintendent, they decide upon the rules that are to govern the entertainment. Objectionable dances are excluded. "No return checks" is the invariable rule. Tickets of admission are issued to club members, and in the event of there being room, also to young men who are vouched for by members. Each member is privileged to invite one or two of his girl friends, and parents of both the boys and girls are not infrequently present.

A recent writer commenting on the placing of responsibility for wrong-doing, says: "When a boy or girl; or a man or woman goes wrong, and the community is startled some morning by the announcement of some shocking crime, there are three ways you can lay the blame, whatever your school of opinion may be. You can blame the devil; you can blame God, as strict old time Calvinistic pre-destinarians or you can blame cause and effect. If the devil alone inspired the wrong doer, in an isolated, strictly individualistic way, with the sin and crime beginning and ending with him, why, then you are up against principalities and powers; and all you can do is to pray. And if God alone arranged it, as says Calvin in the Institutes of the Christian Religion, you can only bow to His will, exculpate yourself by some action according to your church's understanding of the scripture formula in such an instance, and really do nothing. If, however, with the majority of reasonable people of the modern world, you believe that actions, like everything else, come in series related to each other as causes and effects, then a large number of people and conditions share heavily in the responsibilities."

With the growing tendency toward congestion in our city living, it is impossible for thousands of young people to enjoy any social life except as they seek it in public places. Innocent association of boys and girls is made difficult. Harmful association is so easy. If half the energy now devoted by many people to denouncing dance halls could be employed in establishing and maintaining attractive substitutes, this old world would be saved many a tragedy.

The boys' clubs that have supplied a wholesome environment for a perfectly legitimate amusement have done the wise and sensible thing. It has not in every case been done without opposition, for even in boys' club directorates are found those men who pride themselves on "never compromising with the devil." Already a dozen or more church buildings in New York City have been opened for dancing parties, and

the day cannot be far distant, when the gymnasiums in the splendidly equipped Y. M. C. A. buildings in all of our large cities will be available on occasional evenings for these gatherings of young men and women to whom dancing is as natural as breathing. These young people are going to dance. It is entirely proper they should. Indeed there are few more healthful amusements than dancing when indulged in under proper supervision. Let the "children of light" see to it that the devil does not have a monopoly in the furnishing of this harmless amusement.

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## THE HOUSING PROBLEM IN INDUSTRIAL COMMITTEES.

By Robert E. Todd, of the Cincinnati Bureau of Municipal Research.

Many of the cities in New England have been growing as rapidly as any in the country. The same forces which have brought into existence at the centers of the largest cities, crime-producing and degrading housing conditions are entrenched and at work producing rapid and permanent results at the centers of the New England cities. For a century Boston's center has been the worst in the country, next to New York. Next to Boston the center of Lawrence has the worst congestion in New England.

Lawrence as a city is almost as old as it is as a town. The population has grown from one or two hundred in 1844, to 85,892 at the present time. Despite the growth of other cities and despite the general wide and unrestricted use of wood in the New England cities, the four-story frame tenement has not seemed a desirable house to builders in most cities. The immediate fire risk to the occupants of a single house and the potential conflagration risk ought long ago to have outlawed this kind of building. Lawrence has 268 four-story frame houses, more than any other city in New England. Worcester, 60 per cent. larger, has 120 such houses and a large number of three story and basement houses, but as they are more scattered, the conditions are not so dangerous as in Lawrence. The four-story houses number in Lowell 140, Cambridge 110, Fall River 95, Salem 90, New Bedford 55, Lynn 50. Connecticut cities have almost none. Lowell prohibited this form of building six years ago and since then Lawrence has built nearly 100. They are crowded together at the center where the majority of the other houses are three stories high, and where most of the lots have rear houses.

This congestion of high wooden houses is one of the most remarkable sights to be seen in any New England City. Some of the blocks are almost solidly built upon, with some lots so closely occupied that there is actually no open space sufficient to stand a garbage pail on the same lot with the house. The Merrimac river divides the city about equally into North and South Lawrence, and the congested district is in the North Lawrence half. This district has, proportionate to its area, four

times as many apartments as the rest of North Lawrence and twelve times as many as South Lawrence. More than one-third of the city's population is living on one-thirteenth of the city's area, although that area is the fourth smallest in the state.

The congested wooden houses of this district constitute an appalling conflagration hazard. The seriousness of this hazard is only equalled by the hopelessness of any adequate remedial action by the city. The mass of wood at the center of Lawrence today is greater than it was in Chelsea at the time of the conflagration when about $12,000,000 was burned up.

Dimly lighted and dark tenements abound everywhere, especially in the rear houses, which are remarkably numerous. No other mill city of New England equal Lawrence either in the number or size of the rear houses. But the most disgraceful condition is the number of new houses in which the majority of the rooms are lighted from lot line windows. The usual form of overcrowding is that of the houses on the land, but in a few blocks there is exceptional overcrowding of rooms.

Lawrence has one good feature of the tenement houses which places the city before the country in a pre-eminent position. The sanitary equipment of sinks and water closets is probably not exceeded by any industrial city in the country. The city has been requiring for eighteen years that there shall be one water closet in every apartment, with a window of 3 square feet area. The water closets are within the apartments in separate compartments and they have been extensively introduced into the old houses, most frequently, at the ratio of one for each family. All the tenements have sinks.

Apart from the plumbing requirements, the history of the city building ordinances, is unusually depressing. There was no law until 1906, when an ordinance was passed that is practically valueless, yet has remained unamended for six years.

Lawrence was associated with Boston in one of the earliest housing investigations in the country. "The report of the Sanitary Commission of Massachusetts—1850," a historical document of 500 pages, presents in about 30 pages, a sanitary survey of Lawrance, to illustrate one of its chief objects. "special sanitary surveys of particular cities." Lawrence was then a town of about 8,000 and the report has much praise for the conditions then existing. It was prophetic in one of its warnings: "We recommend that every practical effort be made to prevent crowding too many houses upon one lot and too many families or persons into one house."

Because the site of the new town was farm land the mill corporations were at first forced to build houses as well as mills. When Anthony Trollope returned to England in the '60's after a visit to this country that included Lawrence and Lowell, he could hardly say enough in praise of the mill owners as landlords. Their attempt to safeguard by rules the moral and religious life of their tenants and employees is a noteworthy fact in the early industrial history of this country. They soon learned the lesson which some other industrial corporations have yet to

learn. They ceased to be landlords long ago and have thus escaped the entangled relationship which made the town of Pullman a failure for many years, and has given serious trouble at Ludlow and elsewhere.

Recently one of the largest mill corporations has resumed this relationship in Lawrence to the extent of building in 1907-8-9 houses for 142 families. Fifty-two cottages of exceedingly good design are on large lots and serve as a benefit to a few families, an attractive feature of the town and an advertisement to the company. The rest of the houses are almost too good to be interesting to commercial builders. This company probably employs from three to four thousand operatives who rent apartments; hence the 142 apartments in these good houses are as a drop in a bucket.

The care and attention that the mill corporations have put into the houses they have built, and into the high grade construction of the mill buildings themselves, are in striking contrast to the seriously defective buildings which the commercial builders have been allowed to construct. One of the worst of the recently built tenements was constructed under the control of a laborer, who makes his living delivering baskets of coal on his back. He is planning to erect on the lot adjoining his first house a second one of these wretched beehives for 12 families. One of the worst new rear buildings, less than 4 years old, was constructed under the control of another recent immigrant whose family lives in a small house which he owns in the front of the lot. His aged mother sleeps in a windowless room; his wife and daughter are kept hard at work in the kitchen for boarders, and he is away all summer on his truck farm. He was planning to erect soon a second wretched tenement at the front of the lot. Such hardworking but ignorant and unskilled laborers, whose sole object is the saving of money and whose standard for themselves and their families is often miserable are able to save one or two thousand dollars. They have no sense of civic responsibility and not the slightest ability to design a house for that most difficult of sites, the narrow city lot. Such men as these apply to the banks and secure, many times with little or no examination of plans, loans that make it possible for them to burden the future of the city with their low standards built into a house. This is not peculiar to Lawrence, it is taking place in all the cities of Massachusetts. The wretched houses that are being thus constructed, will last from 60 to 100 years and will cost the cities dearly in weakened lives and lowered standards.

The labor troubles of this year in Lawrence might just as well have come to any other of the mill cities in Massachusetts. The city has suffered in a general cause. The burden which the citizens are now bearing because of the strike would probably have seemed to them far more tolerable, if the result achieved had been some remedy for one or both of the troubles which are most acute in that city, namely, the indefensible congestion and the absence of the mill owners as residents. It is not just to the better citizens in Lawrence to speak of it in direct comparison with other cities. The citizens with influence and civic ideals are too

few. The problem of controlling the building of houses there cannot be considered without mentioning the absence of the mill owners. Stated baldly, Lawrence is an appendage to the textile industries—a tool-room attached to a work-shop. Many cities have such economic balance within themselves that they are far more integers than Lawrence and far better able to take care of themselves. Even if there were an awakened interest in good housing, it is very doubtful whether there could be secured legal remedy in the city ordinances that would be adequate. It is possible that the mill owners could establish in the city, civic enterprises that would be a sufficient substitute for the direct sense of shame and personal responsibility and the efficient controlling interests, which they would have, if they were residents. It is possible; but it would be most difficult to accomplish successfully and is not in prospect even as a project. Because the mill owners live outside of the city, and always have, the housing problem is a state problem and can be solved only by state legislation.

This is true of many other factory cities in New England. The economic powers of the corporations over-shadow and dominate for corporate purposes the weak city governments in which the owners of the corporations as individuals and citizens have no responsibility and little interest because they are not residents.. To these political units, which are not economic units, or are out of balance with the economic facts, the theory of home rule is ill-suited.

The direct arguments which have been set forth by Mr. Lawrence Veiller for state control of housing, are incontrovertible, and there is no state that needs such legislation more than Massachusetts. No other state has an equal urban population distributed in many cities. Sixty-two per cent. of the people in the state live in 22 cities of more than 30,000. An increase in population of more than 30 per cent. each decade is common. The prices of real estate at the centers are going up by leaps and bounds—frequently doubling in less than ten years. There is being repeated in many of the centers, the crowding of houses which has been going on in Boston for 100 years and has made its center notorious. Into congested wooden centers, large poorly lighted new houses are being crowded rapidly. For a century their dark rooms will continue to drive their occupants into the street and foster disease as much as the old ones. With greater fire risk, conditions identical with those of New York's east side are increasing yearly.

Yet the state law has practically no housing requirements and the ordinances in the majority of the cities are either worthless or ignore the subject of light, ventilation and sanitation. In a few cities such as Cambridge, Worcester and Lowell, there are a few fair requirements. In securing codes from the twenty-seven cities which have a population of more than 20,000, it was found that two cities have no code, and four codes were out of print. Among twenty-one codes 15 speak of the space from the side of a house to the side lot line, specifying distances that range from 1.5 feet to 3 feet, with only one city requiring four feet;

such restrictions in all codes being made applicable to frame buildings only. Six codes are silent on the subject. Five codes only have anything to say about yards. Two codes only speak of courts. Shafts and light wells are almost unmentioned. Only three codes have anything to say about the size or presence of a window in a room. Life is too short even to read a summary of all the important matters upon which these codes are silent.

The general court of Massachusetts is one of the few legislatures that persists in meeting annually. It holds long sessions and has created innumerable commissions; it has the commission habit. Yet none of the commissions in recent years has been on housing. It has jealously held with tight hand to its great power over the cities. Yet the sum total of its acts for the control of houses in a state which has twenty-seven large rapidly growing cities is a few trivial and ineffective paragraphs.

In contrast with this most deplorable lack of legislation as it existed in January this year and in comparison with the Lawrence labor war, we may place the statement of one of Massachusett's most prominent men. "We cannot push the cares and troubles of working men and women into the background and trust that all will come out right in the end. Practical measures are plentiful enough." Among others "economical and energetic municipal governments; proper building laws. Here are matters of great pith and moment, more important, more essential, more pressing than any others. They must be met. They cannot be shirked or evaded." These are the words of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge spoken twenty-eight years ago.

Lawrence at that time was a city of 38,000 and the history of its conter would have been far different if action to remedy the need that was then recognized had not been delayed through all these years.

But the prize for procrastination in housing legislation is held by Boston. Boston began having housing investigations almost as early as New York. The 1849 report of the cholera epidemic shows the crowded tenement districts in clear and definite lines. The report of the sanitary commission of 1850, not only sets forth at length the evils of bad houses in Boston and London, but states the need for prevention, rather than cure, so clearly that it reads as if it had been written for the conference here to-day.

After citing various philanthropic purposes, the report continues: "A great amount of labor and money are spent in the propagation of these sentiments. But how few of such persons (the philanthropic) apparently turn aside to notice the thousands of lives that are unnecessarily sacrificed—the social murders and suicides that are daily occurring around us on account of the existing evils which might be removed. If the same zeal, labor and money were expended in diffusing correct sanitary information among the people, in removing the causes of diseases which prey upon them,—how many more lives might be saved. We would not lisp a word against the great charities, nor wish the contributions to them had been smaller. It may, however, be stated that the number of

recipients of these charities is comparatively few and limited. They comprehend a very small part only of the great masses of the people. And there is no doubt that if the same amount of money which our measure might require were applied to the careful ascertainment of the causes, a much greater number of beneficiaries might be assisted. All along we have endeavored to prove that prevention is better than cure. We urge the removal of the causes that produce the misery which these streams of benevolence are applied to alleviate.'' This is not ''Boston 1915'' but Boston, 1850.

Since 1850 numerous investigations have taken place with little or no result beyond the printed report. Until, after all these years, the last word at the opening of this year is a small pamphlet which bears the significant title ''Boston's Housing Problem: Preliminary Report.'' It professedly takes up the work of the Housing Committee of ''Boston 1915'' where that committee left it, saying that the needs have been sufficiently investigated; hence its pages are devoted to the discussion of so-called remedies. There is but one remedy—and that is barely alluded to in the report. Nothing is said of legislation directly. It asserts the duty of the city not to bear down heavily on the holders of small equities in tenement houses as if, inferentially, this is an insurmountable obstacle and ought to dispel from the mind of the reader any consideration of legislation.

The prospective hardships involved in new standards in new legislation are more mythical than real. The wiping out of the equities of a few small owners is a minor incident, full of hardship for a very few, but not adequate ground for further criminal waiting. This prospective hardship to a few small owners was not a convincing argument to a single judge in all the various courts up to and including the United States Supreme Court, in which the historic Katie Moeschen case passed, though it was the main argument in that case. It is not a convincing argument after all these years during which the introduction of new machines has been displacing so many industrial workers. The hardship of a few cannot be placed over against the welfare and progress of the whole community.

Nothing can meet Boston's needs except an adequate law for the metropolitan district.

Chelsea, purged by fire, set up new high standards in building regulations and now is said to be not living up to them on the ground that builders will go to Dorchester and other neighboring localities. Dorchester is fawning before and fuming in defense of its wooden idols, the kindlingwood three deckers. Yet the situation in Boston is not worse than it was in New York eleven years ago when that city simply stopped constructing the worst and most dangerous houses.

Of course this last pamphlet on Housing in Boston is called ''Preliminary'' because it is the first report of another new group who are beginning to take an interest in housing. Where is the interest of the men who have brought in all the previous reports?

In the history of tenement house legislation for New York City there is one most salient feature. A small group of wise men with money, associated with Robert W. deForest and Lawrence Veiller, cared and became active. The singular feature is not that they cared nor that they became active. Others had done the same. Report after report had been brought in concerning the conditions in New York's tenements and nothing had been accomplished. The conditions had grown rapidly worse. The pre-eminent fact in New York's tenement house history is that the small group of men who were active in the 1900 tenement house commission are just as active twelve years later. When at the beginning of this year the supreme court of that state practically abrogated the state law on a long forgotten and very technical discrepancy, the same men who wrote the law twelve years ago secured within a few days from both branches of the state legislature the passage of an act that corrected the discrepancy and re-established the law. That is New York's 1912 preliminary report on housing.

Those men not only cared and did something, but they kept on caring and kept together.

The prime need in Massachusetts where so many industrial centers are crying to heaven for preventive legislation is a small group of wise men with money who care, will keep on caring and will keep together. For the securing of a good state law and the working out of a satisfactory method for supervising its administration is a project that cannot be completed in any state in one or two winters. Nor can it be completed by the intermittent attention of any number of social workers.

Whatever definition, standards or methods have been unwisely copied from New York's experience, the social workers of this country can make no mistake in urging incessantly that the housing reform in their locality must have the constant and undivided attention of men who have the time and money to secure immediate and fundamental results. And it is to be hoped that they will be found militant in preserving those results, ten and fifteen years later.

## THE FIGHT FOR BETTER HOMES.

By John Ihlder, Field Secretary, National Housing Association.

In this brief paper I shall try to bring out clearly the need of two fundamental things in the fight for better homes, now being waged in more than one hundred of our cities; the need of a strong citizens' organization to lead the fight, and the need of effective legislation; but above all, the need of an organization of men and women whose interest will be continuing, men and women who, having organized public sentiment, won the co-operation of public officials, secured the enactment of effective legislation, stay on the job and see that the promise of their earlier efforts is fulfilled.

The first of the needs then is a strong citizens' committee. By strong is not necessarily meant large. But large or small the committee must be representative so that it may command the support of the community, its members must have a reputation for good judgment and ability, so that they may command public confidence, they must be willing to do a considerable amount of work so that they may have personal knowledge of conditions and of the proposed remedies for those conditions. And last, in the larger cities where the problems are intricate, they must have an executive who can devote all or a very large proportion of his or her time to the work. In many of our social and civic campaigns it is easy for any person of intelligence to acquire a sufficient smattering of knowledge to talk plausibly so long as he confines himself to generalities. But we have passed the stage where generalities suffice. What we need now is the definite and detailed knowledge which will enable us to solve those difficult practical problems that a constructive program raises. And to get such knowledge at first hand requires time and labor, more time and labor than the volunteer members of a commmittee can well spare. So the executive must get it for them.

This has been fully illustrated in the history of the fight for better housing. Almost without exception those cities of America which have no housing association or committee are doing nothing to better housing conditions. In several of our cities there were organizations which carried on a campaign of education, which secured improvements and then ceased. With them practically ceased the work they had started. Not that their efforts have been entirely without result, for the archeologist may still find remains in these cities. But the machinery failed to work itself and now these cities are again creating volunteer organizations to supply the needed power. In New York, for a contrast, there is a volunteer organization which has remained on the job. As a result New York is the only city in America where effective housing regulations have been efficiently enforced until the past year, when other cities were added. Every year since 1901, when the New York law was enacted, there have been determined attempts to weaken or repeal it, attempts which were defeated by the volunteer association of citizens who made

# Courts and Prisons*

Report of the Committee by Bailey B. Burritt, Chairman.

*Socialization of the Courts.*

In the first letter which the Chairman of the Committee on Courts and Prisons wrote to the members of that Committee, he stated that it was his opinion that the program of the Committee should emphasize so far as possible the movement which has been summed up in the term "The Socialization of the Courts." In speaking to one of the Committee subsequently he was asked what he meant by that term. He has been trying to define it in his own mind ever since. It will be his effort in the few moments at his disposal to-night, to offer some content for that term. (I should add at this point that the paper which follows is a report by the Chairman of the Committee rather than a report of the Committee. I have tried to inform the Committee of the general scope of the report but have not been able to place copies of it in their hands for the benefit of suggestions from them.)

*Socialization of Courts Part of General Social Movement.*

The great social movement of our time which has had such a phenomenal development in the past two decades and which has already given us a considerable body of professional *social* workers has its root in a growing *social* consciousness, a growing feeling of welded-togetherness, an addition to the realization of the importance of the individual *as individual* of a corresponding realization of the value of an individual *as social.*

This feeling of the social value of the individual expressed itself first of all most easily and naturally in the desire to relieve poverty, to restore the sick to health, to care for the dependent, neglected and defective and to perform the thousand acts summed up in that wide range of activities usually spoken of as charitable. The same feeling in turn found expression in a tendency to be dissatisfied with conditions prevailing in the jails, prisons and other correctional institutions, and the devel-

*For joint section meeting see page 459.

opment of reformatories and specialized institutions, the use of probation and the indeterminate sentence—in other words, it was extended to that range of activities affecting the care and restoration of the delinquent.

If the whole picture were to be given I would go on indefinitely showing the operation of this movement in the whole range of human activities. It is conspicuous, for example, in the socialization of the church; it is conspicuous in the socialization of the public schools and the public educational system, and so on through the whole range of human activities. In the movement for changing conditions in the courts, we are, I believe, at the threshold of the extension of this movement to a field which heretofore has felt but little its influence. From one point of view the socialization of the courts is a corollary of the socialization of the correctional field. It is being realized more and more that in order to deal intelligently with the problem of the reformation of offenders against the regulations of society, we not only must consider them after they have been committeed to one of the existing correctional institutions, but we must also begin at least one step further back and insure with certainty the fact that the judge before whom the offender is brought and who must dispose of the case, will feel the necessity of considering the past, present and future environment of the man. When the judges of our courts (and I speak primarily of our inferior criminal courts in this paper because I am more familiar with the operations of these courts), and other court officials really come to the consciousness of these two facts, namely, that the individuals dealt with are *social* beings and that the problems involved are *social* problems, the movement, roughly termed "The Socialization of the Courts" will be already well under way.

It is unfortunate that the word "courts" to the average man suggests legal opinions, lawyers, technicalities, delays in justice, amounting at times to miscarriage of justice. Indeed in court work the legal factors have been so prominent that they have frequently overshadowed all others, so much so that we have to a large measure overlooked the fact that every case appearing before a magistrate presents a *social* problem. We overlook the fact that when an infraction of the law has taken place

and a prisoner is arraigned before the judge, in addition to the question of guilt or innocence of the person so arraigned, many other questions are inevitably involved and for that reason should be taken into consideration by the judge. I refer to such questions as: What are the causes which led to the infraction of the law? What motives led him to his unsocial act? Is the man mentally and physically normal and wholly responsible? What persons are dependent upon him and what will be the social effect upon them if he is punished? What are the personal characteristics of the man who is arraigned? To what kind of treatment will he respond in order to become again a normal social being? Does he need the personal and brotherly help of a probation officer? Should he be isolated from society and if so, in what kind of an institution? Should the length of the period of isolation be dependent upon his behavior while isolated? What conception of justice does he get as a result of his being hailed before an austere judge in a dingy and often dirty court room where his case is only one of thousands put through with machine-like rapidity with little opportunity for a careful, personal consideration and friendly inquiry? What effect has this on the conception of justice formed by his friends and relatives who attend the court as witnesses or interested parties? What effect in particular do these conditions have on the conception of American justice acquired by foreigners who are brought in such large numbers into the inferior courts? Does it give them a respect for law or the reverse? Do they believe that they have had "a square deal" or are they left with the impression that favors are handed out by the courts to friends of political leaders who are in a position to influence the acts of the court, or that it is all a matter of accident or chance?

*Official Survey of Court Conditions Found Helpful.*

The mere stating of these questions suggests the tremendous *social* significance of the work of our inferior courts. It suggests also that the *social* possibilities of the courts have relatively been neglected. It was this feeling that led the Charity Organization Society of New York, in 1908, to set on foot a movement to secure a thorough investigation and study of the

conditions which prevailed in the inferior criminal courts of cities of the first class in New York State. A bill was enacted authorizing the appointment of an official Commission consisting of three members of the Assembly, two Senators and two citizens appointed by the Governor of the state, for the purpose of making a thorough study of these courts, the methods of procedure, the condition of the court houses, the attitude of the court officials towards persons having business in the courts, the prevailing systems of records or lack of records, and all other matters relating to their work. This Commission began its inquiry in the fall of 1908, and did not submit its final report to the legislature until April, 1910, after hearing many witnesses in all of the first-class cities of the state and taking over 5,000 pages of testimony, and after visiting court houses and other institutions relating to the work of these courts. Bills prepared by this Commission, carrying out the important recommendations made by it, became law in 1910, and resulted in an extensive reorganization of the inferior courts.

Some of the more important changes made by this law in New York City were:

1. The creation of the position of chief judge to act as a central administrative head in each of the branches of the inferior courts.

2. The establishment of a separate court for the hearing of cases of domestic relations.

3. The creation of an additional night court in order to provide for the hearing of cases of women separate from that of the men.

4. Requiring that probation officers and court attendants be civilians instead of police officers as they were formerly.

5. Forbidding a judge from holding any executive position as political leader.

6. Installing a finger-print system of identification for all persons convicted of prostitution and for nearly all offenders committed to the local workhouse.

7. Authorizing but not requiring proceedings in the hearing of children's cases which approach equity proceedings instead of the purely criminal proceeding prevailing in the New York courts.

8. Providing for a considerable extension of the use of the summons in place of warrants and for more systematic records of summonses issued.

9. Providing for identification cards to be placed in the hands of citizens. These make possible the issuing of summonses directly by the policeman thereby preventing the necessity of arrest.

10. The creation of better physical conditions in the court rooms—the abolition of the *bridge,** the establishment of separate complaint rooms and provision for better classification in the detention rooms.

11. The assignment of a deputy district attorney to each court to read complaints, to advise as to the necessity of an attorney and to ask for the discharge of a case where advisable.

12. Making provision for easy communication on the part of arrested persons with a friend or relative. (Formerly this was a source of extended corruption).

To the Charity Organization Society it seemed that the important work of improving conditions in the inferior courts and emphasizing the social aspects of their work had only begun when the work of the official Commission was ended. It felt that the great reforms initiated by the legislation which had been secured could be made effective only by organizing a group of influential citizens interested in these reforms, to act as a permanent committee for the purpose of taking over and giving continuity to the task laid down by the official Commission and of bringing the force of public sentiment to bear in support of the reforms already undertaken and of others which had been or might be suggested. Accordingly, in July, 1910, the Committee on Criminal Courts came into being. Three of its most active members of the legislative Commission, called the Page Commission, became members. The Committee is a fortunate combination of men with legal and political experience and men who have had extended experience in social work. In addition to this, the Committee includes men of all parties and of all religions, and is peculiarly well constituted for the tasks that have confronted it.

The keynote of the Committee's work since its organization

*See Page 174.

has been *sympathetic cooperation* with judges and magistrates, with the persons brought before the court, with court clerks and attendants, probation officers, with social workers, with city officials and with the public at large.

The most effective things accomplished by this Committee have been brought about by gathering and systematizing the facts relating to the work of these courts and making these facts known, first of all to the judges and other officials and then to the general public. It has served not only as an investigator, demonstrator and disseminator of facts, but the facts discovered have in each case been coupled with a practical program for changing untoward conditions where discovered. It has been able to bring to bear on such programs the judgment and influence of a non-partisan group of practical men and this coupled with the powerful influence of an informed public sentiment has achieved real progress.

Briefly summarized a few of the things accomplished through the cooperation of this Committee, are:

1. An active campaign resulting in the defeat of a ripper bill urged for the purpose of throwing some 50 judges out of office and putting political judges in their places as well as upsetting reforms secured by the Page Bill.

2. Assisted in organizing the work of the new domestic relations courts and held several conferences for the discussion of the problem created by the new courts. Also secured several amendments to the law affecting the work of these courts.

3. Secured the practical abolition of fines and other important changes in the disposition of cases of prostitution.

4. Secured greater interest on the part of judges in the use of reformatories by cooperating with the board of managers of one of the state reformatories for women in arranging a trip to the institution and holding a conference there.

5. Secured from the Superintendent of this institution a comprehensive plan for dealing with women offenders in the City of New York and assisted in securing provision for an experimental station for the study of women offenders.

6. Outlined and presented to the judges a model record system.

7. Assisted in securing a site and an additional appropriation for a new children's court building, studied its plans thoroughly and secured a redrawing of them.

8. Assisted in securing 18 additional probation officers, ten of whom were for the children's court.

9. Assisted in reorganizing probation work in the children's court.

10. Arranged series of weekly conferences with children's court judges and members of the Criminal Courts Committee to consider and act on problems as they came up.

The time at my disposal tonight does not make possible an elaboration of other detailed changes effected. My purpose in calling attention to these activities is simply to illustrate what can be accomplished in the socialization of the courts by the activities of such a Committee with the feeling that perchance the suggestions may afford some little assistance in attacking similar problems in other cities.

The enormity of the problems which have confronted this committee may perhaps best be described by quoting from an address made by Hon. Bronson Winthrop, chairman of the committee, at the annual meeting of the Charity Organization Society, held January 10, 1912. He said:

> "Now, when I tell you that there were brought before these courts in the period of one year in the Borough of Manhattan alone, nearly two hundred thousand persons, you will begin to realize the enormous part that these courts play in the life of a vast section of our community; you will realize that these courts are inferior only in their jurisdiction, while in their immediate effect on our civilization they are as important, in many ways more important, than our highest courts. Consider that to the two hundred thousand persons who are brought into these courts in one year, to that vast multitude with their friends and witnesses who may be involved in the case, a City Magistrate represents the embodiment of American justice. For these persons rarely see or know of the inside of any other court. As they see justice adminstered with dignity and decorum, so will be their impression of the majesty of the law. So far as their own cases are heard with patience and impartiality, whether they be complainants or defendants, just so far will they come away with the impression that the operation of justice is a rational thing, to be reckoned with in a rational

way, and not a superior but incomprehensible power, to be resisted like an evil fate. When you consider that the vast majority of these persons are childishly ignorant, that many of them are foreigners, and unacquainted with our institutions, you will begin to understand the enormous part that these courts play, or ought to play in the education of the large number whose fate is undecided whether they shall become useful citizens or a burden on the community. This is what may be called the educational phase of these courts. But there is also another phase, and it represents problems more difficult of solution. Many of the persons brought before these courts, I may almost say the majority of them, are in no sense criminal; they are merely unfortunate; they have broken some law or regulation; they must therefore be punished for the protection of society; and yet their case is one of charitable rather than judicial cognizance. It is for others than those who are charged with administering the law to devise the means to prevent or alleviate the conditions which produce such offenders.

"These, to my mind, are the two most important opportunities of those who are interested in the work of these courts, to educate the ignorant to a proper respect for the law and to strive to remove the causes of misfortune instead of merely punishing the unfortunate."

If we consider in addition to the picture given by Mr. Winthrop that the number of persons arraigned for minor offenses in the United States in one year is estimated by John Koren of the Census Bureau to be at least 650,000, we realize what a tremendous opportunity the judges of these courts have to influence a considerable proportion of our population. The fact that the numbers involved are so large and the problem so important leads me to suggest possible practical steps in a program for hastening the introduction into the work of the courts of the social changes to which I have referred. I would for the reasons given above place as the first part of such a program the organization of an effective group of public spirited citizens, including a liberal percentage of persons who not only have some conception of the great social movements referred to, but who have at the same time considerable, practical, and if possible political experience. The cooperation of such committees with the courts can be very effective in securing better conditions, in educating public opinion, in working with public officials, in supporting necessary appropriations for needed

changes, in defeating undesirable legislation, in formulating and securing the enactment of desirable legislation and in following assiduously the varied activities of these courts.

As a second element in bringing about these changes I would suggest the necessity of securing a more complete realization on the part of the judges themselves of the fact that *their problem is much less exclusively a legal problem and much more largely a social problem.* We have in some degree to overcome the tradition of many years that the single task of the judge is the determination of the guilt or innocence of the accused. In the inferior courts in particular there are many persons brought into the courts who are in no sense criminals. They are social beings slightly out of joint with their social environment. More important than simply to determine whether John Jones, when drunk, really battered the head of his neighbor, is to determine how, as a judge, one can dispose of this case so as to prevent other unsocial acts on the part of the offender. To this end we must make certain that the persons on the bench of our inferior courts are thoroughly familiar with modern penal and reformative ideals; men who are in active touch with the great movements of penal reform; men who know the possibilities and the limitations of probation, parole and the use of the indeterminate sentence; men who know thoroughly the different classes of institutions to which they commit cases, their ideals, the results which they secure and their limitations; men who are familiar with the various charitable and philanthropic activities of the community, whose assistance they can from time to time invoke; men who will substitute courteous manners and kindly interest for official gruffness and harsh severity, men of inextinguishable enthusiasm for making their community a more social community through their acts; men willing to give generously of their time and devotion to their work; men who refuse to consider with machine-like rapidity cases which are presented before them; men with courage to insist on "even-handed justice" in the face, if need be, of the political leader; men with such deep convictions that they will feel it their duty to educate the public at large with regard to the work of the courts in order that the force of public opinion may be brought to bear in effecting

needed changes,—in short, humane judges, who recognize that their task is at least in part a social task and who are social students as well as students of juristic technicalities.

As a third important step, I would suggest the necessary machinery for placing before the judge at the time of the hearing, or at least before sentence, more complete information about the arrested person. It is a moral disgrace that in the year of our Lord, 1912, in the City of New York, a judge before sentencing a man for disorderly conduct or public intoxication, or any other offense in which repetitions are likely to occur, has no means of knowing whether the person whom he is about to sentence is before the police courts of that city for the first or the fiftieth time. To be sure sentence should not always be measured by the length of a person's police record, but it is impossible to expect any kind of adequate social treatment without this knowledge before they judge. The lack of it leads to such ridiculous things, for example, as sending a man to the workhouse for five days who had been sent there on fifty-five previous occasions for the same offense, as was done recently in the City of New York. The establishment of a finger print system of identification of offenders to be applied to all persons convicted of offenses in which repetitions are likely to occur, as has already been done in cases of prostitution in the City of New York, and providing for a report to the judge on the man's record is a simple, inexpensive matter and absolutely essential to an intelligent and wise disposition of the case.

But more important perhaps than information about the court record of the person convicted, is accurate information about the circumstances under which the offense was committed, the motives that led to it, the social obligations of the person, that is, the number of persons dependent on him, his occupation, his personal qualities and his environment. Is it not expecting too much to ask a judge to make wise dispositions without having sufficient information at his disposal to know to what kind of treatment this particular individual will be likely to respond? The securing of such necessary information implies a very considerable extension of the investigation aspects of probation work. It requires the same kind of intelligence, the same kind of knowledge of social conditions as is

required in the investigation of cases by social relief giving agencies.

A similar perfection of the machinery of securing the reformation of individuals without the necessity of sending them to any institution is another essential. In other words an increased number of probation officers—men who are competent, men of good judgment and broad experience, men with a real knowledge of human nature must be placed at the disposal of the judge. Men with these qualities cannot be secured without adequate salaries. This means additional appropriations for more men and better trained and better paid men.

Another essential element is the recognition of the fact that entering somewhere in the problem of the determination of the disposition of the case, must come other experts who will assist the judge in making a diagnosis of the case. In other words there must be placed at the disposal of the court medical and psychological experts who will study the doubtful case from a physical and mental point of view. It is idle to continue to dispose of feeble-minded and mentally and physically abnormal cases in the same way that the judge disposes of physically and mentally normal cases. Coupled with these necessities is the necessity of providing for a greater classification of cases in disposing of them. We must have more specialized institutions and agencies for dealing with offenders. We must do away once and for all with the general workhouse as a place for the commitment of all kinds of cases. We must have special institutions for the prostitute, the vagrant, the inebriate, the feeble-minded delinquent and even provision for classification within the institution or agency which deals with these specialized groups.

Still another essential in any such program as is being contemplated is the necessity for more complete, more uniform and more systematic records. Not only must the individual record be more complete and give a better social picture of the case but there must be a more systematic organization and presentation to the public of the statistical information which such records contain. It is astonishing that in so many of our large cities at the present time one cannot from the published records of the court, ascertain what has been the disposition of

cases which came before the court. In my own city of New York, for example, the tables published in the Annual Reports of the Boards of Magistrates, will tell you with some degree of accuracy how many persons arrested for any particular offense were held, and how many were discharged. But nowhere in the report is it possible to find a statement showing what was done with the cases which were held for that offense, how many were fined and how much, how many were sent to reformatory institutions, how many were sent to the local workhouse, how many were placed on probation and how many were dealt with otherwise. This knowledge which is fundamentally ncessary to any serious consideration of court work is not available. It is impossible to make real progress in effecting needed changes until such information is automatically collated and placed at the disposal of the public by the court officials themselves. It is greatly to the credit, I must say in passing, of Chief Magistrate McAdoo, of New York, that he himself has called attention to this marked defect in court records and that he is desirous of reorganizing the reports and making this information available as rapidly as possible. There has been a great improvement in this particular in the statistical records of the inferior courts of Chicago, and of some other cities, but this movement for improved court records and improved statistical information is in its infancy; its full development is an imperative necessity.

A general survey of the court situation in any given community is a most helpful preliminary in stimulating needed changes. Attention has already been called to the official survey made by a legislative commission in the first class cities of the State. In each of these cities but particularly in Buffalo and New York this survey paved the way for many desirable and somewhat radical changes. If such surveys can be made official and still thorough-going and with due consideration of the social problems involved it adds greatly to the effectiveness of the survey in actually bringing results.

Probably no community endeavoring to effect changes in its inferior courts can escape the necessity of changing the physical conditions under which the court sits. The mere doing

away with the so-called *"bridge"* in the New York courts, filled as it was with policemen, court attendants and retainers, effectually preventing the defendant from the opportunity of a frank statement to the judge, and the placing of the offender in a witness chair near the judge, has added greatly to the orderly procedure and the securing of "even handed justice" in the New York courts. The addition of a complaint room to which the public who have complaints to make are admitted and are allowed to make their complaints in complete confidence without the presence of others, has likewise done much to add to the social effectiveness of those courts. But these are only details, important though they may be. As a rule in the inferior courts of our cities we have two extremes, both undesirable. In one we find an old dilapidated building, ill kept, frequently dark and dingy and unsanitary; at the other extreme is the elaborate monument to an architect—marble front, costly pillars, and extravagant construction. Neither of them are planned well from the point of view of the actual administration of the work of the court. It is impossible to leave the desired moral effect on that part of the public which finds its way to police courts with dirty and dingy surroundings. They cannot be inspired or impressed with respect for the government which maintains such conditions. It is impossible for the judge to do effective work under such conditions. An imperative need in our American municipalities is simply planned, simply constructed and for that reason, inexpensive court. houses. Their beauty should consist in being perfectly adapted to the complete purposes of the court. The plans should not be left to architects alone. In addition to the co-operation of the judge with the architects will frequently be found necessary the suggestions of other students of the work of the court. The plans recently drawn for a new children's court in the City of New York were entirely redrawn after they had been studied by the voluntary committee referred to and after conferences between this committee and the judges and the architects.

Publicity is another essential. The public must know more about the work of the courts and public sentiment must be brought to bear to secure needed legislation, needed appropria-

tions and other needed changes. The judge needs not only the cooperation of the newspaper but the newspaper should be interested in the human, social side of his problem. If it is impossible to do good work under existing conditions the judge must enlist the cooperation of the newspapers in informing the public in order that they may demand a change of conditions. In many instances it would be beneficial if the judge could anticipate the desires of the newspaper reporter by providing him with the material for a press bulletin or a special news story. Such publicity centering about the real work and the real needs of the court is a public service of great value. The judge might well welcome the opportunity to go before civic organizations and public meetings and conferences, for the purpose of explaining the details of the work of his court, showing the public what good things are being accomplished and what good things should and could be accomplished if conditions made them possible. Civic organizations must interest themselves in visiting the court and informing themselves with regard to its operations. They must then use every means at their disposal to inform the larger public of conditions which exist and conditions which ought to exist.

Finally, the organized social activities of the community must take greater responsibility in the problems of the courts in their community than has previously been the case. Upon them, after all, rests the responsibility of stimulating a social interest in this problem. Upon them is placed the duty of informing themselves with regard to existing conditions and with regard to conditions which ought to exist. Unless they are in a position from their broad study of social problems to inaugurate and carry through such movements, it is difficult to expect others to be in a position to do this. Not only have they this responsibility in stimulating and bringing about such movements, but they should also labor incessantly to bring about a greater degree of cooperation between charitable and social agencies and the courts themselves.

These suggested necessary steps in any program are incomplete and are intended merely as suggestions. The author of this paper from recent experience in the City of New York is greatly impressed with the possibilities of effectively attacking

this problem. It is a relatively neglected field; its possibilities of immediate progress are accordingly great. With active co-operation in any community on the part of judges, social workers, and interested public citizens, much progress can be made in what I have called in this paper the process of the socialization of our inferior courts.

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## SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND THE COURTS.

By Professor Roscoe Pound, Harvard Law School.

The judges in the several courts of justice, says Blackstone, "are the depositaries of the laws, the living oracles who must decide in all cases of doubt." Hence, to the practical American, taught that law is law because the courts so decide, it may well seem clear enough, when the law lags in the social movements that are going on all about us, that the fault must lie with the courts. That he does assume this is shown by the vogue of crude schemes for overhauling our judicial organization, the currency of so-called reforms of the courts which disregard all judicial experience and legal history and the popularity of the legal muck-raker whose garbled accounts of decisions might have been written of our courts from the beginning of our government with quite as much truth, but a generation ago would not have been able to find a publisher. In other lands, however, where the courts have no such role in the process of government as they have with us, the problem of making the law an effective social instrument, a means of achieving social progress, is quite as real as with us. On the Continent, under the influence of Roman-law ideas, the courts or judges are not thought of as depositaries or as oracles of the law. Whereas we say a rule is law because the courts apply it in the decision of causes, they say upon the continent that the courts apply the rule in the decision of causes because it is law. And yet the socialization of law is a problem the world over. A whole literature upon this subject has sprung up in Germany and in France. Our situation in America is in no way unique; and if it is more acute, the reason is to be found in our eighteenth-century system of checks and balances, in the legal, political and philosophical charts called bills of rights by which our fathers sought to confine courts and legislatures and sovereign peoples for all time within the straight and narrow course of individualistic natural law.

For a time there was need of propagandist agitation. It was necessary that the public, the legal profession and the courts be made to recognize that our legal system was to be re-examined, many of its fundamental principles recast, and the whole re-adjusted to proceed along new lines. This task of awakening has been achieved. A generation ago it would have been hard to find anyone to question that, upon, the whole,

American law was quite what it should be. Some of the older members of the bar, indeed, still cherish the belief which was then universal. But first the economists and sociologists and students of government and then the Bar itself have been thinking upon this matter freely and vigorously until criticism has become staple. Nowhere is this change more noticeable than in the reports and proceedings of our Bar Associations. Not long ago the dominant note was one of eulogy, of pride in our system and in its administration, and complacent comparison with what we took to be the legal systems of other peoples. To-day each volume of such proceedings is filled with critical comments upon every side of the law and of its administration and the more conservative are content with a tone of apology or with deprecating extravagant criticism. The need for propaganda has passed. Now for a season we need careful diagnosis and thorough-going study of the lines upon which change is to proceed. A change in juridical fundamentals must begin at the beginning. The problem of the sociological jurist lies far deeper than individual courts or judges, and deeper than lawyers and courts and judges collectively.

Legal history shows that from time to time legal systems have to be remade, and that this new birth of a body of law takes place through the infusion into the legal system of something from without. A purely professional development of law, which is necessary in the long run, has certain disadvantages, and the undue rigidity to which it gives rise must be set off from time to time by receiving into the legal system ideas developed outside of legal thought. Such a process has taken place twice in the history of our own law. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the common law, through purely professional development in the King's Courts, had become so systematic and logical and rigid that it took no account of the moral aspects of causes to which it was to be applied. With equal impartiality its rules fell upon the just and the unjust. As Dean Ames put it, the attitude of the law was unmoral. The rise of the court of Chancery and development of equity brought about an infusion of morals into the legal system, an infusion of the ethical notions of chancellors who were clergymen, not lawyers, and thus made over the whole law. Again in the eighteenth century the law had become so fixed and systematized by professional development as to be quite out of accord with a commercial age. As the sixteenth-century judge refused to hear of a purely moral question, asking simply, what is the common law? so the eighteenth-century judge at first refused to hear of mercantile custom and commercial usage, and insisted upon the strict rules of the traditional law. But before the century was out, by the absorption of the law merchant, a great body of non-professional ideas, worked out by the experience of merchants, had been infused into the legal system and had created or made over whole departments of the law. To-day a like process is going on. The sixteenth-century judge, who rendered judgment upon a bond already paid because no formal release had been executed and refused to take account of the purely moral aspects of the creditor's conduct, the great judge in the eighteenth century who

refused to allow the indorsee of a promissory note to sue upon it, because by the common law things in action were not transferable, and would not listen to the settled custom of merchants to transfer such notes nor to the statement of the London tradesmen as to the unhappy effect of such a ruling upon business, have their entire counterpart in the judges of one of the great courts of the United States in the twentieth century to whom the economic and sociological aspects of a question appear palpably irrelevant.

The parallel is so close that it is worth pursuing. Addressing himself to a doctor of divinity, a serjeant at law of the reign of Henry VIII, disposed of the purely moral aspect of allowing recovery upon a bond paid but not formally released, in these words: "in what uncertantie shall the king's subjects stande, when they shall be put from the lawe of the realme, and be compelled to be ordered by the discretion and conscience of one man! And namelie for as moch as conscience is a thinge of great uncertaintie; for some men thinke that if they treade upon two strawes that lye acrosse, that they offende in conscience, and some man thinketh that if he lake money, and another hath too moche, that he may take part of his with conscience; and so divers men divers conscience; for everie man knoweth not what conscience is so well as you Mr. Doctour."

In 1704, Lord Holt, when the question of negotiation of promissory notes was before him spoke of "the mighty ill consequences that it was pretended would ensue by obstructing this course," asked "why do not dealers use that way which is legal?" and proceeded to argue upon strict common-law grounds why the indorsement of a note could not be given effect.

In 1911, the Court of Appeals of New York, having a Workmen's Compensation Act before it, said: "The report of the commission is based upon a most voluminous array of statistical tables, extracts from the works of philosophical writers and the industrial laws of many countries, all of which are designed to show that our own system of dealing with industrial accidents is economically, morally, and legally unsound. Under our form of government, however, courts must regard all economic, philosophical, and moral theories, attractive and desirable though they may be, as subordinate to the primary question whether they can be molded into statutes without infringing upon the letter or spirit of our written constitutions."

The sixteenth and seventeenth century law was brought to take account of ethics. The eighteenth century law came to receive the custom of merchants as part of the law of the land. May we not be confident that in the same way the law of the twentieth century will absorb the new economics and the social science of to-day and be made over thereby?

A developed legal system is made up of two elements, a traditional element and an enacted or imperative element. Although at present the balance in our law is shifting gradually to the side of the enacted ele-

ment, the traditional element is still by far the more important. In the first instance, we must rely upon it to meet all new problems, for the legislator acts only after they attract attention. But even after the legislator has acted, it is seldom if ever that his foresight extends to all the details of his problem or that he is able to do more than provide a broad, if not a crude, outline. Hence even in the field of the enacted law, the traditional element of the legal system plays a chief part. We must rely upon it to fill the gaps in legislation, to develop the principles introdurced by legislation and to interpret them. Let us not forget that so-called interpretation is not merely ascertainment of the legislative intent. If it were, it would be the easiest instead of the most difficult of judicial tasks. Where the legislature has had an intent and has sought to express it, there is seldom a question of interpretation. The difficulties arise in the myriad cases with respect to which the law maker had no intention because he had never thought of them—indeed perhaps he could never have thought of them. Here under the guise of interpretation the court, willing or unwilling, must to some extent make the law, and our security that it will be made as law and not as arbitrary rule lies in the judicial and juristic tradition from which the materials of judicial law-making are derived. Accordingly the traditional element of the legal system is and must be used even in an age of copious legislation, to supplement, round out and develop the enacted element, and in the end it usually swallows up the latter and incorporates its results in the body of tradition. Moreover a large field is always unappropriated by enactment, and here the traditional element is supreme. In this part of the law fundamental ideas change slowly. The alterations wrought here and there by legislation, not always consistent with one another, do not produce a general advance. Indeed they may be held back at times in the interests, real or supposed, of uniformity and consistency, through the influence of the traditional element. It is obvious, therefore, that above all else the condition of the law depends upon the condition of this element of the legal system. If the traditional element of the law will not hear of new ethical ideas, or will not hear of the usages of the mercantile community, or will not hear of new economics or of the tenets of the modern social sciences, legislation will long beat its ineffectual wings in vain. Probably all of you know this from experience. At the end of the nineteenth century, through the dominance of eighteenth century philosophical ideas in professional thinking and of the ideas of the historical school in legal teaching, the leading conceptions of Anglo-American common law had come to be regarded as fundamental conceptions of legal science. Not merely the jurist, but the legislator, the sociologist, the criminalist, the labor leader and even, as in the case of our corporation law, the business man had to reckon with them. A great part of the present dissatisfaction with our courts has its origin in decisions of the end of the last century, when ideas of finality of the common law were general—decisions which would be rendered by few courts, if by any, to-day.

If, however, the causes of the backwardness of the law with respect

to social problems and the unsocial attitude of the law toward questions of great import in the modern community are to be found in the traditional element of the legal system, the surest means of deliverance are to be found there also. The infusion of morals into the law through the development of equity was not an achievement of legislation but the work of courts. The absorption of the usages of merchants into the law was not brought about by statutes, but by judicial decisions. When once the current of juristic thought and judicial decision is turned into the new course our Anglo-American method of judicial empiricism has always proved adequate. Given new premises, our common law has the means of developing them to meet the exigencies of justice and of molding the results into a scientific system. Moreover, it has the power of acquiring new premises, as it did in the development of equity and the absorption of the law merchant, and as it is beginning to do once more to-day. For there are many signs that fundamental changes are taking place in our legal system and that a shifting is in progress from the individualist justice of the nineteenth century, which has passed so significantly by the name of legal justice, to the social justice of to-day.

Six noteworthy changes in the law, which are in the spirit of recent ethics, recent philosophy and recent political thought, may be referred to.

First among these we may note limitations on the use of property, attempts to prevent the anti-social exercise of rights. At this point judicial decision has been an agency of progress. This is no time or place for details. I need only refer to the gradual but steady change of front in our case law with respect to the so-called spite fence, and to the establishment in American case law of doctrines with respect to percolating water and to surface water, in which a principle of reasonable use has superseded the old and narrow idea that the owner of the surface could do as he pleased.

Second, we may note limitations upon freedom of contract, such as requirement of payment of wages in cash, regulations of hours and conditions of labor, and limitations upon the power of employers to restrain membership in unions. These have been matters of legislation. But our courts have taken the law of insurance practically out of the category of contract, have taken the law of surety companies practically out of the law of suretyship, and have established that the duties of public service companies are not contractual, flowing that agreement, but are quasi-contractual, flowing from the calling in which the public servant is engaged. Not merely in labor legislation, but in judicial decision with respect to public callings, the whole course of modern law is belying the famous individualist generalization of the nineteenth century that the growth of law is a progress from status to contract.

Third, we may note limitations on the power of disposing of property. These are chiefly legislative. Examples are the requirement in many states that the wife join in a conveyance of the family home; the statutes in some jurisdictions requiring the wife to join in a mortgage of house-

hold goods; the statute of Massachusetts requiring the wife to join in an assignment of the husband's wages.

Fourth, reference may be made to limitations upon the power of the creditor or injured party to secure satisfaction. The Roman law in its classical period had developed something of this sort. In the case of certain debtors as against certain creditors, the Roman law gave the benefit or the privilege of not answering for the entire amount, but for so much only as the debtor could pay for the time being. Naturally this doctrine was rejected in the modern civil law as being out of accord with the individualism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The new German code, however, has a number of provisions restricting the power of the creditor to secure satisfaction, such as, for example, the provision that the statutory liability of an insane wrongdoer shall not go so far as to deprive him of means of support. In the United States, the homestead exemption statutes which prevail in so many states, and the personality exemptions, which in some states go so far as to exempt five hundred dollars to the head of the family, and usually make liberal exemptions of tools to the artisan, library to the professional man, animals and implements to the farmer, and wages to the head of a family will serve as illustrations. There is a notable tendency in recent legislation and in recent discussion to insist, not that the debtor keep faith in all cases, even if it ruin him and his family, but that the creditor must take a risk also—either along with, or even in some cases, instead of the debtor.

Fifth, there is a tendency to revive the primitive idea of liability without fault not only in the form of wide responsibility for agencies employed, but in placing upon an enterprise the burden of repairing injuries, without fault of him, who conducts it, which are incident to the undertaking. What Dean Ames, from the standpoint of the historical jurist reviewing the gradual development of legal doctrines based upon free action of the human will, called "the unmoral standard of acting at one's peril" is coming back into the law in the form of employers' liability and workmen's compensation. There is a strong and growing tendency, where there is no blame on either side, to ask in view of the exigencies of social justice, who can best bear the loss.

Finally, recent legislation, and to some extent, judicial decision, has begun to change the old attitude of the law with respect to dependent members of the household. Courts no longer make the natural rights of parents with respect to children the chief basis of their decisions. The individual interest of parents which used to be the one thing regarded has come to be almost the last thing regarded as compared with the interest of the child and the interest of society. In other words, here also social interests are now chiefly regarded.

It is true many of the examples I have just adduced are taken from legislation. It is true also that some of these legislative innovations upon the settled juridical ideas of the past two centuries have been resisted bitterly by some courts. Yet I am confident that every one of them

would stand in the highest court of the land and in a growing majority of our state courts to-day. Moreover, what is more important, many of the most significant examples are taken from judicial decisions. If, therefore, the disease is in the traditional element of our legal system, the cure is going on there under our eyes. It is an infusion of social ideas into the traditional element of our law that we must bring about; and such an infusion is going on. The right course is not to tinker with our courts and with our judicial organization in the hope of bringing about particular results in particular kinds of cases, at a sacrifice of all that we have learned or ought to have learned from legal and judicial history. It is rather to provide a new set of premises, a new order of ideas in such form that the courts may use them and develop them into a modern system by judicial experience of actual causes. A body of law which will satisfy the social workers of to-day can not be made of the ultra-individualist materials of eighteenth century jurisprudence and nineteenth-century common law based thereon, no matter how judges are chosen or how, or how often, they are dismissed.

A master of legal history tells us that taught law is tough law. Certainly it is true that our legal thinking and legal teaching are to be blamed more than the courts for the want of sympathy with social legislation which has been so much in evidence in the immediate past. One might almost say that instead of recall of judges, recall of law-teachers would be a useful institution. At any rate what we must insist upon is recall of much of the juristic and judicial thinking of the last century.

For many reasons, which can not be taken up here, our conception of the end of the legal system came to be thoroughly individualist. Legal justice meant securing of individual interests. It sought by means of law to prevent all interference with individual self development and self assertion so far as this might be done consistently with a like self development and self assertion on the part of others. It conceived that the function of the state and of the law was to make it possible for the individual to act freely. Hence it called for a minimum of legal restraint, restricting the sphere of law to such checks as are necessary to secure "a harmonious co-existence of the individual and of the whole." This purely individualist theory of justice culminated in the eighteenth century in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Bills of Rights so characteristic of that period. The contests between the courts and crown in England, which made the common law an effective political weapon in the hands of those who opposed the crown, the thorough-going Old Testament individualism of the Puritan in England and America, the rise and establishment of individualist economics in the period of commercial activity, and the training of the Anglo-American lawyer in the Grotian theories of natural rights set forth in the first book of Blackstone, combined to fasten the notion of justice as a device for securing the maximum of individual self assertion upon nineteenth-century legal thought. Continental Europe fell away from it first. The English were falling away from it before the work of Bentham's school was complete, and

committed themselves to collectivist ideas in their legislation a generation ago. In the United States it persisted to the very end of the nineteenth century. Spencer's formula of justice, "the liberty of each limited only by the like liberties of all," represents the ideal which American law has had before it during its whole existence. In politics, in ethics, and in economics this conception has decayed, and has given way to a newer idea of justice. But it continues to rule in jurisprudence. For, although social justice, the last conception to develop, has taken hold of juristic thought in Europe, is making itself felt in legislation, has moved juries in groping for the new standard to render verdicts wholly at variance with the legal theories laid down for their guidance, thus producing a chronic condition of conflict between the courts and juries in certain classes of cases, and has even moved courts here and there in our case law to depart from the ancient landmarks, we must on the whole concede that the sociologists and economists are well warranted in contrasting the idea of justice in American legal philosophy with the idea entertained in all other related sciences.

In contrast with the juristic thinking of the immediate past, which started from the premise that the object of law was to secure individual interests and knew of social interests only as individual interests of the state or sovereign, the juristic thinking of the present must start from the proposition that individual interests are to be secured by law because and to the extent that they are social interests. There is a social interest in securing individual interests so far as securing them conduces to general security, security of institutions, and the general moral and social life of individuals. Hence while individual interests are one thing and social interests another, the law, which is a social institution, really secures individual interests because of a social interest in so doing. Hence it would seem that no individual may claim to be secured in an interest that conflicts with any that is social unless he can show some countervailing social interest in so securing it—some social interest to outweigh that with which his individual interest conflicts. If we compare with the foregoing proposition the classical statement of Blackstone—

"Besides the public is in nothing so essentially interested as in securing to every individual his private rights"—

and if, contrasting these, we bear in mind that the latter represents not only the legal thought of the past but the doctrines to which our fathers sought to hold us for all time by constitutional provisions, we shall see how long a road our legal system has to travel.

In conclusion, I would repeat that study of fundamental problems of jurisprudence, not petty changes of the judicial establishment, is the road to socialization of the law. First of all, there must be a definition of social justice to replace the individualist or so-called legal justice which we have; there must be a definition of social interests and a study of how far these are subserved by securing the several individual interests which the law has worked out so thoroughly in the past; there

must be study of the means of securing these social interests otherwise than by the methods which the past had worked out for purely individual interests. Second, there must be study of the actual social effects of legal institutions and legal doctrines. Courts can not do this, nor can law teachers or law writers, except within narrow limits. The futility of a self-sufficing, self-centered science of law has become apparent to jurists. In politics and in sociology the results of centuries of political experience deserve to be regarded more than they have been in the past. But far more in jurisprudence the results of present day social surveys and the knowledge gained by the activities of the army of social workers that have taken upon themselves to do what among other peoples would be left to the state, must be put in the very front of the materials of that science. Its main problem to-day is to enable and to compel law making and also the interpretation and application of legal rules to take more account and more intelligent account of the social facts upon which law must proceed and to which it is to be applied.

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## FACTORS OTHER THAN LEGAL IN DEALING WITH CRIMINAL CASES.

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(Condensed.)

The signs of the times, if I read them aright, are that an awakening of the spirit concerned with criminal affairs is at hand. This awakening is not the result of any sudden discoveries, but is being gradually produced by pressure bearing in from many sides. The large hopefulness of the present serenity of thought on the subject is in its catholicity, its appreciation of professional and economic standpoints, its union of ethical, psychological, medical and social endeavors. Theoretical features are being contested and the long hard facts of life and experience while quite inadequately studied and unready for presentation, are being called for more and more.

The output of ideas concerning the offender and his treatment has been greatly augmented in the last three or four years in the most diversified ways. Professional penologists have been occasionally glimpsing a little new light and less occasionally communicating it. A few offenders themselves, in prison or out, have been telling us the standpoint of the man who is underneath. Occasionally literateurs, such as Galsworthy, force the issue upon us in effectual ways.

A notable recent development is the fact that some elective officials, finding themselves with various powers over prisoners, have come to

no other end than the prevention of repetition of crime and of course this implies the highest grade of individualization in the treatment of the offender.

In enunciating bare principles none go any farther than did Seneca when he asserted that the criminal law should be administered with the aim that either it may improve him whom it punishes, or that his punishment may render others better, or that evil people being removed others may live more securely. The mark was well set by that ancient authority, the difficulty is in so directing our efforts that the mark is reached. We know that it is perhaps most often missed.

As students attempting a survey of the field, where can we turn for relief from the futility of our failures? One sees certainly no immediate help from any attempt at theorizing.

Many concrete illustrations could be given which show how overwhelmingly important are certain extra-legal considerations for rendering a safe judgment on the offender's capacity for reformation, on the likelihood of his developing a life-long grudge against society, on his chances for becoming a vicious or dependent charge, on the physical, mental and social needs which may well be at the roots of his misconduct. The first figures from the study of the relation of mental defect to crime, and particularly to recidivism, a study which is hardly fairly started, is just one of the facts we may offer in proof of our great ignorance of the subject. When it becomes clear to us that we know so little we shall agree with Gretener of Breslau who contends against all the theorists that a new criterion of criminality will be developed only after scientific methods of observation and experiment have been introduced into the domain of crime and its punishment.

Such careful work as has already been done, leads us away from theories and closer to life. The so-called principles of criminal law and the canons of ethics fade into relative insignificance in the presence of the discoverable sources and springs of conduct. With even a partial understanding of these comes realization that the richness and variety of human experience and the prevailing influences on conduct are not even hinted at in the set phrases of the schools which deal with the philosophy of social behavior. What we can see by intensive study of criminalism is that there are causes and sources that are strong enough to partake of the nature of natural phenomena and that in neglecting their influence and existence we are disregarding the first principles of common sense. We do not thoroughly know the underlying foundations of conduct, but we do know that they exist as such—we do know they must be further studied and we do know that ultimately they must be reckoned with as forces in the individual and in society.

The work already accomplished leads inevitably to certain conclusions. First, the great value of individualization. The intimate study of offenders brings appreciation of human differences, of special defects and peculiarities and experiences, both personal and social, that have all to do with the production of anti-social conduct.

Out of the chaos that complete individualization would seem to imply spring clear, definite types of conduct and types of defect and peculiarity that give foundation for safe generalizations and for accurate predictions of the upbuilding of an effective criminal procedure.

The predictabilities of medical and psychological science as far as they have been formulated are involved in scientific individualization and are to a considerable extent available for the handling of criminals. I have observed many curious things, readily predictable in the realms of science outside of the court room, illustrating the lack of public foresight. A man released after some years of imprisonment for certain offenses, which neurologists know are characteristic of a definite type of personality, and peculiarly apt to be recommitted, does the same thing over again inside a few days, irretrievably injures the moral well-being of several little girls, and is sent to the penitentiary again for a longer term—nothing having been predicated, nothing having been done in the way of treatment before nor now. Or see at another time how side by side with a capable swindler comes a case of high grade feebleminded-ness that is never sized up by the ordinary procedure of a legal detention, trial and commitment—and consider how utterly different is the possibility of their two reactions to supposedly deterrent punishment. So with the epileptics, that most important class of recidivists, notoriously hard of recognition as such, they are generally passed along with all the others when, as a matter of fact, society has much at stake in recognizing them early and handling them separately.

The reason why these various factors and types are not recognized under the law is that there has been very little attention to the springs of conduct. It is only when the offender's mental and moral trend is a well defined stream that its characteristics and course are recognized. In the court room, the reformatory, in the parole board room, or even with the probation officer the genetics of criminal impulses are rarely studied or appreciated.

The need of individualization of treatment has been well recognized by some legal authorities, but it is far from a complete possibility in the eyes of many students of the law. Saleilles in his work on the subject sees the difficulties and feels that the necessities of individual cases vary so greatly that they can never be administered by statute. Tarde, his compatriot agrees and believes the outcome is only through administrative procedure. Roscoe Pound see the value of individualization, but wants it administered according to a definite legal system and believes that this can be achieved if the procedure of the courts of equity is adopted for the criminal law. He says, however, "attempts to introduce any system for the individualization of the adult will have to wrestle a long time with constitutional provisions."

To the onlooker who does not see all the embarrassments which the trained lawver knows will occur in the forwarding of such reform measures, many of the supposed difficulties would seem to be easily swept away. How about this latter day method of a warden taking prisoners

sentenced to the penitentiary into outdoor camps a hundred miles away and enlisting them in various occupations. Or what about a governor invading a prison and sending out men on parole to take jobs here and there. This would seem to be anything but what was decreed by the judge and jury; it would seem to be direct interference with an order of court by an official who has been sworn to carry out the law. It appears then that pretty strong reform measures can be taken with the sympathy of the public who, after all, would have to decide finally on constitutional provisions.

The second point that stands out as the result of careful case studies is that we are probably only in the beginning of the development of methods of study. The time has gone by for thinking of criminals in terms of measurement of zygomatic diameters, of sensitiveness of finger tips, or of ear anomalies. Much more recently have come forward methods and systems of giving mental tests, but, however valuable in some cases and however captivating any such system of tests may be in its simplicity and adjustment to a given scale, mental qualities that underlie criminalism will be found frequently far from measureable by any given system.

The first question that must be asked in regard to the individual case, or to the whole problem of criminality is: When we take under consideration human conduct, what are we dealing with? The answer is that we are dealing with an expression of mental life. Anything that influences human conduct, influences it through that part of the human being which is directly responsible for human conduct, namely, the mind. He who would know the sources of misdeeds must study the quirks and turns and conflicts and disabilities of the human mind and what causes them. He must study them intimately and in their beginnings. He must endeavor to gain understanding of that prime factor, psychological genetics. Of course many physical and social and developmental conditions influence the mental qualities which have to do with conduct and are to be regarded as almost immediate factors. And it is of all these things that we need concrete studies. For the better handling of criminals abstract formulae are not wanted, but there must be studies of how alteration of this or that condition of life influenced this or that phase of mentality and conduct. We are inclined to agree with Gross, himself a teacher of the criminal law, who says, in speaking of how the accused is to be ultimately judged according to his individuality, "Psychological valuation will thus come to be the basis of all thought and this valuation is already to-day one of humanity's greatest tasks."

The great help in this research of the future will be a psychology dealing not with complicated apparatus and fine sensory and perceptive discriminations, but of a flexible and well-rounded type which involves a keen intimate study of the whole individual and of the various phases of his development. The study that is necessary is that of the whole human individual which includes all things that are likely to have influence upon the formation of character and conduct. The task is a dif-

ficult one, but anything short of this will at once be picked to pieces by legal minds and will frequently fail in practice.

Another point that comes forcibly to one engaged in the actual study of offenders is the extremely close relationship of delinquency to the influences and conditions which were paramount in youth. In conduct as almost nowhere else the child is father to the man. We have made beginnings, but only beginnings in understanding the meaning of this prodigiously important law of human nature. The next step must be to gain understanding of the child. Our juvenile courts mean little if the young offender is not handled in the full light of intelligence—the young offender and his parental guardians. The good judge, can not know the child without intimately studying him, or having him studied, and on the other hand, the judge and the probation officer can not learn wisdom from failures and from successes unless there is careful diagnosis and classification. Juvenile courts fail many times, recidivism is rampant there as elsewhere, and great is the need for estimating causes. Here is the time for gaining the needed knowledge and at this age comes the opportunity for reckoning with causes that make for failure.

Taking it altogether we are not sure of many theoretical points, we have much to learn of human nature and especially of the mechanism of the human mind, but we do know sufficient to make us realize the vast importance of other than legal considerations concerning the handling of offenders. If under the law society is going to handle the matter of conduct then it ought to make every attempt to do its work well and to protect society to the utmost and to this end it must take cognizance of the facts of mental life under which all conduct is determined—the psychological laws through which, as far as behavior is concerned. we live and move and have our being. To start with we know the following verifiable laws; In the world of conduct and mental life, as elsewhere, effects are always the result of causes. Next there is the important law of habit formation, a matter of particular import in criminalism. Then there is the fact of the greater plasticity of character and mental life in early years. There is the law, curiously overlooked in penal institutions, that nature abhors a vacuum, that there is no emptiness even in mental life—lack of healthy interests simply means unhealthy ones. Then there is the law that mental defectives have little resistance to anti-social impulses from within or from without; and there is the law that certain types of mind are prone to recommit offenses; and conversely that certain types of crime are likely to be repeated by him who has once committed them. There is the law, recently made clear, that inner mental experience, as well as environmental happenings in young childhood frequently determine the trend of whole careers. There is the well-known fact that prison incarceration tends to weaken both will and body and that consequently less is to be expected after a prison experience in the way of good conduct than there was before—the facts of recidivism proving this most clearly.

In the light of all this what good can there be in simply ordering an

offender into a cage, and what good can there be in putting different kinds of men in the same kind of a cage. Obviously such a leveling down has little to do with a cure we all demand. If society was never to see the man again this use of measures, merely intended to warn others against the commission of evil deeds, might be effective. But except in a very few cases, society has to see the man again and what society has done for him or neglected to do for him tells straightway in his tendency to reproduce or not to reproduce crime. You remember how Galsworthy puts it; "on those whom we deprive of liberty let us use all the resources of a humanity and common sense that shall refuse to apply to criminals, methods which would be scouted in the reform of human beings outside prisons."

An expert professional criminal then free, a man of much native intelligence, said to me recently that he and his confreres were aware that the first step towards the sane handling of criminal affairs in this country would be the establishment by the federal government of an office which shall cover the field. He was speaking particularly of identification and inter-state co-operation between courts and penal institutions. He was undoubtedly right. But even more in the fundamental matters concerning criminalism should there be centralized effort. We are constantly told that we have not even elementary statistics on the matter and that is true, but in countries where general statistics as such are elaborately gathered, after all, little has come of it. They serve largely for curiosity and excite holy horror but do not serve as the foundation of an activity that shall lead to the better protection of society.

What I want to see is America striking a definitely practical note in this matter. I want to see carried into the field of criminalism the well-founded conception of efficiency studies. To know efficiencies you have to know the material that is being worked with and this implies thoroughgoing studies of conditions in and of the individual that make for misconduct. What are the various types of personalities and causative factors and how can we know them and what are the factors of success or failure in this and that type? This is a research leading directly to living issues; this is the study of a prodigious waste of human forces which economically has even greater importance than the development of new activities; this is an inquiry into one of the greatest sources of great human suffering; this is a mighty and difficult work worthy of every bit of America's sharpsighted outlook on practical life. That the judge and the law student and the attorney at the bar, and the probation officer and the warden, and the parole board and the legislature that makes administrative provisions may understand the other than legal considerations which have bearing on dealing with criminals—knowledge that is now not available in text books—for all those and for the general welfare of society, the whole subject of criminalism, must have intensive studious attention at the hands of some centralized scientific authority.

## THE FARM COLONY

### Our Experiment in Cleveland; What Has It Demonstrated? What Are the Limitations of Colony Treatment?

By Harris R. Cooley, Director of Charities, Cleveland.

In the spring of 1905 we began in Cleveland the outdoor treatment of crime by taking "trusties" and other prisoners from the City Workhouse to our Farms and lodging them in the old scattered houses. Our farmer neighbors were frightened. Our friends prophesied that the prisoners would all run away. The plan worked. Most of the men completed their sentences, giving faithful and willing service. We, ourselves have been surprised at times at the results of some of our ventures with these men. The confidence placed in them, the useful work in garden and field, the tonic of the sky and trees, developed a new sense of honor and a common sentiment that it is a mean and cowardly thing to run away from the farm.

In 1906 we built two frame buildings known as the "Trusties' Lodges" with accommodations for one hundred and fifty men. This enabled us to have our prisoners together and to develop a more perfect and effective organization. In October, 1909, we moved into the Service Quadrangle, a building two hundred and sixty feet square with a large open court. This was the first of the permanent buildings which are to form the Correction Group.

The Correction Farm is a part of a great tract of nearly two thousand acres, or more than three square miles, on which are the Tuberculosis group, the Almshouse group, and also an extensive municipal cemetery to be graded and developed by prison labor. The area is so large and diversified that the Almhouse group is a mile and a half from the Correction group, and two hundred feet higher. Each one of the four divisions is distinct on its own estate of five hundred acres. In seven years over eight thousand men have served time out on the Farm.

### Demonstrates the Wisdom of the General Movement.

The Correction Farm has demonstrated the wisdom of the changed attitude of society in regard to its unfortunate and erring members. The torture idea in punishment has lingered long. Out from its darkening shadow we are emerging and are asking ourselves the questions: How can we prevent crime and how can we cure the criminal? With this changed attitude on the part of society has come, in many places, the experiment of the outdoor treatment of offenders.

The old methods often made the institutions of detention breeding places for disease and schools for crime. Recent research has brought to light the fact that there is three times as much tuberculosis among our prisoners as in our general population. The moral contagion is as revolting.

"The vilest deeds like poison weeds,
Bloom well in prison air;
It is only what is good in man,
That wastes and withers there."

Civilization and progress no longer halt at the prison doors. Winston Churchill declared in the House of Commons that "the attitude of the public in regard to the treatment of crime and criminals is one of the best tests of the civilization of any country." The general movement of which the Colony is a part is clearly both timely and wise.

**Demonstrates That It Is Better for the Prisoners.**

Our experiences at the Correction Farm have demonstrated that the treatment is much better for the prisoners. The outdoor life is just as rational and effective in cases of vice and crime as in cases of tuberculosis and insanity. These people have lived in an abnormal environment and have developed abnormal, physical, mental and moral conditions and desires. The reasonable and first thing to do is to place them in the normal environment of the country life. It may not always cure but it is surely the first thing to do for them.

The land furnishes unlimited opportunity for useful work. All kinds of labor can be employed productively. There is a healthful, physical, mental and moral influence in work in the fields under the open sky.

A visiting judge said to me: "It is so fine out here, I should be afraid some of these prisoners would want to stay." Near by a group of the men were shoveling dirt into a grading wagon. I said to him: "Judge, you see those men at work; they are drinking an abundance of pure water, they eat heartily, they sleep well. They say to themselves, 'This is not "made work," this is real, genuine work. Free men right over there are getting a dollar and a half a day for doing this.' The old prison cell, the food, the confinement of their labor, tended to depress them and to make them hopeless. This treatment quickly brings them to themselves and arouses the normal man. There is a psychological element, which you have not thought of and which we did not fully foresee, which makes these men more anxious to go back and again take their places in society and industry. At the expiration of their sentences they go out without the prison pallor, stronger in the face of temptation, and ready at once to do a full day's work."

There is a marked difference in the feeling of the prisoners. They work much more heartily. Some of them take great interest in the animals and the growing fruits, vegetables and grains. They are freer from jail sullenness and hang-dog ways.

When the contractor was ready to start on our Correction Square, there developed an unexpected lack of water. We built a concrete

dam, dug out the earth for a pond, and laid over a mile of two-inch pipe and in five and a half days had abundance of water with forty pounds gravity pressure. The workhouse men entered into this emergency work with as much earnestness and enthusiasm as if it was their own. This spring, out of a group of fourteen prisoners, we asked for four men to volunteer to work on Sunday in the sugar camp. The entire fourteen freely offered their services in the saving of a large run of sap.

The trust and confidence which we, of necessity, place in them, call forth the remnant of manliness which asserts itself. Its whole tendency is to develop in them a spirit of honor to do one's work and to put away the thought of escape. Their language about it changes, to break out of the old prison is a "get away," to run away from the Farm is to "take a sneak."

They have better air to breathe and better food to eat, and like the rest of us their dispositions are therefore more agreeable. They have abundance of fresh vegetables in their season, for they raise them by their own labor in their gardens.

The latest government statistics show that prison labor is also most efficient on the roads and in the general work of the farm.

### Advantages of Grouping the City Estates.

We have found it an especial advantage that the Correction Farm is a part of the group of four estates comprising the two thousand acres. It secures the absolute control by the city of a vast environment of more than three square miles. In the Colony or Almshouse group and the Tuberculosis group are many who can do only light work. If there is to be furnished a large opportunity for light work in the gardens and fields, as a basis for this there must be a large amount of rough, heavy work. This can be readily supplied from the strong hardy men of the house of correction. Thus the institutions supplement each other in the fullest development of the farms.

If there comes as a prisoner an expert carpenter, we can set him to work in the light airy shops of the Correction buildings, making mission tables and chairs for the old people. He is working at his best which is good for him. In addition he is conscious of adding to the comfort of some aged, or crippled, or sick resident of the farms.

### The Largest Benefit, It's Re-action on Society.

The most important thing which the Correction Farm has demonstrated is that Cleveland has become kinder and broader with its more rational and human treatment of its prisoners. The heart of Cleveland has grown in its sense of right and justice. Instead of contempt and malice, there has come a desire "to know the path up which the crime has come," and the general disposition to give op-

portunities for normal lives. This reflex influence is really the larger part of the benefit. For its own sake, society cannot afford to be cruel and brutal to its meanest and most unworthy member. Russia is to reap a more bitter harvest than her exiles. Love your enemies is a good social law. Even though all the prisoners do not at once respond to this treatment and "make good," this does not destroy to society the quality of this mercy.

This growing feeling of interest and the fact that the men at the farm are really doing useful work is now raising the question whether society ought not to allow the family of the prisoner, at least, a part of what he earns, and also whether he should not have something paid to him at release, so that he will be better fitted to again take a normal place in life. This awakened feeling toward prisoners is expressing itself in probation and parole, in prison schools, in homes and employment bureaus for released men. It is also strengthening the public sentiment that prison management should be utterly divorced from partisan politics.

### The Limitations of the Colony Treatment.

There are limitations to the outdoor method of treatment. Not all of the men committed can be trusted to work in the fields. Besides those who are locked in, we are to have two classes, the semi-trusties and the trusties. The semi-trusties will work in gangs of twenty or thirty with guards or rather foremen always present. They are to be kept in the enclosure Sundays and holidays. We seldom have a man drop his tools and run. The temptation comes when not working. The trusties work out on the farm sometimes entirely alone.

With this method I am confident that one-half of the men can work under the open sky. Near the close of their sentence, it is usually safe to assign outside work even to the more serious offenders. All of the men can at least be allowed the freedom of the great open court.

In Cleveland we have many prisoners sent to the house of correction for vagrancy. Some of them are self-committed. It is needless to enforce the strictest discipline in these cases. If the men run away and take care of themselves, the purpose of the law has been accomplished. If they disappear, the result is much the same as when the court orders them to leave town. If they are really seeking work, they stay with us as we can help them to find employment. These cases make our reports of escapes, which are ten per cent., seem large but it has proved the best method of dealing with our problem.

A penitentiary or state reformatory must of course be organized and managed differently. The general method has been tried in many places. At Witzwill, Switzerland, is a great tract of nearly two thousand acres with two hundred and fifty prisoners with sentences as long as five years.

At Merxplas, twenty-five miles from Antwerp, is a great estate with five thousand prisoners, some of them with sentences as long as seven years. These five thousand irregulars and unfortunates are controlled and directed by a staff of only eighty wardens. Out of a barren waste they have made a million dollar estate.

In the Berlin labor house at Rummelsburg, out of two thousand prisoners, one thousand work outside on the great sewage farms owned by the municipality. In France, Holland, Hungary and Italy the government has made successful experiments with the colony system for the treatment of offenders. On this side of the Atlantic, in the Province of Ontario, in Colorado, in Missouri, in California and in the city of Washington, a similar work is carried on.

Of necessity much depends on the personality of the warden and his ability to have his subordinates of like spirit. Too much emphasis cannot be given to the attitude and personality of those in charge. With the right spirit and wisdom in the officials, there is no reason why this outdoor method may not be adapted to all of our penal institutions.

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## THE HONOR SYSTEM.

By Rev. Philip E. Bauer, Chaplain, Oregon State Penitentiary.

A great deal is being said of late about "The Oregon Honor System" or "Governor West's Honor System," referring to certain treatment of prisoners in the Oregon State Penitentiary. Many letters of inquiry have come to us, asking us to define this much talked of policy. Representatives from the press from all parts of the country are frequent visitors, snapping us from all sides and heaping upon us an avalanche of questions relative to this system. At home and abroad we are called upon daily to define, analyze and explain what we mean by this method of dealing with prisoners.

In the first place it is a difficult matter to define what we mean by such a system. We might say that our Honor System is simply putting men on their honor. It is part of that whatever that means. To attempt the definition briefly and comprehensively: our honor system is that system of treatment of prisoners in which we recognize some of the dependable qualities of the men and put these men on honor to use these qualities in service for the state, and in which we substitute, as far as we are able, other incentives to be somebody and to do something than kicks and frowning guns; thus attempting little new, but putting new emphasis on the declaration in our state constitution which says "laws for the punishment of crime shall be founded upon the principle of reformation and not of vindictive justice;" thus surely antagonizing the old primitive idea of repression, and magnifying the

newer idea of expression and unfolding of the latent powers found in every man, of loyalty, friendship and patriotism.

Most men are responsive and reflect in life and deed the treatment accorded them. If cruelly repressed, they come back with bitter antagonism. If hated, they hate back with fury. If trusted, they trust. If honored they respond with honor. If the state has to punish, and it surely does, it can do it with the hand of love, knowing that men will respond to such treatment, and knowing too that outlawry and open rebellion will be superseded by law observance and loyalty. Our system, then, recognizes that men are reflectors and that the expression of confidence on the part of the Governor, Superintendent, Warden or other officers as well as of public opinion, will be responded to by the prisoner per force. As he is appealed to by honor and sympathy rather than by fear and hate, he will try to be as good as possible, and if given a chance, will make good if possible.

It works. Of course we who know how it works, know that it does not always work. Some men are too weak to respond to the greatest confidence placed in them. Some men will try with all the possibilities of their soul, and fail because of accident or because of bad environment; the forces of evil are on their job night and day to decoy. But nevertheless it works. It can't help it. A thing that is right always works somehow, sometime, somewhere. Over 50 per cent. of the men under sentence in our prison are now trusties—out daily without guard, in road camps miles from the prison, trusted to return at night, and honor bound to do a fair day's work. It is a fair sight to see these prisoners wending their way to work with only a foreman unarmed attending as sponsor for them. When the fact is considered that our state has no reformatory and that all sorts of prisoners make up our list, the average of over 50 per cent. of the men who worked the past year outside our prison walls, on honor, without guard, is unusual, and as far as we know unheard of in prison management. Coupled with this is another significant fact that we have only lost 16 of these honor men in the first year of the system's trial, the men escaping were from the road camps removed from the prison. The venture was initiated by Governor West personally and the men so honored are specifically called Governor West's Honor Men. The element of personal responsibility to the Governor is a prominent factor. It works. It is unique.

Of course, generally speaking, the honor system reaches men on parole and conditional pardon, who report once a month or oftener their whereabouts, and what they are doing. The honor system goes even further: of the men still kept within the walls of the penitentiary, many are holding positions of responsibility and trust and are honored in many ways. All, save the few who have proved unreliable, are honored by privileges of attending the Saturday baseball game and the Tuesday evening moving picture show. Every man of the institution is honored with advantages of night school, religious services, fresh air and work.

But it is not to be supposed that our honor system and our confidences have gone to seed. There is still a stern but kindly discipline that prevails here. When honor is bestowed we have a feeling that it ought to be returned in kind. A man much trusted surely is to be even more severely dealt with if he turns down such an offer. Our severest punishments are, standing up to cell door, stripes, "hog table" (as the boys call the third table) privileges denied, and loss of "good time." There are a score of men in the zebra row (in stripes), who have sinned against prison grace.

Neither must it be assumed that the honor system is altogether a new system of treatment of the prisoner. While the Oregon State Penitentiary has had a bad reputation for severity in punishment, and in early days was quite the opposite of our present honor system, still for the past ten years there has been a growth to our present position. If this system is now thriving well, it must be remembered that the planting was in the past, and it is now under the intensive gardening of our enthusiastic Governor West, coming to bloom.

Does it pay to waste our honor and sympathies on prisoners? Do they not escape and break paroles? Yes, they do, but our proportion of escapes, notwithstanding the big percentage that are free to take to the tall timber whenever they desire, is just about the same as it was in other days in this institution when men were guarded by cold steel, and is about the same as you will find it in other institutions to-day where fewer men are trusted outside of the walls. But the profit of the system is to be noted. Three camps of our boys are building good roads—that which Oregon needs most. All the state institutions located about Salem have been the special recipients of the good of our honor system. New buildings and beautiful grounds speak in no uncertain sounds the praise of this system. But above all, the men themselves are being tried out for the coming honors of parole and for useful citizens, when they have passed the period of parole probation. The men are learning trades and learning how to do a good day's work. They put spirit in their toil. At a spread given by the farmers near the village Sublimity, in honor of Governor West and the prison boys who had done a good summer's work, a prisoner spoke these significant words: "The most we can do under such circumstances as these, (referring to the expressions of good will and honor) is too little, while the least we did under the old system was too much." This response of the prisoners to the challenge to deal fair is most marked among all the men who are placed on honor. Every man is a better man because he has been tried on honor and finds he is able to respond. This is the profit beyond dollars and cents.

It will last. The spirit of the thing will last even if the method and form pass away. If our prisons are to be true reformatory institutions, no other method can maintain. Men can only rise when down, by the helping hand that helps them to help themselves. Vindictive kicks do not help them up, but help to send them on down the slope. Most of

our criminals have been kicked on and repressed until they are knotted in body, mind and soul, but these same repressed ones the more quickly respond to honor that is bestowed upon them. They cannot escape a genuine boost by being trusted and honored and respected as having some worth to society. But we must learn to substitute a genuine brotherly feeling for some of the effusive sentimentality, then we may hope for a more permanent result. With all its weaknesses, we believe this system has come to stay.

We are hoping still for better things. The Oregon State Penitentiary is to-day a sociological experimental garden. For years we have been doing as other prisons have, facing many difficulties, but we have a feeling that the Oregon Honor System is a fair flower that grows in this garden. If you will allow the extravagance of the figure, we think that we have out-Burbanked Burbank in our garden in the production of a thornless method of the treatment of the men who are passing through this institution. But withal we are still hoping for improvements.

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## A Symposium on Prison Labor

### PRISON LABOR—WHERE ARE WE? WHITHER ARE WE GOING?

By Thomas R. Slicer, Chairman National Committee on Prison Labor.

The inquiry as to where we are and whither we are going as applied to prison labor must have this answer: we are upon the near end of a long inquiry which now has reached the point where the whole subject constitutes a new phase of an old problem, made up of advanced penology, changing conditions and a rising social conscience.

Whatever may be thought of the prisoner as a sociological exhibit, his confinement in prison denies him a place in the social contract and makes him an object of concern which cannot but have marked influence upon local conditions growing out of his confinement, his helplessness and the responsibilities in his case.[1] In the last analysis the prisoner is owned by the state and the state cannot be released in view of this fact from due care as the result of such ownership. The state is not acquitted of its responsibility when it provides for the safe keeping of the enemy of society. To keep him safe **from society** has long ago been dismissed as the motive for his imprisonment. To keep him safe **for society** has at last become the ideal toward which all the influences must co-operate. He is not simply a man more or less diseased, nor a will more or less gone

1. He is a bit of diseased tissue in that social whole which may be defined "as an organism in which every cell has consciousness." The man in the prison cell is a part of the tissue which must not be allowed to spread contagion to the whole organism.

astray, nor a bunch of muscles which have never found their proper use, nor a skill and health gradually falling into impaired conditions by disuse. He is a brain running all the way from feeblemindedness to cunning, he is a will running all the way from obstinacy to the power of self-direction. His ethical sense has been impaired by conditions out of which his offense grew. He is a human soul out of repair and physiologically is a proper field of experiment for the neurologist. The scope of the state's responsibility includes the care of these wayward souls in the exact ratio in which they seem to have no soul. **The less soul the more care.** The prisoner is a problem in psychology as every prison warden and member of a prison board must admit and that this psychology is intelligently applied is the first concern of the student of prisons and the condition of the prisoner. **The way of work is the way of salvation.** Provision for the due education of the prisoner is a part of the problem and the careful diagnosis of his nerve condition cannot for a moment be lost sight of. The administration of the prison should not be open to the spoils system. As the prisoner is not a citizen it is the business of some citizen to see that the loss of this great privilege shall in some way be made up to him through his education by work and care. Prison management must therefore be in the hand of carefully trained men. The prison is not a cesspool into which the state can dump its refuse politicians, but a vocation and a profession of sacramental seriousness which ought to be filled by men who compete, not for office but for recognition of ability, for efficiency and expert knowledge.

The problems that confront the state governments so far as the prisoner is concerned are many and diverse. They are only alike in every state in the one requirement that he shall be kept at work—his physical condition, his moral health and his mental sanity depend upon the conditions under which he works. For whom he shall work what the character of his work shall be, who shall profit by his employment, whether it shall be for longer or shorter time, whether it shall fit him for his place in society upon his release, and whether he shall be released better or worse for his confinement, are problems that require gravest consideration. Certain things are unanswerably fixed. It is far more important that his employment shall be effective than that it shall be profitable. The state cannot shift its responsibility. The work must not be senseless. If it is not vocational still it must not be simply labor, but labor to a definite end. It is a low estimate of depraved intelligence that shall think of the prisoner simply as a work-machine. It is of the very first importance to develop such remnant of self-respect as the prisoner still holds. Dull, brutal and unnecessary labor impairs this self-respect. Somebody must see to it that the prisoner's work is remunerative to the prisoner, his family and the state and never for the private gain of unrelated individuals. The state has the first right to recoup itself for its ex-

penditure for his confinement. The prisoner then has a claim, the family has an added claim. This has not been the usual order of responsibility.

A word must be said here about the contract system. It may be resolved into two considerations. The failure of corrupt prison officials to produce work with the prisoner at first hand, and the consequent necessity of shifting responsibility to the contractor who knows his business and carefully gauges his profits. It is the politically corrupt state against the clever contractor—it is the state's own incompetence which opens the door for the graft of this competent substitute. State and county alike offer immediate illustration of the exploitation of the prisoner for private gain. Happily the day is fast passing away when a man will make a boast of having a good thing in a prison contract and forget to mention the poor thing that is left, the prisoner working at his contract. This National Conference should not be satisfied until there is not a single place left in the country where the prisoner is disciplined, however much deserved, by the man who is satisfied with the balance sheet of a contract. We are looking forward confidently to the time when there is not a single prison contract in any of the states or in any of the counties of any of the states, when the business acuteness of the contractor shall not be in the ratio of his skill as a slave-driver. The problem is too serious to be met in terms of avarice and commercial greed.

I maintain that all prison contracts should be made public documents open to the inspection of any citizens of the state or any properly delegated person sent by the Governor of the state to examine the conditions of the contract before it is entered into—when extreme secrecy is used there is a chance of extreme injustice in the using. The prisoner is in penal servitude. His time, his effort, his intelligence, his light, and warmth and place have all been bought by the contractor. It is very easy to see what is left to the contractor to furnish; and what is left to the prisoner, the prisoner's family and the state is a minus quantity.

The claim of organized labor has been long established and except in certain selfish centers is clearly recognized. It hardly needs a word of argument to enforce the protest of free men that they shall not be penalized or undersold by convict labor—nor have the state's resources, nor its skill reached so low a point that it can put the need of the prisoner against the rights of free labor. The National Committee on Prison Labor desires to register its agreement that there must be no unfair competition between the man who has lost his will and his self-direction and the free man who is achieving the results of his self-direction by "working with a will."

I speak of this as the near end of this inquiry for it has its beginning in the demand for reform as early as in 1870, when the

American Prison Association put itself on record in the following words:*

> "Industrial training should have both a higher development and a greater breadth than has heretofore been, or is now, commonly given to it in our prisons. Work is no less an auxiliary to virtue than it is a means of support. Steady, active, honorable labor is the basis of all reformatory discipline. It not only aids reformation, but is essential to it. It was a maxim with Howard 'make men diligent and they will be honest'—a maxim which this congress regards as eminently sound and practical.
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> "While industrial labor in prisons is of the highest importance and utility to the convict, and by no means injurious to the laborer outside, we regard the contract system of prison labor, as now practiced in our country, as prejudicial alike to the discipline, finance, and the reformation of the prisoner, and sometimes injurious to the interest of the free laborer."

The interrelation of the question and the responsibility of governors was first brought up in the National Prison Association by Mr. Brockwey in 1888. It was therefore proper that the economic insight and social seriousness of the governors' problem should be realized fully in the Conference of Governors at Spring Lake in 1911. Between these dates—1870 and 1911—stretches an interval of forty years in which there has been constant agitation, but no final betterment gained until the Governors' Conference announced on its program prison labor as a subject for consideration in 1911.

The National Committee on Prison Labor introduced this topic into the Governors' Conference and presented to the governors the result of its study of the different systems in vogue and the status under which they existed. It called attention to the fact that its inquiry so far as it had gone pointed to the "state use" system as that which should be adopted. It showed that New York state had adopted the system in 1894 and that New Jersey, California, Missouri, Ohio and Wyoming has just fallen into line for the state use system.

A year later the National Committee on Prison Labor declared itself "opposed to the contract system of prison labor and to every other system that exploits his labor to the detriment of the prisoner."

Many states, notably Massachusetts, Kansas, Oregon, and others have worked so seriously upon some aspect of this question that, although the state use system does not prevail in its entirety, great advances have been made towards a working basis of prison development through work. The new social conscience, so far as the prisoner is concerned, regards him as a member of one big family who should be encouraged to work out the solution, not only of his maintaining

*Declaration of Principles, American Prison Association, 1870,—Sec. XV-XVII. Prison Reform and Criminal Law, P. 41.

himself but the dependents who have been penalized by his confinement in prison. During the last few years this is a growing conviction upon the minds of such governors as Wilson of New Jersey, Harmon of Ohio, Hadley of Missouri, Carey of Wyoming, Johnson of California, Foss of Massachusetts, Mann of Virginia, and many others—all are working at the question of developing efficiency and justice for the state and for the convict. The question of working upon the roads of the state and the almost unlimited field for the training of farmers and gardeners is in its experimental stage, though in several instances it is far advanced towards solution.

It is not claimed that the state use system has been developed to its fullest capacity in any state as yet. In New York where it has been longest installed, Governor Dix's commission shows that only one-twentieth of the market has been availed of, which is legally constituted for the consumption of the state products. Parenthetically let me state that it would seem evident that under this system, where the state consumes is own prison products, its sales-agents should have no business except the business of the state in preparing prison products for their legitimate market. No competition on the open market can be other than unfair.

The origin of this discussion sociologically is in the remote past but the recommendations for definite reform constitute practically a new problem in sociology and in economics. The good work of the American Prison Association and the state prisoners' aid societies has now been augmented by serious and economic considerations. The recent developments show this economic problem to be in the last analysis a governor's problem. The governors of all the states of the union are today alert over the responsibility which rests upon them and regard the details of prison administration as having their climax in the specific details touching upon prison labor. The prisoner's offense is against society, of which the state must take cognizance. The offense transfers the prisoner's will to the keeping of the state; his citizenship has been forfeited to the state; his pardon if it shall be granted is the gift of the state. It is therefore very necessary that this National Conference of Charities and Correction should give attention to this responsibility, especially as within the next few months thirty-five new governors take up the reigns of government anew and to most of these their duties are new.

There is also a problem in psychology not simply of the prisoner, but of the governor and the boards of control in regard to the watchfulness which shall ensure the safety of the prisoner. Governor West of Oregon has set a luminous example of "the honor system" which develops the self-respect of the prisoner upon the rotten edge of his criminal instincts. In one instance which Governor West reports of a prisoner who broke his parole, his fellow felons subscribed for the cost of his recapture. The honorable distinction of the saviors of

society may be read in the reports of successful experiments upon the human end of this problem in the effort to make it avowedly human, in the achievements of Governor West, Judge Lindsay and many more with a sense of responsibility to society.

To sum up the National Committee on Prison Labor after due inquiry has found against the contract system. It is convinced that the only possible excuse for it is on the score of inefficiency and that all success under the contract inures only to the owner of the contract. The prisoner, his family and the state become parties to the contract in which their lack of concern is in the exact ratio to the state's inefficiency—it is a case of shifting responsibility. The new conscience in governors, old and new, furnishes the answer as we have seen. In the last analysis the responsibility is ultimate with the citizenship throughout the land.

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## PRISON LABOR.

By Otis Fuller, Warden, Michigan Reformatory, Pontiac.

During the past twenty years the prisons of the United States have more than kept pace with the marvelous progress of the last two decades. The modern prison has a school which furnishes a grammar school education to illiterates and others who lack a fair common school education. It has a chaplain who gives all his time to the moral direction of the prisoners, preaches his regular Sunday sermon, conducts a Sunday school and prayer meeting and gives personal encouragement to those who are sick in body, mind and morals. It has a well stocked library covering the best standard and modern fiction, history, science, travel, essays and poetry for the free use of the prisoners. It admits all decent newspapers and magazines, and some, I am sorry to say, which are not so decent, in order that the prisoners may keep in touch with the world's progress and may not upon their discharge enter upon life again in a strange world.

It has a hospital for the sick with its sun parlors and sleeping porches for the tubercular patients and roomy isolation wards to aid in prompt checking of contagious epidemics. It has a physician with modern medical and surgical training and modern equipment to relieve the sick. It has its recreation hours in the open air and sunshine, nature's best medicine for ruffled nerves.

All these things the modern prison has if it is considered up to date, and all these things surely spell marvelous progress in an age of industrial and social miracles. Who shall say that the prison has not kept pace fully with the wonderful advancement of civilization which has marked the closing of the last and the opening of the present marvelous century? I wish I could write this chapter of optimism

without one discordant note, but the discordant note cannot be ignored. It is prison labor, and the discordant note is grating harshly on the nerves of every prison manager.

In wrestling with prison labor problems, the progress of the prisons has been ever like that of the crab—backward, ever backward. The orange groves of California and the apple orchards of Michigan have the San Jose scale, the plum orchards have the black knot, the pear orchards have the branch blight, the peach orchards have the yellows. Prison labor is also suffering from the yellows—the journalistic and political yellows—and what the yellow epidemic has done for the prison is more disastrous and costly than what the yellows did to the peach orchards.

The man behind the muck-rake, the literary garbage gatherer from prison swill barrels, is the spectre who comes unbidden to the prison table to sow the seeds of discord, disruption and wanton extravagance in prison management. Formerly he was only an over-zealous and inexperienced reporter representing that class of daily journalism which caters to the low-brows and cave-dwellers of the big cities. Now he comes from the sociology class of some institution of alleged higher education, and he carts off his putrescent fiction to the yellow magazine to be distributed in the back alleys. Since the yellow magazine invaded the field of prison fiction it has been making the yellow newspaper look like a piker.

The pet aversion of the man behind the muckrake is productive prison labor and particularly contract prison labor; he is a real friend of the Weary Willie who toils not; he is a star of hope to the knight of the jimmy, mask and gun who goes forth in the darkness to wrest tribute from the bankers, the merchants and the other "minions of predatory wealth." He is afraid that the highwayman who levies tribute from honest thrift at the point of a revolver will be "humiliated" in prison by having his labor sold like a "human chattel" to some "rich contractor." He is afraid the wife of the highwayman will be humiliated by having to ask for local charity as the wife of the sick but honest laboring man has to do, and so he would tax the robbed to pension the family of the robber. This seems past belief but such a bill was actually passed by the last legislature of Michigan. I am pleased to say that it was given prompt burial in Governor Osborn's veto waste basket.

Productive industrial labor has been driven out of the eastern reformatories and resting has become the chief occupation, in most of the eastern penitentiaries. The muck rakers and the cheap politicians are dancing and the taxpayers are paying the fiddler.

According to a report I received some time ago from the New York state treasurer, the cost of the New York prisons was crowding the two million dollar mark annually, one-third of the prisoners were idle, and of those who were working from three to five prisoners were

assigned to do what would be a fair day's work for one man. The conditions in Pennsylvania and Massachusetts are reported to be just as bad.

A Frenchman who visited the eastern prisons and reformatories during the last international prison congress went back home and reported that the prisoners of America were better housed and better fed than the laboring men of France and that they were required to do almost no work. The Frenchman was amazed and we ought to be humiliated at such a report. We ought to be humiliated, not because prisoners are well housed and fed, we take just and honest pride in that, but because "almost no work" and the resulting demoralization and cost of prison idleness have been forced upon us by political expediency.

It is passing strange that every alleged reform calls for an increased appropriation. Isn't it about time for some reformers to reform the reckless treasury raids which are now being organized against the national treasury and every state treasury in the land? During the past twenty years state taxes in Michigan have increased 260 per cent. while property values have increased only 100 per cent. The national record is about as bad and I am confident that many states will show a worse taxation record than Michigan. Alleged prison labor reform is doing more than its share in depleting the public treasuries.

Michigan Reformatory has about 400 prisoners working on contract. The contract pays the state $60,000 per year which pays two-thirds of all the cost of all its departments. It divides among the prisoners for overtask work $15,000 per year, which aids in the support of their dependent families. It teaches the prisoners a trade which enables them to make a good living upon their discharge. It teaches them habits of industry and thrift so they are more willing to do a fair day's work when they leave prison.

After nine hours' work the prisoners are given three-quarters of an hour in the yard for recreation and then they go to their cells to read good books, magazines and the daily papers or attend the evening school. These prisoners are a contented body of men and never suspect they are being misused by having to work until some journalistic or political prison labor reformer comes around to open Pandora's Box inside the walls.

Idleness is the chief cause of crime and nine hours' work a day in prison under a competent instructor is the best cure for the idleness which has brought the young man to prison.

The best thought of the highest type of business and professional men on prison boards of control has been given to prison labor problems. They study these problems inside prison walls and their strenuous efforts to provide profitable and suitable prison employment is nullified by politicians and theorists who indulge in nebulous dreams of reform, glory and votes.

The prisons, like the corporations, are the victims of too much legislation. The prison labor problem presents a strange paradox. Millions of dollars of the taxpayers' money are being squandered in law-suits by reform trust busters because trusts make the price of goods too high, and millions more are being squandered by the political reformers in an effort to drive productive labor from the prisons because prison labor makes the price of goods too low.

There is a costly and numerous army of political freebooters marching today under banners bearing various reform labels. Let us cease adding recruits to this army before the word "reform" becomes a byword and a jeer. It has already become a costly luxury. Let us give the taxpayers a chance once more before the bankruptcy courts get them.

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## THE STATE USE SYSTEM IN OHIO.

By James A. Leonard, Superintendent of the Ohio Reformatory, Mansfield.

The Ohio State Reformatory was under the contract system for a number of years but is now and has been for sometime under the State Use system. We employ the population of nearly eleven hundred in manufacturing clothing, shoes, furniture, brick and tile. In addition to these industries we have a machine shop and sheet-metal department combined, and a printery which does the printing for all state institutions and some state departments.

For outdoor employment we have the varied industries of an eight-hundred-acre farm. Aside from farming and gardening the farm activities are represented by the poultry yards, hog ranch, dairy and the cultivation of small fruits and berries.

All these industries are thoroughly established and are profitable from an economic standpoint and more profitable from an industrial training and moral standpoint than would be possible in a reformatory institution with either the contract or the state account system. I have for years from a theoretical point of view advocated the State Use system and our experience at the Ohio State Reformatory has more than justified our most sanguine anticipations. This method of employing inmates has met the approval of the general public and the cordial support of labor organizations.

## PRISON LABOR AND THE CONTRACT SYSTEM.

By Milton F. Goodman, Reliance Mnfg Co., Chicago.

My point of view is that of the majority of the tax paying citizens, of many of the best wardens and superintendents of the prisons and reformatories, of many of the most representative men of the several states who are trustees of prisons and reformatories, of some of the most eminent Governors of the several states, of many of the members of the state boards of charities who have been and still are members of this association, and many of the foremost penologists of this and other countries.

One system, known as the contract labor system, has generally prevailed throughout the prisons and reformatories of the country, just as the system of granting franchises to private corporations for public utilities has generally prevailed throughout the states and its political divisions and, as state ownership and operation of these public utilities are advocated by some, and have been attempted in a few municipalities in particular, so there are those who are strongly in favor of having the prisons and reformatories enter into business. A few have done so with some degree of success, but many have failed hopelessly.

These undertakings have been along different lines. Some have adopted what is known as the public account system, recently rechristened the state use system, and one or two states have adopted what might properly be called the "repressed production system."

I have observed that the state account system has been successful to a considerable degree in some states, where they have confined themselves to the production of articles to be sold to the farmers of the state in competition with articles that are controlled by combinations and are sold at what are known as trust prices. I refer in particular to binder twine and have especially noted that some institutions have been very successful with the state account system, where they have been able to take advantage of the natural resources surrounding the institutions.

The public account system, which I now hear called the state use system, is theoretically the most attractive but in practice it has not solved the problem of prison labor. There are those who say it will if faithfully pursued, but I believe it has been carried out so far as possible by those in authority in some of the states that have adopted it in whole or in part, and the results in those states, as we well know, have been reported on adversely from time to time by commissioners who have been sent from other states to investigate the system, and even by commissioners appointed by the governors in the states in which it has been adopted. What are the real reasons for the failures? We have not far to seek. The first reasons will usually be found in the exceptions in the law by which the system has been dopted. I need only refer to one exception, that of state printing. This is a trade that could be carried out successfully, not only on what is known as state printing but on the printing and binding of all the state school books, yet we

know as a matter of fact that this would never be permitted in any state of the Union, for it certainly would be in competition with one great industry. In accordance with this system the penal institutions might undertake the making of all the school furniture used in the state and we know this would never be permitted, as it would also bring about competition with another great industry, and so with many other industries. In short, the state use system might be very successful if it could be the rule without exceptions.

In practice it is confined to a few trifling and unimportant industries. The penal institutions operating under this system are confined almost entirely to furnishing articles to the other state institutions, and even this interchange in practice has not been successful to the point of furnishing much outlet for the production of the several institutions.

There is another consideration which makes this system unsatisfactory in practice for the teaching of a trade. Excellence can only be obtained by working diligently, according to the most approved methods with all the best mechanical devices. And what of the overproduction of any given article? Let us say brooms, pails, mops, or any of the many simple articles used in the different institutions. Five men will make a glut of brooms and pails if diligently employed in a shop that could properly be called a shop. Ten men could easily overproduce the shoe necessities of all the institutions if worked the year around. A broom foreman could not be an expert shoe manufacturer, and we could not expect a tinsmith to be a clothing designer, hence a terrific expense for instructors in all the different so-called trades. There is another phase of the situation; if the state institutions are to supply each other, the state itself, and its political divisions, the trades must be innumerable, and this again is impossible because of the tremendous expense.

I have no sympathy whatsoever, and I dare say neither have most of my listeners, with what I call "repressed industry." This is a plan pursued in Pennsylvania and some other states under which only a small percentage of the convicts may be employed at any trade. Its purpose is to reduce prison competition with free labor, but it results in condemning a great many convicts to the most hurtful of all punishments, namely, to be kept in idleness.

I realize that I have thus far indulged in my own opinions about the state account system, the public account system, and this repressed productive system and that you expect me to tell you briefly what I know about the contract labor system. I request you to distinguish between the old leasing system and it. The contract labor system, the one that has been generally practiced in the best institutions in most of the states in the union may mean the per diem plan or the piece price plan. On the per diem plan the state and the contractor make the consideration so much per day for each inmate placed on the contract, it being provided therein that a day shall mean a given number of hours. On the piece price plan it is provided that the contractor shall pay the state so

much for a piece, for the article manufactured. Whether the state adopts the per diem or the piece price plan, I believe that in every case there should be extensive advertising for sealed bids and public opening of the same, that all possible competition may be encouraged, and in every way the hazards of such contracts to the contractors should be eliminated just as much as possible so that the public would be encouraged to compete on the highest possible prices to the state, which prices will make it possible for the state to support its penal institutions without making them a burden on the tax payers, to build, equip and develop the most modern and sanitary institutions, engage the best talent to be obtained in the states for chaplains, teachers, and all subordinate officers, and to leave a surplus to be credited to the inmates, or distributed to their depndent families.

I advocate the piece price plan because it obviates all possible chance of friction, the state and the contractor knowing exactly where they stand at all times, the production being figured at the close of business every day and payments made according to the "pay for what you get" plan. Under no circumstances should the person or company having a contract with the state, influence or affect in any way the control of the inmates, and my observation and experience are that the contractors do not in any way control, affect or influence the inmates. It is true that the contractor usually appoints, or at least, nominates the instructors on his particular contract, but these instructors are usually men capable of instructing, above the average of their class. Such selection is not only for the best interest of the contractor but also for the good of the institution. In all modern institutions their duties are strictly confined to the instructions in their particular industry for which they have been appointed, and while in the institutions they are practically as much under the supervision of the officers as the inmates themselves, and often have been barred for attempting to deviate from the rules of the institution. This is a correct statement of the situation, which prevails in all the institutions with which I have ever had any connection, and those which have the contract system, are in many cases the most modern institutions and have most regard for the comfort and health of their inmates, as is evidenced by the published reports of the different state boards of charities reporting on these conditions. It is probable that the state prison at Michigan City, Indiana, is one of the best examples of them all. No one can go through this institution without being impressed with its well ordered condition and its perfect sanitation. The members of the International Prison Congress, who visited this prison, called it the most modern and best kept they had visited.

I presume my paper would not be complete without giving some idea of what I would recommend as the best solution of the prison labor problem. I have thought much of it and realizing that none of the systems so far adopted are ideal in every respect, I have come to the conclusion that a composite system adopting in a greater or less degree all the

plans that have been tried would more nearly solve the problem under wise and conscientious management.

I would strongly urge the public account system just as far as it would be practical from a common sense business standpoint. I would strongly urge public improvements as far as practical. I would certainly favor the development of agriculture and the raising of stock. I would just as strongly recommend the maintaining of diversified modern industries. This would be possible only by entering into contracts with responsible companies, for the reasons that wardens and superintendents, except in rare instances, have all they can do in the general management of their institutions. They should not be expected to add to their many other responsibilities, the two fold one of studying fluctuating market conditions with regard to the purchase of raw materials and the development of a proper and profitable all the year round outlet for the finished products, and men who have in half a lifetime learned the methods and acquired the business judgment necessary to make a success of such industries would rarely become the subordinate officials of a penal institution.

I do now and always have urged liberal compensation to the inmates, I urge as strongly as I can that the state only, and only the state, through its accredited officers deal with the inmates as to compensation or overtime. It has been charged against the contractor that the inmate is not given any compensation for his work. This should be entirely a proposition of the state's. Whatever the agreement is as to daily wage, or pay for overtime, it should be charged to the contractor by the state, and the state should make the allowance to the inmate, or his dependent family. The overtime should be settled in exactly the same manner as regular time, bills rendered by the state to the contractor, and the state deal with its wards entirely as it sees fit. I feel I am correct in saying that contractors as a unit favor pay to the inmates, or their dependent families, and will welcome the day when the inmates will receive a just share of the amount earned by them for the state.

Regarding the question of competition with outside labor. President Amos W. Butler in his address before the American Prison Association at Washington, D. C., in 1910 said: "The extent of the competition of convict labor is usually overestimated" and in this same address he quoted the late Carroll D. Wright, distinguished as chief of the U. S. Bureau of Statistics, who said: "In the many investigations which it has been my privilege to make in relation to the prison labor question I have found few instances where prices have been affected in the least, and never a case where wages have been lowered in consequence of the employment of convicts on productive industries. It is an absolute impossibility to prevent competition if convicts are to be employed in any way whatsoever." As to my personal opinion, I am on record with a statement made in 1910 to the Committee on Labor of the House of Representatives which statement is on file in congress and which statement concurs in the conclusions of Mr. Butler and the late Mr. Wright.

## THE TRADE-UNION ATTITUDE TOWARDS PRISON LABOR.

By John P. Frey, Editor International Molders' Journal.

In discussing the trade-union attitude towards prison labor it is well to bear in mind that organized labor has been forced to study the problem for the most practical of reasons, as one phase of prison labor directly affects the wage earner's standard of living.

Prison labor under the contract convict labor system has been the means of lowering the wage rate for thousands of wage earners and in some instances its competition has practically driven an industry from the field. It is because of this competition and for humanitarian reasons that trade-unions have been opposed to its existence. They are strongly opposed to contract convict labor because they believe that it has been brought into existence and extended wherever possible largely for the personal profit of private parties and because it tends to relieve prison wardens and boards of penitentiary managers from personal responsibilities which would otherwise rest upon them, and in addition, because of their conviction that under this system the prison inmates' welfare and reformation is made secondary to the making of profits for the contractors.

The American Federation of Labor and its affiliated organizations have continually endeavored to abolish this system of prison labor.

The result of prison labor as it has been applied under the contract convict labor system has been first of all to displace free labor by convict labor either by throwing free workmen out of employment or by doing work which free workmen would otherwise have performed. If the convict is to be occupied at useful labor during his confinement, this form of competition cannot be avoided, although it might and should be applied so as to work the minimum amount of competition with free labor in view of the large number of unemployed which we find in so many portions of the country.

It is not this phase of the effect of prison labor, however, which has placed the trade-unions in determined opposition against the system of labor which exists in many of our penal institutions. The trade-unions believe that the most sound of economic and humanitarian reasons, as well as those of public policy, require that the prison inmates should labor and that their labor should have a useful object and a market value.

Unfortunately the true attitude of organized labor on this subject is not as well known as it should be. Only recently a prominent publicist whose sympathy with the wage earners is well known, in discussing the attitude of the trade-unions toward prison labor, made the statement that. "the opposition of the unions to prison labor is another count in the indictment. This rests upon a narrow view of advantage which helps to discredit the trade-unions. Here again a small gain to a class is suffered to outweigh a heavy loss to society.

The injury which prison labor could inflict upon organized labor is inconsiderable, the damage, which would be done to the prisoners by keeping them in idleness is enormous. The unions greatly injure their own cause when they adopt the policy which sacrifices the general welfare to their own interests in a manner so flagrant.''

What are the facts. The trade-unions have never advocated that convicts should be kept in idleness, instead they have insisted that convicts should be employed and that the convict's reformation would be impossible without useful and healthful labor.

Organized labor, however, has differed radically with some business and political interests as to the manner in which convicts should be employed and the conditions which should surround them while at work. They have always vigorously opposed the contract convict labor system, insisting that the convict's labor should not be performed for the private profit of a contractor who is engaged primarily in making money through the forced labor of the unfortunates over whom he has control and whose interest in their reformation is generally a negligible factor.

It is because of their opposition to the contract convict labor system that trade-unions have been accused of being opposed to convict labor for selfish and narrow reasons by their opponents and by those who are not well informed as to organized labor's attitude.

In support of this assumption the general assertion is made that the trades-unions desire to see the convicts kept in idle confinement because they are opposed to their competition.

It is not the work of the convicts as producers which meets with trade-union opposition, or that by working they may keep some free men idle. It is the methods by which prison labor, when performed for the benefit of private contractors, places the convicts' labor on the market and thereby forces reductions in wages upon large numbers of free workmen and by so doing, lowers their standard of living.

For the purpose of illustrating the trade-union attitude upon this subject let us presume that the state should decide to build an addition to one of its prisons or erect a new building by convict labor. This would replace the labor of a proportionate number of building trades workmen who otherwise would have been employed.

If instead of erecting a public building, the state should give the building contractors the privilege of contracting for convict labor and these convicts were placed to work erecting buildings for private individuals in competition with contractors employing free labor, then an entirely different form of competition would be created, for not only would the number of convicts employed displace a proportionate number of free workmen but the prison labor contractors, because of their low labor costs, would force the private building contractors to reduce wages or drive them from the field.

It is against this form of convict labor competition that the trade-unions object.

In the iron molder's trade, stove holloware has been practically driven out of the foundries in the United States through the competition of similar ware made by contract convict labor, for the molders could not exist on the wages for which they would have to work to compete with the convict whose labor is sold to the contractor for as low as 65 cents per day.

There are many other vital reasons why the trade-unions are opposed to the selling of convict labor to private contractors. It is an injury to every employer who is forced to meet with this system's competition. If the convict is to be worked for profit, then his work should be done for the benefit of those dependent upon him and for the state and with a principle view to his reformation and not for the enriching of private contractors. It is an inhuman system which turns our prisons and penitentiaries into factories operated for private gain instead of places where the prime object is the convict's reformation and his labor of a nature which tends to assist in this most essential direction. There are grounds for the belief that in some instances it has increased the number of convictions and extended the period of imprisonment.

For years the trade-unions have endeavored to have the convicts employed out of doors as much as possible where the sunshine and pure air would build up the physical man and give that rugged health which would enable the unfortunates upon their release to have clear heads and strong bodies, instead of being the pallid wrecks which so often leave the prison door, nerveless, spineless, and unfit to undertake the task of reclaiming their places as useful members of society or to properly support themselves through their labor.

The trade-unions insist that convicts shall be employed but they are equally insistent that this labor shall be performed under conditions which will tend primarily toward their reformation.

It is recognized today by practically all students of the question that the majority of inmates in our penal institutions are largely the victims of circumstances for which society is partly responsible. If this is true, then society owes an obligation to the unfortunates which it cannot discharge unless it makes the period of detention an opportunity for reformation, a period during which the prisoners' physical and moral condition will be developed to a higher plane.

Practical considerations have led the trade-unions to believe that the contract convict labor system is as great a crime committed by society against the average prisoner as the act which may have made it necessary to place the unfortunate within the prison walls. The conviction is growing among trades-unions that the idea of profit even to the state should be eliminated from prison labor.

Society's main object in confining the law breaker is to safeguard

itself from those who are inherently vicious and from the much larger number who have fallen into evil ways and whose reformation is not only possible, but most probable, if the conditions surrounding confinement are of a proper nature.

The labor should be of a character which would teach the prisoner to use his head and his hands, and any labor which does not require the use of both, such as the operation of a machine or the continuous and monotonous repetition in the manufacture of small articles such as brushes, or the operation of a sewing machine on garments must have as fatal an influence against reformation as the monotonous work in some of our factories has to the development of mental and physical growth.

There is a popular and erroneous impression that the prisoners in our penal institutions are given an opportunity of learning a trade during confinement and that the prison or reformatory can be made the stepping stone to a trade, but those who have profited the most by this are those who have derived private profit from the convict's labor.

The so-called "trades" taught in our penal institutions do not educate the convict and fit him to work as a mechanic after his release. Of what practical value is the experience which the convict acquires while working upon the weaving of wicker work, the making of cheap shirts and overalls, or on brushes or brooms or the one or two operations in connection with the making of shoddy shoes. Even though the convict should become exceptionally expert in any of these lines of labor, he would find himself, upon his release, qualified to work only in those branches of industry which pay the lowest of wages, and in no sense would he be qualified to hold his own as a competent mechanic. In fact, it would seem that the work in our penal institutions has been largely of a nature to injure rather than to benefit the convict.

There is much work requiring the use of both brain and hands which is necessary in connection with the maintaining of our state and eleemosynary institutions which could and should be done by convicts. There are highways to build, there is farm produce to be provided and the convicts can do all of this with a minimum of competition with free labor and with no injury to the farmer.

For this work the convict should be paid by the state so that he may be made to realize that the state does not rob him of his labor —a common impression among the convicts today—but that his confinement has been made necessary for his own good and the safety of society and that during this confinement society is discharging its obligations to him, giving him an opportunity of reformation, and enabling him to earn money which will save him from actual want upon his release, and what is equally as important, enable him during confinement to provide for those who are dependent upon him and

who without his assistance are forced in many instances to depend upon private charity.

A husband who is confined for a year or more is likely to find the family ties severed upon his release. The wife has been forced single-handed to undertake the task of keeping the home for the children and this has frequently been an impossibility, the children becoming inmates of charitable institutions, and the home, the strongest sheet anchor to hold the convict upon his release, has been destroyed because the bread winner, during his years of confinement, has been unable to contribute to the support of his wife and his offspring.

The trade-unions believe that the convict's labor should be paid for in wages so that there will be a sum to give him when he reenters freedom and something to help support the family who, under the present system, are forced to suffer and to depend in many instances upon private or public charity.

Samuel Gompers in his report to the last convention of the American Federation of Labor summed up the trade-union attitude upon this question in the following words: "Prisoners should be required to work not for the private profit of contractors, nor even for the financial profit of the state, but for their reformation and for the benefit of their dependents."

In commenting upon this declaration the committee on the President's report said in part: "We are unalterably opposed to the labor of convicts being let to contractors. We believe that the ultimate solution of the problems will come when the convicts are engaged in the widest possible diversity of industry by hand labor for the use of eleemosynary institutions. By this both body and mind will be strengthened."

Briefly reviewed the trade-union attitude towards prison labor is that its first object should be the prisoner's reformation and under no circumstances should any element of private profit enter into consideration, that the labor performed by the prisoner should be of a useful nature and that for this labor the convict should be paid for the benefit of those dependent upon him and for his own assistance upon regaining freedom and finally that the principle object of the state should be to protect itself from the vicious and unfortunate to give them an adequate opportunity for reformation and not to derive profit from their labor.

## PRISON LABOR.

By the Reverend Archdeacon B. M. Spurr, Chaplain of the West Virginia Penitentiary.

It has been my lot to spend nineteen years in the service of prisoners; to have slept in a cell with a man who was doomed to die; to have prepared thirty-two men for execution; and it seems certain that I should know the prisoner a good deal better than some of you, who, having spoken, do not know him at all experimentally, but rather as a thing from a book.

My position as to Contract Labor is this: The time is coming when the contract system will go out of existence, as far as prisoners are concerned. The handwriting is already on the wall. No one who knows about the economic or social condition of the prisoner, or the union labor organizations on the outside, will, for a moment, deny this.

I agree entirely with you that each prisoner should have for himself the difference between the cost of keeping him in prison and what he earns at the bench or machine. This should be paid to him when a free man, at stated intervals, so that there would be no great danger of it all being squandered in "booze," or other acts of iniquity; that is, if any be left to him when he is liberated; but whilst he is in prison, if he is a married man with persons depending on him, then his earnings, above his keep, should be paid to his family, and thus relieve the community in which those families dwell of a continual drain, whilst at the same time the prisoner retains his self-respect in being conscious of an ability to aid his family. This thing is not done now, but as sure as God lives it will be done, for it is the only method in which justice herself can be just.

But in the meantime—God Help the Poor Man in Prison. I don't know the kind of contractors you talk about, or that I have heard of in other prisons. Just now we have heard a good, sweet woman stand up here and say in behalf of the Consumers' League: "We will not buy anything that the prisoner makes," and this, mind you, is said with the idea that they are helping the prisoner, instead of loading him more heavily than ever with the shackles of his crime. Why, we have a man in our prison at this present time who for years had had a quarrel with one of his neighbors; they met in town one day, and our man gave the other man a quick push, the man stumbled and fell, and when picked up was dead; and yet, the poor fellow who pushed him without any intent of murderous harm spends ten years of his life in prison; and the Consumers' League would not touch the product of the labor of such a man.

It doesn't seem to me that it matters whether it is by the contractor, or whether it is state use, or whether the state sells thirty or forty per cent. of the products of the prisoner—this does not make any difference as to the prisoner. And the difference of management certainly cannot taint the goods which may be sold on the outside. There is no such a thing as doing away with competition. Whenever you employ a prisoner

in any work whatever, outside the daily routine of the penitentiary, that employment is bound to be of the nature of things done by other men on the outside—and therefore might be called "competitive labor."

Now what is the position of the contractor? And what is the position of the state?

The contractor is there to make money, and none of them pretend to be running a school of philanthropy. That there are hard contractors, who make the lives of the prisoners a burden, may be true—but in West Virginia we know of no such man. If the contractor's purpose is to lay up ducats for himself, then the supposed purpose of the state should be to help in reforming the man whom it deprives of his liberty as a result of his crime. This reformation should be the first purpose of the prison authorities, whilst earning money for the state should be purely incidental to that reformation As it is, the reformation is incidental, and the income-producing the permanent idea.

Now what shall the state ultimately do with the prisoners? My good brother here says, "Pass the bill that is in the United States Senate at the present moment." Then, what? Why, as far as we are concerned in West Virginia, we should have nine hundred and sixty idle men within our prison walls.

You say, "Try Road-Making." Why six months in the year would be the limit of time in which you could do that work, and then the cost of sending them from one part of the state to the other, and the number of guards necessary in this mountainous country, would make the labor of their hands very costly.

We can't dig coal, for the unions won't permit that. And if they are idle we can't do what my friend over here says the prisoner in the west does—play baseball. Why, you couldn't play "Puss, Puss, Come to My Corner" in our prison yard, unless you did it around the buildings, for spare room is limited.

I am an Englishman. Probably you have read how England has debauched herself for years by taking a large revenue from the sale of opium. No man of English extraction can know of that fact and understand what it means to the millions in China, without making his blood course with fire. But, be all the reformer you desire to be, you could not blot out the crime of opium at once. It seems as though the deadly drug has become a necessity. So it was decided that ten year's time should be given to the producers of opium, each year to see a decrease of ten per cent in the production of opium, until it all had been swept away.

That seems to me to be the method we should employ in reference to the contract system within the prisons. Either have men contractors who will at all times and under all conditions give the convicts they employ a square deal, or wipe out the contract system entirely; and then let the state governments be prepared, on the expiration of the leases of the contractors, to put evry able-bodied prisoner to profitable, productive work. This should be so because the greatest curse of a prisoner's life is idleness—either within or without the prison walls.

I was very much delighted just now at hearing Mr. Frey say that the unions were not opposed to prison labor, but that they desire that the goods produced by the prisoner should be in as great a variety as possible, so as to minimize the competition. That is delightful news to me, for I have heard men who had been in prison say again and again that to be known as a "Jail-Bird," or ex-convict, meant that no union would accept them. Evidently the labor unions are recognizing the fact that even a prisoner is a fellow man and possesses a soul. For I take it for granted, from what Mr. Frey has said, that his particular branch would admit an ex-convict to membership.

Will you look just for a moment with me at what it means to a man to be without productive labor during the time of serving his prison sentence—and by "productive labor" I mean effort with a cash basis result, and not the mere filling up of time? The other day in Columbus I went from cell to cell and saw where the men slept. There was no sanitary provision in these cells and the "Bucket Brigade" makes its daily round. It is not only in Columbus that this takes place, but in fully seventy per cent. of the prisons within the United States. That means, say, after the chapel exercises on a Sunday morning, that the men are taken to their cells at 11:45 and must remain there until 6:30 the next morning. These men are two in a cell in the majority of places, and they have the wholesome (?) presence of the "Bucket," which is always sensed, if not seen. And then you must remember that in many of the prisons there are no chapels, and the chaplain or preacher stands between the tier of cells and preaches, whilst the choir joins in the regular song.

Come with me for a moment into a room one hundred feet in length by forty feet in width. It has four windows—two windows on the righthand side, and a window and a door on the lefthand side. In that room six hundred men were placed, day by day, with nothing to do, and although the sun was burning brightly outside, it was so dark in the greater part of that room that the gas had to be lighted. The deputy warden told me that people were not permitted to talk to the prisoners, and then I said: "It is no use of my going in there unless I can talk to the men. I want to ask them questions." I went to one man who sat under a gas jet—his face was ghastly—probably my sympathy made it ghastlier still. "Do you like this thing of having nothing to do, or do you think it is true that 'The Devil finds something for idle hands or minds to do' "? And in a voice in which there was no cheer he replied, "I tell you, Sir, this, day after day, is Hell—simply Hell."

What does it matter to me about the contractor? What do I care about the system—if by the passage of any law thirteen thousand, seven hundred men under contract labor in the prisons of the United States are thrown out of employment? Eliminate the contract system if you will, but don't, for God's sake give the worst end of the bargain to the men behind the bars or in your effort to carry out the theory blast and blight the life and actual conditions under which the convict works.

You say, "Shut up the shops, because the contractors are making money," at least that is the essence of what you say. Then, of course, you would have to close up every other shop on the outside.

Let the prisoner labor and the contract system go gradually, or have only proper men sign the leases for the work of the convict. Then let it be possible in every prison for those on the outside to receive from their loved ones in prison money to meet their daily needs. Then shall it appear that the convict, by productive labor on the inside, is able to recognize the desire of those in authority to regard him as a human being, possessing a soul which Christ died to save.

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## PRISON LABOR.

By Florence Kelley, Secretary of the National Consumer's League.

We are the latest comers into this discussion. We are ashamed that we are so late. Our chief excuse is that we have not been able to get a body of knowledge until very recently. We intend to extend and to apply that body of knowledge.

The Consumers' League stands for the principle that every consumer has not only the right but the duty of learning the history of the goods which we buy, and that we are responsible for the conditions under which these goods are made; and that responsibility is limited only by the impossibility of learning of those conditions. We have suffered by reason of that impossibility in the past, but it is now growing less.

The National Consumers' League does not wish to buy slave-grown cocoa. That is one of the latest survivals of slavery in the world. We do not wish to buy the products of the labor of prisoners. We do not wish to buy the products of the labor of the man who can be compelled to work with no possibility of exerting his own will and conscience in regard to the pay that he will take for his work; who can legally be assaulted by the official to whose care he is entrusted by the State and subjected to the further indignity of being called upon to say that it is a benefit to him to be thus assaulted. We do not believe that that is good psychology or penology, or good administration of industry. We do not wish to buy the product of the labor of the man in that ignominious and unmanly position. We do not wish to buy the products of prison contract labor. And we cannot inform ourselves adequately as to this at the present time. It has been possible for those who profit by contract labor to obtain from that great source of reactionary decisions, the Court of Appeals of New York, the reactionary decision in the Hawkins case, holding in substance that we consumers have no enforcible claim to knowledge whether or not the things that we buy have come from prisons. We have no enforcible, valid legal claim to any label on prison-made goods. We have an enforcible claim to the label on goods

made in union factories or factories approved by the Consumers' League, but not on those which are disapproved.

Our next task is to get what knowledge we can under these difficult conditions, of the sources of our supply, and then get the Hawkins decision reversed. We have had certain reactionary decisions reversed. We have obtained a number of modern decisions with the help of Mr. Brandeis. With other counsel we hope to get the reactionary decision of the Court of Appeals of New York, that we cannot have knowledge of the sources of goods made in institutions to the maintenance of which we and all the taxpaying public contribute, reversed. We believe that when the people of the United States know where goods come from which are made under prison contract conditions, they will prefer other goods. And when they effectively prefer other goods, we shall have our prisoners put at work which does not financially profit either consumer or contractor, but will be for the good of the men who are in prison, and their families.

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## PRISON LABOR.

By John J. Sonsteby, Attorney for The United Garment Workers of America.

As a member of the committee on Courts and Prisons appointed by the 38th annual Conference of Charities and Correction it has been my privilege to study the subject of Prison Labor. For years I have watched the operations of various systems of labor in the penal institutions in the United States and the effect of such systems on the officials of the institutions, the prisoners, the state, and the free industries.

Under the contract and lease labor systems officials have been and are being corrupted, prisoners abused and exploited, industries paralyzed, manufacturers driven out of business, free labor rendered idle, sweat shop and child labor conditions continued, and the good work of agencies for the reforming of convicts nullified.

Industries employing free labor encounter no other influences so demoralizing as that of the competition of prison labor. No mere platitudes can soften this competition, or justify present conditions.

The good health of the convicts can be maintained and their reformation secured without injuring those who have lived lives in accord with the laws of society.

That the inmates of penal and reformatory institutions must have employment if the object of their confinement is to be attained is admitted by all. That this employment will in some degree compete with free labor is unavoidable. The objection to convict labor is in the method of employment and that the product of their labor is sold on the open market.

Although the product of convict labor may represent but a small fraction of the total products of labor, when this product is concentrated into a few industries the competition becomes absolutely ruinous for the free manufacturers in such lines.

Hon. Julian W. Mack, in his president's address at the opening of this conference, said among other things: "Convict Labor ought never to be a source of profit to the States." To this we may add, "Nor to any private interests exploiting the convicts."

The systems in vogue in our penal institutions at the present time are commonly known as:

1. Contract Labor (indoors)
2. Contract Labor (outdoors)
3. Piece-Price Plan.
4. Lease System (outdoors)
5. State Account: products sold on open market.
6. State Account: for state use.

Of these systems the contract labor and lease systems have been almost universally condemned.

The farming out and disposing of the labor of convicts by contracts, is the most pernicious form of competition to which free labor is subjected. The piece-price plan and state-account plan when the product is disposed of on the open market, is not much better. All of these systems, except the state account plan for state use, tend toward the concentrating of the product into a few industries. The concentrating of prison-made goods into a few industries, results in the goods being sold in the open market at less than the prevailing market prices, and this unfair, cruel competition drives free manufacturers out of business, free workmen out of employment, and puts a penalty on the wage earner and employer who keep out of prison.

All of these penal institutions are a burden on the taxpayers of this country. All free manufacturers and workmen are taxpayers of the state either directly or indirectly. It is unfair that any one part of the taxpayers should be discriminated against by the state. Concentrating the labor of prisoners in an institution into a few industries forces the free labor in those industries to enter into competition with the state. The selling of convict labor products on the open market in competition with free labor, without regard to the market prices, throws free taxpayers into ruthless competition with the state. Using convict labor to provide for the needs of the state and state institutions removes the state from the market for free labor, and permits free manufacturers to meet each other in fair competition.

Under the system known as the State Account for State Use plan the convicts are always under the control of the state and they may be shifted from one form of work to another as the needs of the state or the health and training of the convicts require.

Many people think that the only alternative to abolishing the contract or lease system is idleness for the convicts. That this is not true has been proven in the places where the contract and lease system have been abolished.

Every convict who has no trade and is capable of learning one should be taught one most suitable for him to make him an efficient intelligent mechanic, and able to follow the trade when he is released. In the arrangement of employment for the prisoners the state should endeavor to supply itself with everything necessary in its various institutions.

A large farm should be operated, and all other necessary plants for the turning of the different raw products into the finished articles needed in the various state institutions. The making of roads is an ideal occupation for convicts.

Free labor and manufacturers employing free labor ask no special privileges but only that they be treated the same as free labor and manufacturers in industries not brought into competition with prison labor. They ask that they pay only their just share of the taxes necessary to the maintenance of the state and its penal institutions; that they be subjected to only their fair share of the loss of market due or incident to the manufacture of any product within the penal institutions; that a system of employment be inaugurated and maintained in the penal institutions, that will educate and reform convicts; that the product of all convict labor shall be used entirely by the state and institutions of the state where the convict is incarcerated; that the labor of the convicts shall be so diversified that the burden will fall as equally as possible on all industry within the state; that the exploitation of convicts, or their labor, or the product of their labor, for the benefit of private individuals be not permitted in any form; that a rate of compensation be allowed the convict based upon labor costs outside of prison and that after deducting from the earnings of the convicts the cost of maintenance and other proper and necessary costs, the balance if any should be used either for the dependent family of the convict, the reimbursement of those who have been injured or suffered through the crime of the convict, or kept for the use of the convict himself and given to him when he is released.

The great need at the present time is uniform legislation in the different states of the United States. The bill now pending in the Congress of the United States providing that the product of convict labor when shipped into a state or territory shall be subject to the laws of such state or territory to the same extent as if it had been manufactured by convict labor within that state or territory, should be adopted. Thereafter the states should adopt legislation, uniform as to the general principles above outlined, for the disposition of the products of prison labor, and prohibiting the importation of the products of prison labor of other states.

We are one people though living under different state govern-

ments and the employment of convicts of one state should not be such as to be detrimental to the interests of any other state. Each state should solve its own problem.

The adoption of the foregoing plan will make all the penal institutions of our country industrial institutions for the saving of the morally sick men and women committed to them.

The inmates of such institutions will return to the body politic with a corrected perspective due to the training under a government, which desires to reform and correct as well as to punish.

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## DISCUSSION.

DR. HASTINGS H. HART—I have been watching the problem of prison labor for 29 years, and for over half of that time I was myself an inspector of prisons. Many people are sure that the State Use system is the final solution, but we shall find some difficulties in the operation of that system in different states as in every other. I am surprised to hear any one say that the State Use system does away with the competition of prison labor. What better customer has a manufacturer or wholesaler than the State Insane Hospital or any public institution? They purchase regularly and in large quantities. When we deprive the manufacturer or wholesaler of their trade we surely are competing with free labor. We must accept the fact that a certain amount of competition is inevitable under any plan of productive labor, and we must distribute that competition as equitably as possible.

The prison farm system is being used in the south, but it has some great evils. Where convict labor is paying into the treasury of a state over half a million dollars a year as in Mississippi,it may be an iniquitous system, but it proves that the prisoner can earn his living and earn the support of his family. We must accept the fact of competition with free labor and endevaor to distribute that competition as widely and equitably as possible.

JUDGE MACK—I want to explain one quotation that was made from what I have said, that the state should not make a profit off its prisoners. What I meant was not that the labor of the prisoner should not earn profit, but that the state should not keep that profit, but give it indirectly and not by way of charity back to the prisoner, so that he can support his family.

MR. LOVELY, of Boston—The first speaker, put the whole thing in a nutshell as to the contract system when he said he had never heard anything good of it before, nor today. Neither have I. From the financial standpoint it may be the best system that could be put in operation, both for the state—if an honest contract is made—and for the contractor, but there is something larger than mere dollars or the

support of the prisoner in this proposition. It has been said that contracts are kept secret, but that sometimes they have been stolen. I have one here which was stolen. It was made in 1904 with the State of Minnesota, for the employment of 235 convicts in the making of shoes. I am deeply interested in shoes, and I find that the man having this contract is able to go into the open market and drive out any competitor employing free labor. The "American Shoe Maker" is a trade publication, and a recognized authority. I will quote some figures from it. There is a shoe known as the Walsh shoe made to retail for $2.50 or $3.00. It is considered the hardest shoe to sell at a profit by a manufacturer employing free labor. The items of cost of that shoe were dissected, and the total for labor is figured at 38cts. per pair. The contract I referred to was made for ten years for that particular shoe, and called for 15cts. I submit that the difference in the labor, cost between 38 cents and 15 cents, is more than the average profit to the shoe manufacturer.

Undue competition is bad enough, but the moral question is much more. Any system of employing convicts that does not consider the well being of the convict, is criminal. I submit that the contract system forgets the prisoner; you have a slave to exploit dollars from. My knowledge of the situation was acquired in 1905, when I was appointed special agent in the State of Missouri, to investigate the operations of penal institutions. I visited 28 institutions and found invariably that those operated on the contract system were operated tryannically as applied to the prisoners The prisoners were worked with a view to making money, first for the contractor, and second, for the state. A task was usually assigned to them, supposedly three-quarters of the average day's work on the outside, but in many cases it was in excess of that done by other labor on the outside. Things are no worse in Missouri than they are elsewhere. The conditions I found there are those which I believe to be the natural, if not inevitable, consequences of the contract system. I appeal to every man and woman who believes in fair play, that the prisoner should be given an opportunity to reform and that he can only secure that opportunity by being worked with that aim in view instead of in order to make money for the state and the contractor. I beg you to use your influence with the United States Senate in securing the passage of the bill mentioned by Mr. Frey known as the Borah bill, which provides that when convict-made goods are shipped from one state to another, the law of the state receiving them will become operative.

MR. STOUT, of Ohio—How much difference is there between prison-made shoes and free labor shoes from the fact that the manufacturers have to allow no outlay for machinery?

MR. LOVELY—There is no difference. The machinery company supplies the machinery on the same basis to the prison contractor as it does to the individual outside.

MR. LYON—In this discussion we have got glimpses here and there of the fact that from the higher spiritual standpoint of the welfare of prisoners, we are agreed that all prisoners should have work and that prisoners should be paid, not only for their own sake, but for the sake of those dependent upon them. I think we shall come to an agreement best by emphasizing these two great factors, and as they fill our horizon, possibly the economic differences will disappear. Do we realize to what an extent prisoners are still without labor in the county jails while waiting trial? Also in many of the county penitentiaries there is no labor, and in states which are shifting from the contract system to some other kind of prison labor, a large percentage of prisoners are idle. I am told that during two years some have had about two hours work a day. Some of the prisoners have an opportunity to read, but for the man who would not or could not read, such experience was "hell," as they describe it.

In an inquiry I made for the International Prison Congress, I found fully 25 per cent. of the inmates of penitentiaries had been supporting some dependent wife or mother or sister, having been conscientiously caring for them previous to their incarceration. Also the further fact developed that fully 50 per cent. had kindred of some kind for whom they were morally responsible. Unpaid penal servitude will not develop self respect nor fit men for free citizenship after their release. I trust such legislation will be secured as we are trying to get in Illinois; that a man in a county jail should have work; that commissioners may have permission to help the dependents of prisoners, and that there should be direct recompense of prisoners for their labor. Detroit, Washington, and other cities, have been putting this plan into operation. Minnesota, Kentucky and some other states are initiating it on a statewide system.

MR. O. F. LEWIS—We all know that prisoners have been exploited. We have here the different interests connected with prison labor. Do not let us lose the momentum we have attained. We are not satisfied to stop where we are. Let us keep going until the thing clears up. Perhaps we can arrive at a compromise plan.

MR. STEARNS—I have some interest in a contract at Michigan City, Ind., where ladies' leather bags are made. In the State Use system, where the prisoner is not paid for his labor, any contribution that goes to the family comes out of the state treasury, and that means very little. Under the prison contract system they can charge enough for the prisoners, so as to have plenty for the family. If 65 cents per day is too little, charge 80 or 90 cents or a dollar. The reason these rates of pay are small is because there are various handicaps attending prison labor from the contractor's standpoint. The prison shop has to run all the time, and the contractor has to take the output of a hundred or five hundred men regardless of whether he can sell the goods. In times of panic he must sell at auction and slaughter them. Again, prisoners

are not as competent workmen as free laborers and are therefore worth less pay. The burglar or murderer, or forger, does not lend himself to organization and other features that make for productive labor of the highest degree of efficiency. A large percentage of goods manufactured in prison are seconds—so-called—representing a large loss in costly material. The concern I referred to in Michigan City, employing a hundred men, has never declared nor even earned a dividend, because they have not got the prisoners up to the point of efficiency where they can turn out good goods.

MR. CROOKS—Would not these disadvantages you mention, attending on contract labor, be prohibitive of adequate means to support the families of the prisoners?

MR. STEARNS—Five years ago it was customary to pay 36 to 40 cents a day. Contracts are now being made at 65 and 70 and 85 cents. There is a figure beyond which the prison contractor could not take a man and make any money. Get the wages up to the point where the contractor can make only the same profit that the man on the outside can make with free labor, and you have the problem solved.

MR. SONSTEBY—How long have you had the contract in Michigan City?

MR. STEARNS—Two and a half years. Why is it that a system as iniquitous as this is described to be by some speakers here, has continued in our enlightened day in the great majority of states? Why are new contracts constantly being let by intelligent state boards? It is because it is the only solution that approaches anything like perfection.

MR. WHITIN, New York—We want constructive reform. We need the co-operation of Mr. Goodman in the working out of the theory of efficiency in prisons. Mr. Goodman has shown that effiiciency is possible to be attained with prison labor. He claims that if it were practical for the state to do what he has done, he would be willing for the state to do it. We should all work together and help our state officials to direct the work efficiently. We should all co-operate with them in working out efficiency in the prisons throughout the country. I hope we shall take Mr. Lewis' suggestion and get together.

MR. MATCHIN, of Minnesota—I heard Mr. Lovely mention a contract from our state. That is the tail end of one that has run for a number of years. About three years ago the Minnesota legislature abolished contract labor in prisons, but the law was not retroactive, and the contract mentioned was continued. Outside of that contract there is no labor of the kind in the prisons and there will be no new contracts made.

As to the prisoners' earnings, many men go to prison who are not capable of earning enough to keep their families. Society is largely responsible for the prisoners being in prison. There has been a law passed by the legislature of 1911, by which the State Board of Control is authorized to give a pension, if necessary, known as state aid, to

every family depending on a prisoner. In addition we give the prisoner a percentage of his earnings. That state aid is at the discretion of the State Board of Control to give the amount needed after investigation by our parole agents.

DR. OTTO P. GEIER, Cincinnati, O.—I had several years' experience as visiting physician to the Cincinnati Workhouse, where there was a contract system. The most vicious thing about that workhouse was not the contract, but the conduct of the institution and the treatment of the prisoners by the city officials. It should be the desire of this meeting to arrive at some fair conclusions and to do so all personal animus should be avoided. It would seem to a non-combatant that the personal equation is a more important thing in considering the welfare of the prisoner, for whom you all say you are striving, than to try to reach a conclusion as to the advantages of the contract over the state use of prisoners in public institutions. I can see that in many states it would be heinous to put into effect the state use of prisoners because corrupt officials would give the prisoners a far worse deal than they would obtain under a contract system properly safe-guarded by a good official.

WARDEN BROWN, of West Virginia—A system should be known by its fruits. I should like the gentleman from New York to tell us how much money his state is paying back to the prisoners' families, and how does the system compare with other states? We are agreed that the prisoners' families should be helped; we would like to know what you are doing in the way of helping them, still more, what you are doing in the way of reforming the men and what percentage of them return to prison a second, third or fourth time.

MR. GOODMAN—Since the State Use system has been established in New York and the contract convict labor system abolished, the number of prisoners in institutions has been reduced although the population has increased.

MR. LEWIS—We have not the criminal statistics to answer Warden Brown's question. This State Use system is a good administrative proposition. We believe that in New York it can be ultimately worked out to satisfaction. We feel that it is an advantage to eliminate the element of private profit, but we do not want to have the men idle.

DR. KATHERINE BEMENT DAVIS, of New York—I speak from the point of view of the administrator of a state institution. Do not let us forget that it is the good of the prisoner we have at heart. We agree that prisoners must be employed, but those who are administrating institutions recognize that a large per centage of those committed to our care are industrially inefficient at the time of commitment; they are often physically deficient. The aim of an institution should be to return to society just as many men and women as possible able to earn an honest living. What is going to enable us to turn out the greatest number able to support themselves and their families? Whatever method we adopt, that should be our aim.

We have women only, and a large per cent. when they come to us are absolutely unfit to earn a living for themselves. We need a method sufficiently flexible so that during the early part of their stay they may be taught habits of industry; how to use their brains in connection with their hands; how to apply themselves continuously and under conditions that compare with those which they will have to meet when they go outside. My objection to the contract system is that it puts the prisoner into the hands of people whose business is not to train him, but to make an economic success. The State Use system has this advantage, that we can take the time of the prisoners for as many weeks or months as may be necessary to give them a proper mental and economic training. Then during the rest of their stay, we can teach them habits of efficient continuous labor that will enable them to compete successfully when they leave the institution.

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## WOMEN OFFENDERS IN NEW YORK.

By Hon. Wm. McAdoo, Chief Magistrate, New York.

A woman offender when she appears before a magistrate is to be dealt with according to the nature of the complaint. If it is one over which he has summary jurisdiction, he tries, her, and, if he finds her guilty, imposes sentence. If it is an offense for which she can be tried only in the courts of Special or General Sessions, should she desire it, she is entitled to an examination and if after the hearing the magistrate deems the evidence sufficient, he commits her to the city prison to await trial in the other court or indictment by the grand jury, and fixes the amount of bail. After that the case passes entirely out of his hands. His direct responsibility therefore only attaches to those cases where he has complete jurisdiction. In the case of street-walking women—prostitutes—under the law, after conviction, their finger-prints are taken. If the woman has ever been in the night or day court for women, before and been convicted, the prints disclose the fact and also show what punishment was meted out to her on that occasion. They are, therefore, of the greatest possible value to the magistrate in determining the extent of punishment and the character of it. If the woman had no previous record in these courts, her assertion that she is a first offender is entitled to consideration. The magistrate can sentence her to pay a fine in any amount up to $10, or he can send her to the workhouse for any term not exceeding six months, or, in certain cases, according to age, to reformatory institutions—The House of The Good Shepherd, Roman Catholic; The House of Mercy, Protestant; the Magdalen Home, non-sectarian; or the Women's Reformatory at Bedford, N. Y., a state institution of high reputation; or he can place her on probation for any period not exceeding one year. The rule among the magistrates is not—except in extraordinary cases—to impose a fine.

There are ten women probation officers attached to these courts, some of them of great experience and ability. The practice is to send incorrigible offenders to the workhouse, especially if they hold out no hope of being amenable to reformatory processes. I have lately suggested to the magistrates that where there is any doubt as to what they should do, that the woman be remanded and careful examination made of her statements, character and antecedents before sentence is pronounced.

Briefly, therefore, there is open to the magistrate the workhouse, reformatories, or probation. Where there is any substantial hope of reformation, I believe in probation, and, in selected cases, I consider such institutions as the Bedford Reformatory excellent.

But there appears to be nothing for the hardened, persistent offender but the workhouse, which is a very undesirable place and ill suited for this work. The place is generally overcrowded, and there is no systematic work provided for the inmates. A few of them do work in the laundry and a few do general cleaning; some of them sew.

My idea is that the women should have plenty of outdoor work, if possible, and should be kept in natural and cleanly surroundings.

Many of the women are dissipated; some of them are addicted to drugs; nearly all of them smoke tobacco in the form of cigarettes. They have no regular hours as to their meals or sleeping and get little or no healthy outdoor exercise. Their physical condition therefore is often bad; some of them are diseased.

There should, in my opinion, be:

(1.) A careful sorting out process after conviction, and institutions provided according to the results of such examination, and diseased women should go to a hospital; the woman, sub-normal mentally to some fitting institution; the hardened and incorrigible to some place where she would have to work in addition to being deprived of her liberty.

(2.) This institution ought to be out in the country and as far as possible removed from city conditions. I consider the Bedford Reformatory a good model in this particular. Every inmate not in the hospital should be at work of some kind. The mentally deficient ought to be treated for their weakness. Some elementary education should be given those who are illiterate. Back to nature and natural conditions and wholesome surroundings, moral and physical, should be the motto of the place. The discipline ought to give the largest amount of individual freedom with strict repression within certain lines.

(3.) A probation system would be useless unless it is under centralized control and the probation officers themselves strictly supervised, instructed and held up to a high standard. They must have vocational aptitude for their work, must have their hearts in it to get any good results. The system here has improved very much and it looks hopeful for the future that we will be able to make salvage of a great many of these cases.

(4.) The law here provides for a House of Detention in connection

with the women's night court. We are struggling with the city authorities for a court for women exclusively, where all women arrested in the Boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx may be brought. The House of Detention in connection with the court is intended as a place where a first offender, or a woman who has never been in prison before, can be sent to await trial in the other courts or be remanded until her case is investigated by the magistrate and before sentence. It is a great hardship now to have to send a young woman, yielding to a first temptation, who picks up something off a counter in a department store, down to the prison in the Tombs where she comes in contact with all sorts of depraved characters. She may be in there months awaiting indictment and trial. It seems a cruel and a hard thing that this has to be done. We hope to obviate this in the future if the city authorities will furnish the money for proper buildings.

The finger-print system here has developed the fact that we have a small army of five or six thousand women who have determined to make their living by prostitution unless restrained of their liberty or placed under careful supervision. Many of these women have deserted industrial pursuits and taken to this as the easiest way. Many of them are preyed upon by male parasites. It is difficult to detect and punish these fellows because generally at the last moment the women refuse to make complaints against them.

The orderly, systematic and progressive efforts now being made in these courts in dealing with women offenders has established certain facts which must prove of value in the future, and are far different from conclusions which have been hastily reached by enthusiastic but superficial investigators who start out with theories which run counter to many facts developed here. Sometimes these people unconsciously play into the hands of those who live by commercialized vice.

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## TREATMENT OF WOMEN OFFENDERS.

By Maude E. Miner, Secretary, New York Probation Association.

If we are to do most to help women offenders and at the same time to protect society, we must understand the needs of the individual and help according to those needs. The judge sitting in the court cannot, during the brief time at his command, know the needs of the individual offender. He can quickly decide upon the guilt or innocence of the accused, but it is impossible for him to determine as quickly what is the best thing to be done. The physician must take time to diagnose the case before prescribing treatment and must be a specialist at his task. In the same way, the judge should have complete understanding of each individual if he is to apply a sentence that will help; or what is preferable, he should confine himself to his judicial function.

In order to insure complete investigation and examination of women as a basis for making wise and helpful dispositions in their cases, a commission of specialists should be appointed, charged with these special duties. A summary of the plan is as follows:

I. Appointment of a commission of specialists to receive under commitment women convicted by the courts.

II. Thorough investigation and examination of convicted girls and women. This includes:

(1) Taking complete history and record of individuals.
(2) Investigation of past history, home environment and previous work.
(3) Mental examination to determine whether women are feeble-minded, insane or constitutionally inferior.
(4) Physical examination to determine whether women are suffering from venereal disease, tuberculosis or other infectious disease and are in need of medical care.

III. Careful selection of women to be released on probation and commitment of other women to suitable reformatory and custodial institutions.

The necessity of a commission of specialists was clearly shown to me while I was working as a probation officer in the Night Court in New York City. In a single night as many as 100 or 150 girls and women would pass before the bar—young girls, sixteen years of age, guilty of incorrigibility or running away from home; women charged with larceny, drunkenness, vagrancy, selling without a license and the largest number for soliciting on the streets for the purpose of prostitution. Except in the cases of a small number of girls, apparently suitable to be released on probation, no investigations were made and frequently women were placed on probation without preliminary investigation. A workhouse sentence or a fine was usually imposed upon women convicted of offenses relating to prostitution and a few were released on probation or committed to reformatories. The sentences were not based on the needs of the individual and something helpful was done for a very small percentage of the women.

The ineffectiveness of the present method of dealing with offenders in our courts is shown by the return of women again and again to the court for the same offense. For the first time in New York City we are able to know to what extent the women who are convicted of offenses relating to prostitution are repeaters, owing to the installation of the fingerprint system of identification. Of 4,739 cases during 1911, in which women were convicted of prostitution in the women's night court and Jefferson Market day court in New York City, 2,127 had been previously convicted. Some of these women had been convicted six, seven and even eight times for the same offense. They had been sentenced to short terms at the workhouse or had fines imposed upon them, and after

paying their fine or serving the five or ten-day sentence in the workhouse, had continued their trade of prostitution on the streets.

The dispositions continue to be most unsatisfactory in the vast majority of the cases. Of the 4,739 convicted women, 70 per cent were sentenced to the workhouse, 18 per cent. fined and less than 10 per cent. committed to reformatories or placed on probation. The workhouse on Blackwell's Island is a prison and from 400 to 600 women are incarcerated in the 131 cells and the two hospital wards there. Young and old are herded together and segregation of the different classes is impossible. The workhouse sentence does not help the individuals in any way nor does it deter them from further offending against the law. The fining system is equally vicious. It is only a license system and should be abolished. If the woman has not the $1 or $5 or $10 with which to pay her fine, she can secure it from the man who lives on her earnings or from some of her friends of the underworld.

The experiment made at Waverley House when I was a probation officer in the night court, showed me the advantage of investigations and examinations of women as a basis for understanding their needs and making a more satisfactory disposition in their cases. Often the facts discovered by the investigation, indicated whether or not there was a chance for the girl to improve on probation or that she needed a period of reformatory care and training. Owing to the lack of opportunity for careful preliminary examination these facts were frequently not discovered until after the girls were placed on probation by the court. Many girls were found to be mentally deficient and others to be physically unfit to return at once to society

In making investigations, every statement which helps to an understanding of the individual should be verified. If the girl's home has been in a city other than New York, investigations should be made there by probation officers or other duly authorized persons. With a view to effective preventive work, the factors responsible for bringing individual girls into prostitution should be determined as far as possible, and effort made to discover to what extent it has been due to heredity, home and economic conditions, etc. If it is found, as the result of investigations, that the women have been supporting men by the earnings of prostitution or that they have been procured by men for this purpose, corroborative evidence should be secured and the procurer arrested and sentenced.

In order to secure the best results, the commission should have power to make final disposition in the cases of the women committed to its care. The plan would in this way be similar to that for the Board of Inebriety authorized by law in New York State. A commission would be able to select more wisely, as the result of careful study of individuals, those who could be released on probation and secure the commitment of other women to reformatory and custodial institutions.

Probation may be applied in the cases of women who can reasonably be expected to reform in view of their mental, moral and physical condition, without commitment to an institution. If the mind is not too

poisoned and the woman is not too morally enslaved to free herself, it is possible to help by probation. The period of probation, however, should be much longer than at the present time.

Under the commission plan, probation officers should be chosen by civil service and be directly under the control of the commission. The success of probation work depends largely upon the careful selection of probationers and the kind of women who are appointed as probation officers.

Those women who need institutional care and treatment should be sent to reformatories and farm colonies where they can receive industrial training and medical care. It should be possible to commit the feeble-minded and others who need permanent care to custodial institutions for long periods of time.

During the time while women are held for trial and examination they should remain in a house of detention instead of in prisons, as at the present time. Single rooms can be provided instead of cells in such a house of detention and adequate segregation of different classes secured, so that the young girls will not come in contact with the older and more hardened offenders. Offices for probation officers, psychologist, physician and investigators can be located in this house of detention.

Following the successful experiment made at Waverley House, officials of the New York Probation Association urged that a house of detention be established in New York City in connection with the night court, where women could remain while investigations were being made to determine the best disposition in their cases, and where the younger girls could be separated from the older women. Provision for this was incorporated in the Inferior Courts Law and at present an appropriation of $600,000 is being requested for the erection of a house of detention which shall be combined with a woman's court.

The present system, as we see, accomplishes little in helping women convicted in our courts to lead useful lives. It involves immense cost to our cities in workhouses, station houses, jails and courts. Would it not be worth while to make the more scientific and humane experiment of carefully studying the individual women, diagnosing their cases and dealing with them according to their needs? This is the purpose sought by the plan which I have described and it involves a change in attitude on the part of the public and the courts toward the women who offend.

# Immigration

Report of the Committee by Wm. Jay Schieffelin, New York, Chairman.

The present campaign conducted by the advocates of a more rigid restriction of immigration, should fail to secure the legislation advocated, because they have not shown that a literacy test could keep out undesirable immigrants, nor have they proved that there is a real menace in immigration, either economic, social or political.

The foreign-born laborers have given ample evidence that they can unite and loyally follow wise leadership in the demands made for American standards of living, the most recent example being that of the anthracite coal miners. Another conspicuous example was furnished by the 60,000 cloak makers in New York, who, after a victorious strike, formed a treaty with the manufacturers which has been in successful operation for a year and a half. This treaty launched two novel experiments in the solution of the labor difficulties of industry—the Preferential Union Shop, and the Joint Board of Sanitary Control. They are both enlightened and forward steps in the industrial relationship. Such responsiveness to American standards of living and such an ability to realize them, make enlightened labor men and the students of economics hesitate to declare the immigrants a hindrance to progress.

The statement that the immigrants supply an undue proportion of criminals and paupers has been found to be based upon unfair comparisons, as the proportion of adults among the immigrants is greater than among the native-born.

Many members of the committee protest against requiring a literacy test and increased head tax, or a physical test such as is required of men for the army. The committee further protests against requiring passports or excluding or deporting political refugees and revolutionists.

What is most needed is not indiscriminate restriction, but discriminating distribution. Therefore, the powers of the Division of Information and the Bureau of Immigration of the Department of Commerce and Labor should be extended so as to cover more fully distribution and protection, and the states should co-operate with the Federal Government in directing the immigrants to parts of the country where they are needed and in watching over them; there is also need that far more adequate accommodations for arriving immigrants and a larger force of medical inspectors be supplied.

Moreover, the Committee here desires to emphasize the need of careful inspection of doubtful immigrants at the point of embarkation.

The Federal Bureau should regulate and license labor bureaus which furnish labor to persons and corporations doing interstate business; the discrimination in immigrant rates between steerage and second cabin should be removed; the Federal regulations for safety and comfort of passengers should be extended to coatwise vessels; sufficient time should be given for evidence to be taken against persons charged with importing girls for immoral purposes before the girls who could give the evidence are deported; the Bureaus of Inquiry should be still further perfected and be manned with the most efficient, sympathetic and judicially minded men.

The committee still further recommends that education be afforded the immigrants in the colonies and camps; that until sufficient time has been given for a thorough examination of the report of the Immigration Commission, no legislation should be enacted.

Owing to a difference of opinion in the committee in regard to the literacy test, the report has been divided into two (2) parts, A and B.

A—Contains a recommendation upon which the committee unites.

B—Gives the opinion of those in support of, and opposed to the literacy test.

## REPORT OF COMMITTEE.

(A)

The members of the Committee on Immigration of the National Conference of Charities and Correction unanimously agree upon the following:

Every effort possible should be made by private individuals and associations, and so far as possible by the public school authorities, to further the rapid assimilation of the immigrants by teaching them English, the elements of citizenship, and so far as practicable, other needed subjects closely related to their work, particularly in the construction camps and the so-called immigrant colonies in our city and industrial districts, and especially by extending to them sympathetic greeting and such treatment, void of any trace of race prejudice, as should be extended to those soon to become our fellow citizens.

In order to relieve, so far as possible, congestion in many of our industrial centers, it is urged that the powers of the division of information in the United States Bureau of Immigration be extended as suggested by the Immigration Commission, so that as full information as possible be furnished the immigrants regarding opportunities for work, and especially for the purchase of land suitable to their needs.

That there be established, also, further immigration stations at Chicago and some other interior points.

That there should be the closest co-operation with state immigration bureaus, which should on their part act in harmony with private companies who wish to aid in the settlement of lands by the immigrants, such state bureaus taking an active part in such work so as to prevent fraudulent or harsh treatment of the immigrants.

That in order to prevent undue hardships at our ports of entry, as well as more successfully to exclude such undesirable immigrants as criminals and persons of immoral character, our medical inpection at foreign ports be made more rigid, and that the Federal Government station abroad agents

to prevent the sailing of criminals and persons coming for immoral purposes.

That the medical force at our ports of entry be decidedly strengthened, experts in mental diseases and other obscure diseases being furnished at the larger ports.

That the boards of inquiry be further improved and manned with the most efficient, sympathetic and judicially minded men possible. The recommendation of the Immigration Commission that such boards be especially appointed by the Secretary of Commerce and Labor, with this end in view, is cordially approved.

That to still further prevent unnecessary suffering on the part of the immigrants, the steerage accommodations in all steamers be raised under legal inspection to the standard of the better ships.

That competent governmental officials, both men and women, accompany the steerage passengers, and that the regulations provided for steamers from foreign ports be extended as far as is in any way practicable to coastwise steamers.

That in order to enforce more rigidly the provisions regarding criminals and women imported for immoral purposes, the time of deportation of girls thus imported be extended until they can give evidence against the criminals.

That the statement made by ill-informed persons regarding the undue proportion of criminals and paupers among immigrants is a mistake and has aroused unwarranted hostility, the report of the Immigration Commission, based on all the statistics available, showing that it is impossible to prove that the proportion of criminals in the country has been increased by immigration.

That the application of any religious or political test, exclusive of illegal, immoral beliefs and practices, is unjust and unwise, and that in consequence the so-called Root amendment to the Dillingham bill should not become a law.

That passports for immigrants, in general, should not be required.

(B)

Among the members of the Committee there was a difference of opinion regarding the desirability of a policy of further restriction of immigration.

Some members of the Committee, including two who were formerly members of the Immigration Commission, believe, that some strong restrictive measures should be enacted by the present Congress on economic grounds in the interests of the immigrants themselves and of the higher standards of living both in this country and abroad. In their judgment, measures to further the distribution and assimilation of the immigrants will be much less effective if immigrants are allowed, without any restriction to come in to take the places of those removed from the congested districts. They think further that the present tendency of immigration is strongly to prevent an improvement in American Standards, and that a restrictive measure enforced for a few years until further provisions for distribution and assimilation could be perfected, would materially improve the standards of living abroad.

As the only measure now at all practicable to persuade Congress to pass, they favor the literacy test as suggested in the Dillingham or Burnett bills. This test, while doubtless working hardship in individual cases, would apparently exclude primarily those immigrants who threaten most the American standards of living, as they are often those who, because they are coming to remain for only a short period, are most unwilling to enter into labor struggles for improved conditions and are ready to under-bid for labor positions.

Favoring this or any other practicable restrictive test, they join with the other members of the Committee in insisting that any test provided should take due care to prevent any exclusion on political or religious grounds.

The other members of the Committee object to any test for admission of the immigrant beyond those provided in the present law, believing that the number of immigrants now arriving are not enough to effect unfavorably our political,

social or economic conditions. They believe that numerous instances of foreign-born laborers uniting in strikes show their ability to value wise leadership and maintain their standards of living. The special illustrations of the organizations among the anthracite coal miners and the cloak makers in New York seem to them to go far in support of this contention. They believe that no step toward further restriction should be taken and they insist that no legislation should be enacted, until Congress has at length issued the full report of the recent Immigration Commission.

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## IMMIGRATION.

By Cyrus L. Sulzberger, New York.

If wild assertion were argument and its reiteration proof, the case against Immigration would be definitely closed. On no subject before the American people has there been more loose talk and less information; more general statement and less specific fact. Until quite lately we had to deal only with the generalizations of the professional restrictionists. More recently the unwarranted conclusions of the immigration commission have also been brought into play. These conclusions are called unwarranted because they utterly fail to tally with the evidence which has been presented in the forty odd volumes published and to be published as the result of the commission's investigations. That they do so fail is shown not alone in the summary of the volumes which has been published by the commission but in the book that has been issued by one of its members, Prof. Jeremiah W. Jenks, in conjunction with Mr. W. Jett Lauck, expert in charge of the industrial investigations of that commission.

The only accurate generalization made by the restrictionists on the subject of immigration is that the nationality of the immigrants has changed; that whereas in former years the bulk of the immigration came from northwestern Europe, it has latterly been coming from southern and eastern Europe. This is obviously true, but it is not true as is so often asserted, that while the so-called older immigration was desirable the newer is undesirable. By every statistical test that can be applied, the statement utterly fails of corroboration; nor should it be forgotten that at the time that the older immigration, the so-called desirable peoples, were coming, the immigration restrictionists of those days considered them as undesirable as the new-comers of today are considered by the came class of critics. Nearly a century ago the same arguments were used regarding the bad habits of the immigrants, their tendency to congest the cities, to reduce wages and to depreciate the American

standard of living. The report of the Industrial Commission quotes from Nile's Register of 1817:

> "The immigrants should press into the interior. In the present state of the times, we seem too thick on the maritime frontier already."

The same document quotes from the Second Annual Report of the Managers of the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism in New York City, 1819:

> "As to the emigrants from foreign countries, the managers are compelled to speak of them in the language of astonishment and apprehension. Through this inlet pauperism threatens us with the most overwhelming consequences. * * * An almost innumerable population beyond the ocean is out of employment and this has the effect of increasing the usual want of employ. This country is the resort of vast numbers of those needy and wretched beings. * * * Many of these foreigners have found employment; some may have passed into the interior; but thousands still remain among us. They are frequently found destitute in our streets; they seek employment at our doors; they are found in our almshouses and in our hospitals; they are found at the bar of criminal tribunals, in our Bridewell, our penitentiary, and our state prison, and we lament to say that they are too often led by want, by vice, and by habit to form a phalanx of plunder and depredations, rendering our city more liable to increase of crime and our houses of correction more crowded with convicts and felons."

The same report urged the importance of transporting the foreigner into the interior so that "instead of bringing up his children in idleness, temptation and crime, he would see them amalgamated with the general mass of our population, deriving benefits from our school systems, our moral institutions, and our habits of industry." In 1835 it would seem that the doleful predictions made in 1819 had failed to materialize, when the restrictionists regarded the earlier immigrants as desirable but the then incoming foreigners as a menace. In a paper entitled, "Imminent Dangers to the Institutions of the United States of America through Foreign Immigration, Etc.," published in 1835, the author speaks of the immigration of previous years as compared with that of the day, and says:

> "Then we were few, feeble and scattered. Now, we are numerous, strong and concentrated. Then our accessions of immigration were real accessions of strength from the ranks of the learned and the good, from enlightened mechanic and artisan and intelligent husbandman. Now, immigration is the accession of weakness, from the ignorant and vicious, or the priest-ridden slaves of Ireland and Germany, or the outcast tenants of the poorhouses and prisons of Europe."

In 1845, the delegates of the Native American National Convention, meeting at Philadelphia on July 4th of that year, published an address in which occurs the following:

> "It is an incontrovertible truth that the civil institutions of the United States of America have been seriously affected and that they now stand in imminent peril from the rapid and

enormous increase in the body of residents of foreign birth, imbued with foreign feelings and of an ignorant and immoral character. * * *

The almshouses of Europe are emptied upon our coast, and this by our own invitation—not casually, or to a trivial extent—but systematically and upon a constantly increasing scale."

All this is about that class of immigrants which we now call desirable, the fact being that as at one time in our history, only the dead Indian was regard as a good Indian, so at all times, to the restrictionists, only the immigrant who did not come, was regarded as a good immigrant.

Professor Jenks presents certain statistics concerning female immigrants coming for immoral purposes. On page 63 of his book, he says:

"Among those entering who have been debarred for prostitution or arrested and deported for the same cause, by far the largest number in proportion to the total admitted, are the French; next to them are apparently the Hebrews."

Here are the facts as to deported and debarred for prostitution and procuring, for 10,000 female immigrants. As to those debarred, the figures are taken from the report of the commissioner for 1910, and as to those deported, from the same reports for the years 1908, 1909 and 1910, covering the three years during which deportation is possible:

| | |
|---|---|
| Mexican | 338 |
| French | 96.4 |
| English | 33.8 |
| Scotch | 32.6 |
| Irish | 25.5 |
| German | 20.4 |
| Hebrew | 8.2 |

so that instead of the Hebrews being next to the largest in proportion to the total admitted, they are below the so-called, desirable races. Applying every statistical test, it would seem as though the so-called desirables were the undesirables and vice versa. For example, Prof. Jenks says on page 45 of his book:

"It is rather a striking fact that so far as one can judge from these records kept, the races of the recent immigration, those from southern and eastern Europe, are not so subject to the diseases which seem to be allied with moral weaknesses, as some of those of the older immigration races."

and he gives the following statistics of cases in hospitals:

| | Accidents | Alcoholism |
|---|---|---|
| Italian | 17.3 | 2.3 |
| Hebrew | 17.6 | .6 |
| Irish | 8.6 | 39.6 |
| English | 8.9 | 27.5 |
| German | 8.5 | 18.4 |

Testing the relative desirability of the immigrants by the records of insanity, we find the following table:

| | Foreign-born white insane committed to hospitals Dec. 31, 1904 | Foreign-born population 1900 |
|---|---|---|
| Ireland | 29. | 15.6 |
| Germany | 28.9 | 25.5 |
| England and Wales | 7. | 9. |
| Canada | 6.5 | 11.4 |
| Scandinavia | 11.5 | 10.4 |
| Scotland | 1.7 | 2.3 |
| Italy | 2.3 | 4.7 |
| France | 1.3 | 1. |
| Hungary and Bohemia | 2.2 | 3.9 |
| Russia and Poland | 4.4 | 7.8 |
| Other countries | 7.3 | 9.2 |

Testing it by their affiliation with labor unions, we find that the so-called desirable French Canadian, English, Irish, Swedish, Bohemian Moravian and German are affiliated to the extent of 11.4 per cent., while the so-called undesirable Italian, Lithuanian, Hebrew, Ruthenian, Slovak, Magyar and Polish are affiliated to the extent of 16.8 per cent., being nearly one-half more.

During the last twenty years covering the period of high immigration of the so-called undesirable races, this country has undergone an economic development so tremendous in its character and importance that the mind staggers in the attempt to grasp the figures. During that time, the population of the country has increased about one-half. The production of coal which is the measure of economic activity is almost three times what it then was. In other words, the economic growth of the country has been six times as great as its numerical growth. The output of our factories has increased in 10 years from eleven thousand million dollars to over twenty thousand million dollars and the number of wage earners employed in producing that output from 4,700,000 to 6,800,000. During precisely the period when the so-called undesirable immigration was greatest, wages advanced most rapidly. The average wages in all industries in 1880, were $346. According to the census of 1910 taken the year previous when the effects of the panic of 1907-8 were still felt, average wages had advanced to $578, being an increase of exactly 50 per cent. That the immigrant is a factor in lowering wages is an argument that cannot be sustained by any ascertainable figures. The clothing industry having a production of over $600,000,000 in 1905, (detailed figures from the last census are not yet available), produced almost entirely by immigrant labor of the so-called undesirable class, Hebrew and Italian, paid in wages to men $611 per capita, as compared with an average earned in that year by men in all industries of $534

[illegible]

| | Native whites of native parents | Native whites of foreign parents |
|---|---|---|
| In the North Atlantic section | 1.5 | 1.5 |
| In the South Atlantic section | 1.2 | 2.1 |
| In the North Central section | 2.5 | 1.3 |
| In the South Central section | 1.4 | 1.2 |
| In the Western division | 3.4 | 1.3 |

[illegible]

between 15 and 19 years of age is 5.4 per cent. of the whole foreign-born population, whereas of the foreign-born persons committed to prison during 1904, 4.6 per cent. were within this age limit, showing that there were fewer foreign-born persons from 15 to 19 years of age committed to prison than their percentage in the population. The industrial commission report calls attention to the fact that criminality is three to five times greater in males than in females, and that persons under twenty seldom commit crime. Taking, therefore, male persons 20 years of age and upward, we find by the 1900 census, that there are 26 per cent, foreign born whites and 74 per cent. native born whites. Taking the report on prisoners, page 40, we observe that of the major offenders committed during 1904, 21.7 per cent. were foreign born and 78.3 per cent. native born, the foreign born having less and the native born more than their proportion. Turning to New York State which has the largest foreign population, we find 61.7 per cent. native born and 38.3 per cent. foreign born, and of the white persons enumerated in New York State in June, 1904, we find that 68 per cent. were native born and 32 per cent. foreign born, the foreign-born contributing 6.38, or about 16 per cent. less than their ratio in the community. In view of the fact that 38 per cent. of the male adult population in New York is foreign born, the frequently quoted statement that foreigners make up 25 per cent. of the prisoners in Sing Sing, Auburn and Clinton, is favorable to them rather than otherwise. The government report from which these figures have been gathered, says: "It is evident that the huge recent additions of foreigners to the population are not reflected in the prison returns in the degree the prison statistics of 1890 might have led one to expect." In 1890 the prisoners were divided, 28.3 per cent foreign born and 71.7 per cent. native born. In 1904 there were 23.7 per cent. foreign and 76.3 per cent. native born, showing a decline of foreign-born prisoners between 1890 and 1904, precisely the years that are coincident with the large immigration of the so-called undesirable classes. From the same report on prisoners, the following figures are taken:

Number of prisoners per 100,000 population in 1890 and 1904.

| | 1890 | 1904 |
|---|---|---|
| New York | 191 | 126 |
| Pennsylvania | 123 | 92 |
| Illinois | 102 | 60 |
| Massachusetts | 233 | 187 |
| New Jersey | 169 | 131 |

These five states which have the largest proportion of immigrants all show substantial decreases in the ratio of prisoners between 1890 and 1904, whereas substantial increases are shown in New Hampshire, Vermont, West Virginia, Florida, Wyoming, Kansas and Washington, where the immigrant population is small. It were desirable of course that the immigrants coming to this country should be all educated, all

moral and all immune from disease. In that event none of them would become public charges and the cost of maintenance for those that fall, either physically or morally, would be spared us. This, however, cannot reasonably be expected. The people who come to us are average human beings with the average virtues and the average vices. What it may cost us to maintain in public institutions those who must be so maintained, is but an infinitesimal fraction of what they bring us in material wealth. Mr. Prescott F. Hall, secretary of the Immigration Restriction League, says in his book on immigration:

> "In estimating the money value of the immigrant, attention may first be called to the fact that the bulk of our immigration is of the age of greatest productiveness; that is to say, this country has the benefit of an artificial selection of adults of working age. For example, in 1903, less than 12 per cent. of all immigrants were under 14 years of age, and less than five per cent. were over 45 years of age, leaving more than 83 per cent. between the ages of 14 and 45. In other words, the expense of bringing up the bulk of our immigrants through childhood has been borne by the countries of their birth or residence, and this amount of capital therefore comes to us without expenditure. Prof. Mayo-Smith refers to the frequently quoted estimate of Frederick Kapp that the cost of bringing up a child to the age of 15, is $562.50 in Germany, and $1,000 to $1,200 in the United States. Taking the values of the immigrant at $1,000 the immigration over 14 years of age in 1903 would have added $754,615,000 to the wealth of the United States if it had all remained in the country. . . . . A thoroughly conservative estimate is probably that of Mr. John B. Webber, formerly Commissioner of Immigration at the port of New York. He assumes that there were 10,000,000 foreign born at the date of the Eleventh Census and that 2,000,000 of these were working at an average wage of $1 per day; and he points out that these persons added, $600,000,000 a year to the earnings of this country."

In view of the fact that, according to these figures, the immigrant adds annually $600,000,000 to the earnings of this country, we can well afford to pay the cost of those who fall by the way, nor may we be blind to the fact that a large part of this cost is due to the immigrant being engaged in doing the heavy and dangerous work of the community and when he becomes disabled in doing our work, it is but fair that we should pay the bill.

It is charged that the particular immigrant whom we should all unite as regarding least desirable is the bird of passage, he who comes here when times are good and goes back to his own country in bad times, deserting the country in times of adversity like a rat deserts a sinking ship, and carrying his earnings with him. Of all the fallacies which have been advanced upon the subject, none is greater than this. The so-called bird of passage instead of being a menace to our industrial conditions, is their greatest help. He gives flexibility; comes when there is a demand for his work and departs when the demand is over. I stood some time ago at a window and watched an endless chain ladder

going up and down where a building was being erected. Immigrant workmen were feeding in loaded hods at the bottom and others were taking them out at the top. In former days men would take these hods upon their shoulders and climbing up the ladder, would deposit their contents at the top. By the ingenious device of the endless chain, the labor of many men was dispensd with and only those are needed now who load the machine at the bottom and unload it at the top. If some clever inventor were to devise a plan whereby this loading and unloading could be done mechanically, he would be doing a service. Pending such invention, the work is performed by this immigrant labor and when the job is done, if there be no other job upon which the endless chain and the men are needed, the machine is put out of commission by its owner and the workmen put themselves out of commission by returning to their native country. How is anybody injured by this? It has been argued that these men would be doing a patriotic service if they stayed in the country and spent here the money which they made here. We must not lose sight of the fact, however, that the bird of passage goes home because he has no work and the amount of money expended by a man out of work, is not very useful to the community at large and when in the course of two, six or ten weeks his savings are exhausted, he must either live by his wits or at the expense of the community as a public charge. Nor is it true that the unskilled immigrant is a competitor who displaces the skilled and native workman. Just as the immigrants who were supplying the endless chain with material for the skilled masons at the top of the building, were feeding those masons with work, so in all industries the work of the immigrant is not competitive but complementary, and as the incoming of the Irish and the Germans in former days forced the native into higher walks of industry, so the later immigration is forcing the earlier into higher walks. The heavy work that is being done by the present immigration would remain undone if it were left to native Americans. The Anglo-Saxon and American have shown keen zest with a pick when digging for gold but digging for sewers and subways at day laborer's wage, has never seemed an attractive occupation to them.

It has been alleged that immigration degrades our citizenship. At the National Conference in Buffalo, I took the liberty of reading the following item from a report in the New York Times of March 8, 1906, of the proceedings of the Conference of the National Civic Federation upon the subject of primary reform:

> "Mark E. Sullivan, of New York, told of a recent visit to Greene County in western Pennsylvania and the method of primary elections there. It was a remarkable spectacle, he said. Every man in the village where I was, got money for his vote, the prices ranging from $10 to $45. There was no concealment and the clergymen of the community dared not attack the system because public sentiment would not tolerate it. The people there counted this money as a regular portion of their annual revenue."

A reference to the census report shows that Greene County, Pa., contains of males, 21 years of age and over, native white, 7,462, foreign white, 91, negroes, 89, yet in the village visited by Mr. Sullivan, in a county less than 1½ per cent. of which was of foreign birth, there exists this terrible political corruption.

About a month ago, President Taft spoke to the people of Adams County in this state, and it subsequently developed that 2,000 of the residents of that county had been disfranchised because of political corruption. The census shows Adams County, Ohio, to have of males 21 years and over, native white, 6,986; foreign white, 137; negro, 87. It would hardly seem as though the immigrant were responsible for this political degradation. My native state, Pennsylvania, bears a not too savory political reputation, but I have never heard it asserted that the unassimilated Pennsylvania Dutch who have lived in that state for more than a century without learning to speak English, have been responsible for any part of the political conditions there existing. On the contrary, it is a well-known fact that every movement for political reform which has been successful in New York State and I believe elsewhere, has had its warmest support among the immigrant voters.

The congestion of population in cities is one of the results generally attributed to immigration. We have here a subject upon which it is very easy to become hysterical. We see the growth of cities, we see the incoming immigrant, and we connect the two. A closer study of the question will show us that there is no real connection between them. The tendency to urban in preference to rural pursuits, is one of the marked developments of modern times and is the inevitable consequence of the establishment of great industries in cities. A typical illustration is to be found in the city of Schenectady, where, in the last decade, the population has increased about 150 per cent. This has been due chiefly to the establishment there of the works of the General Electric Company, with its army of employees. The bringing to a small city of such a vast establishment, is instantly reflected in its population. Such a plant, great as it is, would not be immediately noticeable in the city of New York, but the process of attracting population to the site of the plant is precisely the same, whether we observe its operations or not. The menacing fact which we must realize is that the trend of population is away from the land and toward the city. The imperious demands of industry are insistent and will be obeyed. In view of this, we must not be blind to the fact that every immigrant taking a place in an urban industry holds an American farmer on his farm and were the response to the demand for industrial help not coming from new arrivals, it would inevitably come from the American farm. Great as is the tendency today to desert the farm for the city, that tendency would be stimulated by a curtailment of immigration and an absence of the foreign supply. Deplore as we may the congestion in cities, we must realize that it is related only remotely, if at all, to the matter of immigration and that any attempt to lessen it by lessening immigration,

would be certain to increase the domestic migration from farm to factory. Furthermore, so far as the evils of congestion are concerned, we must be mindful of the fact that while the condition is practically permanent, those living under that condition are a changing population who are only temporarily subject to the evils that we decry. This is clearly evident by the fact that in the foreign quarters of New York, Philadelphia and other large cities, the proportion of voters is very small as compared to the entire population of the district, due to the fact that the residents have not been sufficiently long in the district to have acquired citizenship. Before the time that they are long enough in residence to receive their voting papers, they move away into other and less congested quarters, their places being taken by newer comers who repeat the same process. Representatives in Congress from such districts in New York, Philadelphia and Chicago have publicly stated that this process describes precisely what is continually going on in their districts.

We have, until now, considered only the material aspects of immigration. There is, however, an aspect of the question, higher and more important than has been touched upon. We have seen from the material side that the immigrant has made for our prosperity. There is still the moral side to consider. Every normal man should have the inalienable right to move freely about the face of the globe. This is a fundamental doctrine which we should never forget and to which whether to our advantage or not, we should at all times give assent. Our most glorious heritage as Americans is the knowledge that in this free land there has always been a welcome for every man struggling for liberty or striving for opportunity. Our true greatness has been not in our industrial prosperity nor in our financial supremacy. It has been in the fact that those who were oppressed, whether politically, economically or for conscience sake, could always come here and under our free skies, work out their destinies. And even to those who could not come or could not hope to come, the knowledge that on this side of the Atlantic there is a great country in which the principles of freedom are paramount, has been an inspiration and a heartening encouragement. In all American history there is no more thrilling episode than an incident related by George Kennan. On the Fourth of July, 1876, the Centennial of American Independence, every cell in a Siberian prison was decorated with scraps of red, white and blue. For months these exiles and prisoners had saved every scrap of suitable color, and on the morning of our Independence Day, their cells had blossomed forth with this expression of admiration and love for American freedom. If the principles we profess are not mere lip service, if we value the ideals that the fathers valued, if we treasure the inheritance that they left us and would pass it on unimpaired to future generations, let us set our faces firmly against the narrow doctrine which it is sought to establish here. In all generations, the saviors of mankind have come from among the

poor. Let us not have it on our conscience that we have closed the door of opportunity to one of these.

We must be mindful of the truth that the greatest danger of degradation of American standards comes not from without but from within. If we depart from our historic paths, if we elevate material things and debase freedom, if we impair our ideals of liberty in the hope of conserving prosperity, we conserve nothing and lose all. The love of liberty in American hearts has been our greatest treasure and if we injure this, we inflict a mortal injury. Above all other considerations, let us keep intact our national ideals. In the last analysis, ideals are the ultimate realities, the most valuable asset a country can have. They must be lovingly cared for and nurtured else they wither and die. They cannot be lightly set aside at the behest of real or fancied self interest, for once set aside, they cannot be restored. The degradation of one ideal leads the way to the degradation of another and the supremacy of materialism in one walk of life speedily makes for its supremacy in others. We are the heirs of a glorious heritage, of a past of genuine nobility and great promise for all mankind. Let us see to it that this heritage is unimpaired when it passes to our descendants.

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## THE ITALIAN IMMIGRANT.

By Umberto Coletti.

Executive Secretary of the Society for Italian Immigrants, New York.

The Society for Italian Immigrants started its work some twelve years ago in New York through the efforts of Miss Sarah Wool Moore. The purpose of the Society then was to help and protect the Italian landing in America.

The work progressed in spite of all sorts of difficulties at the Barge Office, the Battery and wherever the Italian immigrant laborer appeared in the congested districts of the Metropolis. Guiding and escorting the immigrants was the principal work of the society in the first two years of its existence, during which period some thirty thousand immigrants were cared for. By degrees the work developed and the society took charge of transferring the immigrants' baggage, cared for their correspondence and gave information as to favorable localities for work. Tracing the immigrant's relatives and taking care of his money while he was looking for work were the next steps. The immigrants needed nothing so much as the society of their own people and some safe place to care for their money.

About the year 1903 another phenomenon of the Italian migration was noticed which created some apprehension among those who made it their duty to see that the Italian laborer was taken care of. The Italians started sailing back to their native land in surprising numbers,

which increased until the climax of the re-patriation was reached in 1907.

Approximately thirty-eight per cent. of the Italian laborers, after they have worked for awhile in this country, return to Italy, where, with their savings, averaging three to four hundred dollars per capita, they look forward to a comfortable future, trading and farming, keeping alive in their mountain villages of Abruzzi, Calabria and Sicily some of the American spirit they acquired in this country. Yet a large majority of the re-patriated sooner or later return to America. The opportunities of work, at what is to them high pay, are too tempting to be resisted.

The Italians returning from the United States with their savings and passing through the great New York gateway, became a prey to confidence men and criminals who infest the vicinity of railroad terminals and docks. Police protection was not efficient owing to the lack of proper supervision or other causes. The Society stepped in and attended to meeting and escorting the Italians previous to their sailing. Seven hundred agents throughout the United States report weekly to the Society the number, the names and the hour of arrival in New York of the Italians sailing on a certain date.

A "home" for the Italians was founded by the Society which has so far lodged and taken care of 52,963 emigrants and immigrants; not including four thousand "charity" cases of sick or disabled laborers sent home to Italy. The results thus obtained were a decrease of crimes perpetrated on the passing emigrants; a speedy way of attending to matters concerning the emigrant's departure; a lowering of charges they were compelled to pay to express companies and hotel keepers; a proper investigation of hotels and boarding houses for immigrants; a careful selection of public guides and porters.

Today the Society's work has grown to be educational as well. Five schools have been started by the society; two have been taken up by the State of Pennsylvania; two are conducted by the Society—one on the works of the New York aqueduct and the other on the Berkshire Hills. A school for immigrants at Valhalla, New York, was started by the Society and now is conducted by the North American Civic League for Immigrants. In these schools the immigrants learn how to read and write in English and they are taught something of American institutions and ideals. We hope soon to have a central hall in the city for both education and entertainment.

Experiments in farming colonization were made by our Society, but owing to lack of funds and other causes, we had to abandon the attempt. The Society now places laborers at work according to their own wishes. The Society keeps well informed concerning the quality and locality of work offered as well as the wages paid and the accommodation given to the laborers.

There is talk nowadays that the immigrant laborer is a danger to the established community. Naturally enough in matters concerning

alien laboring masses, whose manners and looks and expressions differ from those of the native born there will always be some apprehension and this not in the United States only. A very narrow point of view is shown by the community which judges its own ideals, expressions and manners the best in the world and blames a whole mass of laborers, contributors to what will be later called American civilization for the deficiencies and the crimes of a few among them.

What the foreign laborer has to endure at times is surprising if not heartbreaking. Weekly deportations have occurred in the port of New York of individuals and families who have been residing in the United States more than three years, only because the individual or a member of his family has become wholly or partly insane. Why, after these under-paid heroes of labor have given the prime of their energies to help in building up the great means of communication of this great new world, after they have struggled through all sorts of hardships to better themselves and save something to start an enterprise of their own or to live comfortably in their old age, after all they have done and hoped and reached there is no reason, if reasoning is humane, that for an illness or a nervous or mental breakdown which has affected them exactly on account of the overwork they have been compelled to strive through, they should be sent back as practically useless machines are gotten rid of in a factory. I will refrain from any more comments on the situation nor will I cite instances or illustrations on the sad subject, facts can be brought to light every day in New York City.

The Italian is more than willing to combine his efforts with the American. The enthusiasm and joy of American school children finds a perfect parallel in the enthusiasm and joy that pervades the school children in Italy. The same exaltation and pride in national as well as in human achievements and glories hold in the same way in both countries. Besides the abounding sense of individuality, a characteristic of the Italian, blended with American initiative and reflectiveness will help the new generations toward a healthy and ardent form of intellectual expression which is bound to make life sunnier and a campus for the brave to fight on, to believe and to hope.

The Italian residents want to be good Americans and to feel that they are near in spirit and in activity to the American. There is one way we can uplift the illiterate laborer and that is by talking to him, showing him that he is not supposed to be a suspicious character, trying to induce him to combine his physical efforts with the native's mental direction. As has happened before, and indeed is a daily occurrence, the once illiterate and apparently helpless foreigner, will reach the enterprising American mark. His candor and strong nature are his prime advantages—skill he will acquire in the long run.

Often I have heard in mining camps, on tracks and in factories the Italian laborer arguing on the cause of the apparent neglect in which they are left by the "bosses." "After all," they say, "Americans easily forget that they owe the discovery of this 'world' to an Italian

and even in taking pride in the word 'American' they forget Amerigo Vespucci, who was made to lend his name to Columbus' new world. And what about the new power 'electricity,' that they owe to our Volta." Naive remarks, no doubt, but nevertheless they are the outcome of a legitimate and genuine pride of a not enough appreciated contributor.

We hear often also of an alarm about congestion or overcrowding of aliens, thence petty campaigns against these foreign "Dagoes" who come and exploit America, etc., etc. Rest assured that the world of the migrating Italian or European masses nowadays is not confined to the United States. A glance at the American Republic of the south, the Argentine, will show you what a safety valve that country has also been to the overflowing population of Italy. The Argentine, Italians take pride in saying, owes most of its modern greatness to our laborers, artisans, engineers. Two Presidents of that Republic have been of Italian descent. And have the Argentine and Italy lost anything by it? Never were two countries bound in such an intimate and intelligent relationship as the two mentioned. An Argentino is an honored and beloved guest in Italy as much as the Italian is in the Argentine. Of course we must not forget that the Italian emigration to South America began some eighty years ago.

Coming now to the elucidation of more modern events I will say that the migration of Italian labor to this country has reached its ebb tide during the year 1911. We no longer observe the great rush of Italians to America as it existed in former years. Emigration from Italy has passed its zenith and is now reduced to a volume sufficient to afford labor to the progressing American industries and to fill the gaps of Italian families and communities already established here. Though continuing, it has become systematized, maintaining itself in normal limits to the great benefit of both countries.

Immigration of Italians into this country can be clearly divided into three periods and connected with the conditions and developments of the two countries. Sometime before America appeared on the horizon of the anxious and ambitious Italian peasant, the exodus of Italians from Italy was confined to a small number of adventurous and thrifty individuals, mostly Northern Italians. During the period between 1876 and 1886 we see the vanguard of the future migrating legions.

From 1887 to 1900 the flow of emigration pervaded the whole Kingdom and directed its course principally toward America. This period coincided with the sudden development and rapid progress of American industries, commerce and agriculture.

From 1900, and ever since in a "crescendo" up to 1906 and a subsequent "diminuendo" until 1909, the immigration of Italian labor assumes the aspect of a real phenomenon in human events and civilization.

During the first migrating tide, Northern Italy contributed a little over two-thirds of the total number. Central Italy contributed with less than one-tenth and Southern Italy with two-tenths. But during

the third migrating period, Southern Italy surpassed the other two regions in the number of its emigrants who furnished 46.6 per cent of the total, Northern Italy sending a little less than one-third.

Between 1876 and 1886 a total of 134,774 Italians left their country in search of work; from 1887 to 1900 the number grew to 269,670, reaching between 1901 and 1909 a total of 596,246, of whom 65 per cent. landed on our shores.

Undoubtedly, if such a mass of population (much less in number, however, than the exaggerated figures popular opinion at times makes it appear) had taken up permanent residence in the United States, we might now complain of Italian congestion. But such is not the case, as, after a residence in this country, averaging from three to six years, during which they have helped us build our roads, aqueducts and buildings, develop our industries and commerce, 42 per cent. of these Italian laborers sail back to their native land, having accomplished their task, often at the risk of their lives and of their health.

Those who permanently establish themselves here engage in commerce and agriculture, and of late there is a growing element who give themselves to liberal professions. Many an immigrant's son is attending an American university.

The number of Italians engaged in agriculture is growing steadily in spite of the sad experiences of the pioneers who many a time fell under a regime of peonage. Colonies of Italians engaged in truck and fruit farming are spreading throughout the United States and statistics on the subject compiled in 1908 show us their number and distribution as follows:

| No. of Colonies | | No. of single individuals and families | Whether farm hands, tenants or owners. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Alabama | 2 | 220 single and families | farm hands |
| Arkansas | 8 | 230 families | farm hands and tenants |
| California | 119 | 3,726 families & farm hands | tenants and owners |
| Colorado | 1 | 800 families | tenants and owners |
| Florida | 1 | 22 families | tenants and owners |
| Louisiana | 7 | 13,000 single (271 families) | farm hands, tenants and owners. |
| Mississippi | 20 | 270 families | tenants |
| Missouri | 3 | 1,020 families | farm hands, tenants and owners. |
| New Jersey | 5 | 1,766 families | tenants and owners |
| New York | 4 | 1,150 families | tenants and owners |
| N. Carolina | 2 | 121 families | farm hands and owners |
| Ohio | 5 | 420 single (134 families) | farm hands and owners |
| Tennessee | 2 | 84 families | farm hands and owners |
| Wisconsin | 1 | 800 single (111 families) | farm hands and tenants |
| | 180 | 23,629 | |

No doubt if opportunities are given many more will engage in agricultural work owing to the majority of them (69 per cent.) having been farm hands in their native country. The Italian farm colony of Hammonton, N. J., can be cited as a good instance of the services our immigrants can render to the country they have selected as a home. In 1905 there were in Hammonton 1,000 Italians and they owned 3,708 acres of developed land valued at $130,415, or 15 per cent. of the total assessed value, while their deposits amounted to $56,614 out of $260,779 in the

People's Bank and $26,231 out of $88,768 in the Savings Bank. Of 553 shareholders in the Workingmen's Building and Loan Association, 129 were Italians, and of 460 share-holders in the Hammonton Loan and Building Association, 79 belonged to the same nationality.

The figures of the last two years' Italian immigration are as follows:

Italian laborers immigrating into the U. S. during 1910.....222,235
Emigrating from the U. S. ..... 92,947
Italian laborers immigrating to the U. S. during the year 1911..155,835
Emigrating from the U. S. .....139,634

Practically speaking our country acquired 16,190 Italian immigrants during the past year in comparison with 129,288 acquired in 1910. Eighty per cent. of the immigrants came to join parents, relatives or friends ready to care for them and share their daily labor.

The above can be taken as proof that immigration is determined by the economic conditions at home and abroad. One might say that the pulse of the stock exchange beats in perfect unison with the files and figures of our Immigration Service.

While the situation is therefore an encouraging one for the time being, it should not lead us to relax our efforts in behalf of the economic and moral welfare of our future citizens who in individual cases continue to need our aid to enable them to play their part to the best advantage as builders of our great new world. This is principally an American cause and as such deserves the enlistment of our sympathies and intelligence.

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## "BACK TO THE LAND."

By N. A. Erickson, Cleveland.

The report which was presented by Mr. Schieffelin struck a responsive chord in my heart. Through my experience in dealing with immigrants at Ellis Island I recognize that what is needed there as well as elsewhere, in fact in any of our relations to our fellow men, is the intelligent, sympathetic treatment referred to in the report.

There was something that was kind and humane, something that was warm and truly Christian in character about the report and in the remarks of Mr. Sulzberger that followed.

What particularly interested me was the recommendation that reliable information be given the immigrant with regard to opportunities for settling upon the land. Perhaps few men realize the great importance to our National life of settling the immigrant on the land when it is at all possible. This brings me to the question that I have been

asked by your chairman to speak upon this morning—land settlement or colonization.

On this matter I am able to speak from actual experience. Nearly ten years of my life has been spent in philanthropic colonization. I have had the privilege of piloting two colonization enterprises for poor men and their families, one in California the other in Colorado. The experience gained has convinced me that not only is colonization a most worthy and far reaching philanthropy, but it is good and sound from a business standpoint.

Naturally it requires a large investment to affect any considerable number of families, but the relief it gives is adequate. While there is money required to launch a colonization enterprise, the money is returned with interest after the families are established upon the land. This has been proven through actual experience.

Mr. Bookwalter, of Ohio, who is rated as one of the largest cereal farmers in the world, having 70,000 acres under cultivation, says:

"The first question in any land, in any age, is the food supply; the tendency to over-urbanize is world wide; it causes unrest and is the father of a hundred other evils and the captain of a host of economic troubles.

"Disproportionate city building is a curse, we profit not from the lessons of the past we rush headlong to the punishment of the Romans, of Merv, of Babylon and of Egypt.

"Back to the land is the solution for many of our evils. Agriculture is the basis of National greatness."

Back to the land sounds the cry, more insistent, more definite as the days go by. Men cry out against the high cost of living and may we not believe that the trend of population cityward is responsible for much of the increase?

Some years ago the Cecil Rhodes trustees through Lord Lyttleton, the Colonial Secretary of Great Britain, delegated Sir Rider Haggard, an expert agriculturalist as well as a great writer to visit America and report upon a scheme of land settlement inaugurated by Commander Booth Tucker of the Salvation Army. His report is embodied in a book which may be found in our public libraries, entitled "The Poor and the Land."

He visited the settlement of which I had the management in California and made a most exhaustive examination, taking voluminous testimony from the settlers themselves, from those responsible for the management and from the people of the country adjacent to the settlement who had no personal interest in it and concludes that he believes it to be the best example of philanthropic colonization in the world.

The San Francisco "Call" commenting editorially on the report, in the editorial which I hold in my hand, says it is a red letter achievement for the Army, the state and the city whose citizens through its Chamber of Commerce co-operated in the launching of the enterprise.

The Colony was founded nearly 15 years ago, it is composed of independent farmers who are possessed of twenty acre tracts of fertile land and who last year paid some $8,000 on their indebtedness. The land is held by them at about $300 per acre, whereas it was purchased by the Army for less than $50.

Other projects of like character have only been moderately successful, the difficulties encountered being of physical character, lack of drainage, etc.

The organization, which under the enthusiastic leadership of Commander Booth-Tucker, was especially active in this particular field is now devoting its energies to other enterprises.

America lost its ablest and truest exponent of colonization for the poor man and his family when Commander Booth-Tucker was transferred, but what has been our loss, as far as colonization is concerned, is India's gain, because there he is working in conjunction with the Indian government in solving some of its national problems with great success.

I wish you to know that I do not come to you in any representative capacity. I am here simply as an American citizen, vitally interested in the welfare of the poor of our land, to whom I have given the best of my life and years, and an enthusiastic advocate of colonization and a firm believer in the value of the back to the land movement.

On October 2nd last I wrote a letter that will give you a little idea of how I feel with respect to colonization. I quote from it:

"Permit me to call your attention to the fact that public men are deeply concerned over the tremendous growth of our cities as compared with the country and are looking for a remedy. At no time has the 'back to the land movement' had such strong, vigorous endorsement as it has now. I wish we could enter the colonization field again."

I, for one, would be very glad to see the colonization movement shape itself in this conference and become a Nation wide enterprise.

It does not necessarily need to be the protege of any particular organization or set of men, but a National interest such as is your child's welfare work, housing, recreation and other problems before this conference.

It seems to me that no greater good could come out of the conference here in Cleveland than the launching of a definite organized movement that would have for its purpose the advancement of the "Back to the Land" movement and that would bring under its wing all the truly patriotic and philanthropic efforts that are being made to check over-urbanization.

I should like to know that out of this Congress has come a movement that, for the want of a better name and perhaps it is an appropriate name, would be know as **The Landward League.**

What the National Irrigation Congress or League has been to the west, what the Charities conference has been to practical philanthropy,

the Landward League might be to the forces now at work, who are attempting singly and without any idea of co-operation or co-ordination to solve in some practical and definite way the great problems that present themselves to this and other nations through over-urbanization.

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## DESERTION OF WIVES AND CHILDREN BY EMIGRANTS TO AMERICA.

By Hugo Eugene Varga, Cleveland.

Among the many problems brought forth as a result of the immigration into the United States from foreign countries, one of the most pitiful and worthy of the attention of social workers is the condition resulting from the desertion of their families by emigrants.

It occurs quite frequently that an emigrant after staying for a few years in the United States, or even before this period, neglects and refuses to send any money for the support of his wife and his children, and in many cases even severs his ties with his family completely.

We can differentiate and observe three classes of cases:

1. The alien is either living in adultery with another woman.
2. He starts proceedings in divorce against his wife who resides abroad and in most cases due to lax divorce laws is successful in procuring the same. He remarries without providing for the family left behind him abroad, in any manner whatsoever.
3. In some instances he marries without procuring his divorce thus committing bigamy.

This state of affairs is seriously endangering the morals of society in the foreign settlements of our cities, and works, on the other hand, a great hardship on the families of unscrupulous husbands and fathers. These families are entirely deprived of the support and care of the head of the family.

It goes without saying that we do not hold brief against the many good and respectable immigrants who are a great asset to our American population, and prove to be good citizens, upright and moral, good fathers and husbands. We also wish to add that this evil is not confined to any race or nationality in particular, but cases occur among all immigrants. The condition of affairs as outlined above is becoming more and more serious and the resultant complications: social, legal and moral can not be ignored much longer. The bad example shown when a man and woman are living together without the sanction of the state, contrary to law results not only in illegitimate children born to them but also in the contamination of the morals of the particular community.

The peculiar situation of husbands having two wives and two sets of children is to be reckoned with also. One a legitimate wife residing abroad, another a "common law wife" residing in America, both probably with one or several children.

Claim agents, lawyers, probate courts and courts of common pleas and fraternal insurance societies face these problems frequently. The legal complications in awarding an insurance to the "wife" or "children," the difficulties in making distribution of compensation for wrongful death to those rightly and justly entitled to the same, the resultant misleading statements as to the family of decedent, involve the "special estate" in litigation, or in other difficulties. Foreign consuls have many of these problems to deal with. Probate courts have obstacles in distributing estates for want of correct information as to the right heirs or next of kin. It occurs sometimes that the right heirs and next of kin claim their due share after the common law wife and illegitimate children have obtained by misrepresentations the assets they were not entitled to. Insurance companies and Fraternal Insurance societies have to cope with these problems sometimes, all resulting in hardship to those who should properly be benefited.

But under the present laxness of procedure in divorce actions in most of the states the husband has a comparatively easy task in obtaining the divorce decree from his non-resident wife. There is no adequate control to guard against uncontested divorce cases. The brief period set by the statutes of most states whereby in an uncontested divorce case the hearing of the case can be held six or eight weeks after suit is started, lends an aiding hand to the husband who contemplates a new marriage and who has abandoned his wife and deserted his children who reside abroad.

And after he obtains his decree there is hardly any remedy for the wife. In the last case in Ohio on this subject (and several earlier cases decided prior thereto) the rule is laid down:

"Where a husband by fraud and false testimony, obtains a decree of divorce for the wife's aggression and the decree also, by reason of the wife's aggression, so found bars her of alimony, dower and all other interest in the husband's property, the decree dissolving the marriage relation is conclusive; but, when the court making such decree did not have jurisdiction of the wife's person, she may thereafter have said decree and the issues opened up so far as they relate to her interest in the husband's property and be let in to defend."

Bay vs. Bay 85 O. S. decided by the Ohio Supreme Court, February 6, 1912.

Many states follow this doctrine on the ground of public policy.

With due credit to the instances where a just cause exists for divorce, there are many instances where a decree is procured by fraud and perjury, where the complaining party misleads the court in concealing the other party's address (altho well known to the plaintiff), or sets up facts entirely false and manufactured.

If service is had by proof of publication the wife residing beyond the seas has no opportunity to defend within the limited time which might be adequate to a resident, or if so, is too late in doing so and comes to defend the action for divorce after the decree is granted and the hus-

band has remarried. It is needless to point out the obstacles in the way of criminal prosecution, of the party guilty of fraud and perjury because the evidence is beyond reach of the Prosecuting Attorney's office. We desire to point out the excellent draft of the Uniform Divorce Act (prepared by a committee of the American Bar association), which would effectively check these evils.

Still worse is the situation when a husband leaving his family behind, marries another woman here under his own or an assumed name. This is very easily accomplished at present due to the fact that the statements of the applicant under oath without any proof whatever, are accepted.

The social, moral and legal obstacles are still worse in such cases as in the case of adultery. The fear of criminal prosecution for perjury or bigamy are insufficient to prevent the commission of this act by the reckless, ignorant, "morally insane" parties.

Dealing with the conditions as they are in most of the states, the present state of affairs promotes immorality in the worst degree, brings about hardship to countless wives and deserted children who are objects of charity and victims of poverty without any fault of their own. It has a vicious effect on the community, it checks the possibility of establishing homes, it deprives the state of many families, for the husband does not find it necessary to have them come to the United States. It hinders the development of healthy family life, infects the community with the wretched examples, promotes crime (fraud, perjury, bigamy and adultery), and adds many burdens to the administration of justice.

Last, but not least, it furthers inhuman attitude on the part of the head of a family torn apart, by diminishing and annihilating the responsibility of the bread winner.

In almost all of the states of the union the abandonment of a wife, by her husband, the desertion of minor children by their father, are made criminal offenses.

Due to the difficulties of criminal procedure and evidence in securing adequate proof of the commission of the crime and due to the constitutional questions and privileges involved, as already referred to, this prevailing evil can not be rooted out by resorting to criminal prosecution.

The problem then is this: How can we prevent or diminish the increasing proportion of immigrants who desert their children and abandon their wives by their emigration, although in most instances not contemplating to do so, and how can we abolish the resultant evil of adulterous practices, bigamy, fraudulently secured divorces.

As to the last question, we strongly recommend the adoption of the excellent provision of the Uniform Divorce Act referred to before and more strictness and control in issuing marriage licenses.

Eliminating the great difficulties facing us in the way of federal legislature by enacting a special act, and also the handicap in procuring state legislatures to act on this matter separately, the most feasible way to solve the problem would be by amending the statute on immigration, or

the White Slave Act. If congress would attach an amendment to either of these statutes whereby a foreign subject would be deported if during his first five years of residence in the United States (or until he becomes naturalized), he having a family abroad, commits adultery or bigamy, or deserts his minor children and abandons his wife without supporting them according to their station of life and without due cause, the prevailing evil would be remedied effectively. If such acts would be regarded as immoral acts involving moral turpitude, and depositions, or duly authenticated official documents coming through official channels would be regarded as sufficient evidence establishing such acts, the relief sought for by a great many non-resident wives and children, the prevention of immorality, the saving of the morals of foreign communities would be entirely obtained thereby.

# Sex Hygiene

## REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE.

By Charles W. Birtwell, General Secretary of the Massachusetts Society for Sex Education, Chairman.

*The Current Movement for Sex Education and Hygiene.*

A striking phenomenon of the present day is the increased attention to sex problems, and the rise of a new hope of their solution. This change accompanies the almost sudden disintegration of a group of long and stubbornly held beliefs or assumptions in relation to sex and the supplanting of them by radically different ideas.

In a recent address before the mayors of the cities of Massachusetts, Ex-President Eliot, of Harvard University, stated that in his judgment the evils incident to the wrong manifestations of sex are the most prolific source of tragedy in the world today.

From such an official source as a State Board of Health, that of Indiana, comes a "Health Circular" frankly entitled "Social Hygiene vs. The Sexual Plagues with Their Rapid Invasion of the American Home. The Direful Consequences of Sex Secrecy and the Obligation of Parents and the State to Protect the Rising Generation."

"In the place of the old taboo and reserve," says G. Stanley Hall, in "Educational Problems," "recent years have been marked by a new frankness, candor, and openness of mind, and by discussions more serious and more competent than have ever been know in the world's history. Science has shed a flood of light on the biological, physiological, and psychological nature and manifestations of sex. Sociology has shown how it underlies national and racial weal and perpetuity. The progressive sterility of all the most highly civilized nations has called

startled attention to the subject as perhaps the culminating aspect of the higher statecraft."

One of the fundamental errors from which flow inestimable mischief and misery is the deeply imbedded belief that life is tainted in its very beginning, that the whole subject of sex is unclean. A natural corollary has been the adoption of secrecy concerning the origin of human life. Through the failure to tell the truth to children in answer to honest inquiry, the whole subject has been relegated to the field of curiosity and the imagination, and instruction from the worst sources. Now, happily, the harm of all this is being seen. Many intelligent parents are bravely experimenting with a different attitude and method, and confidence is growing that the truth can be told to the young to their great advantage. I believe we may anticipate the time when this old fear of the truth will seem nearly inexplicable.

Again, at the same time, physicians are rapidly taking a different position in regard to the old assumption of so-called "sexual necessity." From that mistake has sprung the idea so dominant in the lives of young men of the necessity and harmlessness of the "sowing of wild oats," an assumption now giving way to an appreciation of the error and its tragic cost.

The change of attitude, also, toward the so-called "double standard" for men and women has been so marked that it may well be questioned whether the time has not come for us to assume now a single standard at least as an accepted ideal. However, the actual conduct of men and women as classes may vary, it surely can no longer be said that among intelligent and reputable people it is of no consequence to the standing of a man what his conduct along these lines may be. For many callings and professions the single standard is as insistent in its demand upon men as upon women. Indeed, to my mind, few things are more unfortunate than the weight which the assumed existence of a double standard gives to that very double standard in the eyes of youth. This fearful error thus gains all the prestige of the approval of the competent and experienced. The recognition of the belief in a single standard turns that prestige toward its support.

Out of the changes now taking place will come in time a

new attitude and feeling in regard to commercialized vice. In the eyes of the law the bribe-giver and the bribe-taker are alike; for their offences the same punishments are provided. May not one ask what distinction can properly be made between the one who sells and the one who buys bodily contacts in the transactions of commercialized vice? Does the purchasing participant commit any less unnatural an offence than the one who sells? I firmly believe that commercialized vice, in relation to both parties involved, will come to be looked upon as unnatural, monstrous, in the same class with various sex perversions common in earlier periods of the world's history, but now recognized as against nature. I believe that commerce in vice will take its place among the intolerable forms of evil to be expected only from perverts and degenerates.

Ignorant beliefs in regard to syphilis and gonorrhea are giving way before the advance of medical science. The seriousness of gonorrhea is coming to be appreciated. The trickiness and deceitfulnesss of both diseases are beginning to be understood. Measures for stemming their cruel work are developing. Heretofore these diseases have been largely "unmentionable" and neglected. If there is an odious way in which to mention a disease it is to mention it as "unmentionable." Plain straight words go far to rob reference to these diseases of wrong suggestion and to place them where they belong as diseases to be fought by every means, physical and moral, at our command.

The trend is strongly away from so-called "regulation" in the treatment of prostitution. The moral and the physical arguments enforce the same conclusion. In the light of medical discovery in regard to venereal disease we see that vice could have no commercial value if medical oversight and control were really adequate.

The recent municipal vice commissions of Chicago and Minneapolis, although in large measure inclined to a different attitude at the beginning of their inquiries, ended their investigations unanimously opposed to segregated districts and *reglementation.*

Almost outgrown already is the theory that a life of vice by some women is a protection to the virtue of other women. If that were so, then vice, in truth, were a virtue, and virtue a vice.

The tradition that vice is simply a response to a demand, and that the demand itself cannot be in any way influenced to its diminution, is yielding to a new belief in the needlessness of vice and the possibility of widespread virtue.

But this stream of new views does not stop here. It leads us on to an abandonment of the idea that knowledge, reason, will, have no place in the deepest concerns of life to all the promise and assurance suggested by modern studies in eugenics, recently styled by Dr. Prince A. Morrow "the youngest and most beautiful branch of biological science." Professor Yerkes said this afternoon: "Strains, good or bad, breed true"; and he gave us a brief definition of the new art,—he preferred to call it an art rather than a science: "Systematic effort to improve the nature of man." In this presence, too, it was not a little gratifying that the same speaker should attribute the developing interest in eugenics to the advance in social service.

But, better still, the new views are being embodied in action. Recent years have witnessed agreements on the part of the governments of the leading civilized nations for united action against the international white slave traffic. Strong federal action in this country is being directed against the interstate phases of this nefarious business. Our state governments are falling into line with advanced legislation and action.

The intimate relation between prostitution and feeble-mindedness is increasingly, but still inadequately recognized. This afternoon Dr. Goddard of the Training School at Vineland, N. J., was ready to say that at least fifty per cent of the prostitutes are feeble-minded. The segregation of the feeble-minded in humane institutions is a method of unquestioned advantage, but unfortunately makes slow progress. We were told a year ago that in the United States only seven and one-half per cent, or in round numbers, 26,000, out of a total estimated feeble-minded population of 307,000, were yet provided for in institutions. The sterilization of the defective, now legal in at least six states, is still on trial.

Iowa has enacted its famous injunction law, Nebraska has already followed her example, and Idaho is considering similar legislation. California has made venereal diseases reportable. State boards of health throughout the country are watching

eagerly the California experiment. Several state boards of health are already distributing literature on sex hygiene and in various ways trying to reach these evils. The Social Hygiene Society of Portland, Oregon, in co-operation with the State Board of Health, has established an Advisory Department for Free Sex Advice, open not only through the day time, but also evenings and on Sundays. A significant event is the establishment, through funds from private sources, of the Laboratory of Social Hygiene in the New York State Reformatory for Women at Bedford.

A new valuation of crimes against public morality, as compared with crimes against property, is seen in our courts. Time sentences are replacing fines, which have been merely assessments upon the profits of vice.

The vice commissions of Chicago and Minneapolis have outlined vigorous and many-sided programs for those communities. Philadelphia is to have a vice commission, and various smaller communities are making surveys of the situation within their borders.

Private societies for "social hygiene" and sex education are multiplying rapidly. The American Vigilance Association, with general headquarters in Chicago and a library and publication headquarters in New York, is rapidly developing a most promising activity. The American Federation for Sex Hygiene is raising funds for a program that should strengthen the movement in every part of the country. Committees on sex education and hygiene have been appointed by various national and local religious bodies.

An important question relates to the part the public school is to play in sex education. The National Educational Association has shown a deep interest in the problem, and at a recent date an inquiry then in progress showed that already some form of sex education is afforded in at least one hundred and thirty-eight schools. In the normal schools of the State of Washington instruction in sex hygiene is made obligatory by the rules of the State Board of Education. Teachers of biology throughout the country are giving attention to this question. This evening we are to hear from an instructor in sex hygiene in

its best and most inclusive sense in the State Normal School at Ypsilanti, Michigan. At present the normal school may be said to be the strategic point of expermentation as to the help that our schools can give.

But when we have mentioned all of these agencies, we still have not spoken of the chief of all—the home. Nowhere may experiments inspired by the newer attitude more safely be tried. Parents better than anyone else can retrieve mistakes. In the home the subject of sex may receive due attention and yet the isolation of it, and equally its over-emphasis be avoided. If frankness with delicacy, if truth with romance, can be woven into home education in these interests of life, more good will be done than through any other influence.

The minds of our children must be pre-empted by the truth. Not merely warning against evil, but the great constructive appeal of right living, the lure of right conduct as against the false lure of evil conduct, must be brought home to our youth. The literature of sex education may well include "Little Women," "David Copperfield," "Snowbound," "The Village Blacksmith" and "The Cotter's Saturday Night."

Pathetic, indeed, is the unaided struggle of children and youth for right thoughts and self-control in the face of bitter temptations. In "A Blot in the 'Scutcheon," you remember the exclamation of Mildred: "I had no mother, God forgot me, and I fell!"

Children are without knowledge even of words with which they can refer to parts of their own bodies and some of the commonest acts of daily life without resort to silly expressions or indecent language. A clean acknowledged nomenclature of sex would be a boon to childhood.

Extant popular literature in sex education and hygiene needs to be authoritatively appraised. We must constantly seek further light as to what shall be taught, when, and to whom. Above all we must discover how the subject of sex can be treated without undesirable isolation and without over-emphasis. Ordinary publicity seems to me to be open to serious drawbacks. Much study and experiment will be necessary before the best methods are clearly discerned and wrought into practice.

Our goal must be the establishment in normal home life of the right attitude and methods.

The problem of the equipment and training of parents for their duty is of the first importance.

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## THE TEACHING OF SEX IN NORMAL SCHOOLS.

By Jessie Phelps, Asst. Prof. of Physiology and Hygiene, Michigan State Normal College, Ypsilanti.

If there is one place above all others where sex-hygiene should be taught thoroughly it is in our normal schools. Here the students are being made aware, perhaps for the first time, of the problems of children. Here there are ample facilities for the study. Children of all grades are in the training department, and the biological laboratories contain, or should contain, the proper demonstration material for such a course.

The Teachers' Training College of Columbia University has for some time presented a course in sex-hygiene in the biological department. Recently the State Board of Education of Washington has made the teaching of sex compulsory in the normal schools. The State Superintendent of Education of Wisconsin is having a syllabus of sex lessons prepared to put into the hands of the continuation school teachers. This will necessitate some preparation on the part of the teachers, of course. They will naturally seek it in the normal schools of that state. Here in Cleveland the city normal puts sex-hygiene in connection with its physiology.

For four years a course in sex-hygiene has been given in the Michigan State Normal College at Ypsilanti. It is of that course I am asked to speak. Three things principally are attempted:

First, to arouse the sense of honor that attaches to reproductive functioning. This is not difficult though that sense be usually encased in prejudice, erroneous teaching, and false modesty, to say nothing of shame and vulgar thought.

Second, to develop the sense of civic, social or racial duty as regards marriage and the bearing and rearing of children. This too is not difficult for the college girl is very close to her ideal and the heroic appeals to her. She is not only willing but eager to do her part in the world's work. The best education is the one that fits students for the largest social group of which they are capable. Now the largest conceivable social group is the historical one,—one which includes times other than that in which an individual lives. I see no potent way in which we can enter such a group except as we project ourselves into the future through our children's children. Hence the need of the development of civic and racial consciousness.

Third, to show how children and parents can be taught the facts of

sex in their proper relations to other subjects, such as botany, zoology, health, morals and civilization.

To work toward these three ends a course has been devised,—made up mainly of about thirty lessons (the entire course consists of forty-eight), dealing with the anatomy, physiology and life history of a series of animal and plant forms from low to high, including man. A student of biology will see at once what this involves—protoplasm and cells, cell division, organic evolution, evolution of sex, the continuity of germplasm, heredity and much else.

In presenting these lessons as much demonstration material is used as our facilities and time will allow. The lessons are given wholly as informal talks and conferences, supplemented by library references on which weekly critical reports are given. These reports take the form of personal letters in which the girls find a chance to ask question which they might otherwise leave unasked. I speak of this particularly because with the large classes, ranging from fifty to seventy, it allows the personal, intimate touch that I believe is absolutely necessary in work of this kind.

Of the material actually used, I will mention the following: Microscopic mounts of living amoeba, yeast, paramoecia, sperm cells, staminal hairs of Wandering Jew, pollen grain tubes, etc.; permanent mounts of sections of testes, ovaries, etc.; dried pea and bean pods and their seeds and the fresh blossoms, when possible, and the setting fruit; the bee hive and the cages of rats and rabbits; charts and models and skeletons; dissected specimens of both sexes of fish, frog, pigeon, rat or rabbit in different stages of maturity to show position of testes; and also one or two specimens of a pregnant mammal; pregnant pig uteri which may be secured from the Chicago stock yards, are especially good for a study of foetal membranes; frog and toad eggs, fresh or preserved. The incubator and the hen's eggs with demonstration of the first four-day chicks must not be forgotten, for of all the material the early stages of the chick create more wonder, excite more curiosity, than any other unless it be living protoplasm under the scope; and although sensational methods are to be avoided, the course would be a failure—as any course in biology would be—if it did not make the students all quiver with delight and wonder and reverence. And, too, no other lesson preaches so loud a sermon from the text, "Thou Shalt Not Kill," as the beating heart and coursing blood of the three-day chick. One does not need to preach against abortion after the sight of that.

To this list of material must also be added pictures—some of which are madonnas to represent the mother idea in art, and some of which are cartoons to "take off" high heels and other unhygienic and obnoxious dress. Lantern slides are used frequently for reviews with good effect.

In handling this material, attention is constantly being called to the way in which it might be used with children in nature study.

In connection with the study of human reproduction, since I have no adequate charts or models I have made with the help of the girls a set of the female organs out of cloth. These are life size and can be placed within the pelvis of the manikin easily. Although crude, they are yet effective.

Now into the matrix of this course, made of the anatomy, physiology, and life history of a few forms, there are embedded some fundamental and far reaching truths which are of direct human application. I can only suggest a few of these.—First, and perhaps most important of all, is the lesson on sex impulse. All through the course from the first to the last the idea has grown that the egg and sperm must be brought together; the reason for two sexes has been emphasized, and the various modes of fertilization described. When we come to man, the processes seem natural and nothing to be ashamed of—indeed quite the contrary, something to be proud of, and something to guard both for our own sake and for the sake of one's friends and for the sake of one's children. It is here that the judicious word about caresses, flirting, dress, etc., comes in effectively.

Another important lesson is that on hygiene, which involves some explanation of menstruation and also a warning against masturbation. Here it pays to turn aside to show the dangers of constipation and colds, and to give some hints as to their causes and cures.

Eugenics, of course, has a most important place in the course. Now comes the word regarding the duty of parenthood and the necessity of the right choice of mates. It would seem very desirable also in this connection to make it understood that marriage means first of all a spiritual thing. That it should be undertaken for the sake of character and soul growth, and that facts of temperament and taste and interest and principle should be consulted and compared, for we know that the physical contributes to or detracts from the spiritual.

Venereal diseases are of necessity taught. The girls are warned without being frightened. There is need of reminding the students after their reading of the constructive side of the whole matter and showing what can be done to remedy the situation. A high heroic note must be sounded and I have yet to see the group of girls who will not respond.

And lastly, there is the summing up of the possible ways to instruct children and to conduct parents' meetings.

I can only mention two or three salient points which are emphasized.

First, we should teach sex always in connection with other biological facts, making it a part of nature study if possible.

Second, we should remember that the child regards sex truths as natural and good—a little child knows no shame. Let us attempt to meet him on his own ground.

Third, we should be honest with him in everything and talk in terms he can understand, not telling him, for instance, that God sent the baby

—because he doesn't have our conception of God, and then, too, the devil may have sent it.

Fourth, we should teach him control, and grit, and joy, and foster in him a love for little children.

Fifth, we need not teach all at once, let the instruction satisfy for simply the time being.

Especially we should endeavor in all our teaching of these things to keep prominent the spiritual results of right living.

As to the general results of the course, let me append the direct testimony of a few of my students. Some of them say:

1. "This course has been very helpful to me in many ways. I see things in an altogether different light han I did before taking the course. I did not see the beauty and wonderfulness of being a woman, and of motherhood. I am afraid I was one to think that the best part of life was past. I can see differently now, however, and am very glad I can look at my future in a brighter light. I think the study of plants and animals has helped me very much—I think just as much as the study of the human structure. I thought I knew plant life, but found I did not. It has helped me to know how children should be taught some of the things relating to reproduction."

2. "This course has helped me, insomuch as I have been taught things that I would otherwise have had to learn by experience. I had never been taught anything about marriage but I always thought of it as sacred. This was my girlhood reasoning around my fourteenth and fifteenth years. I see now that the relation itself is a sacred one. It is only the abuse it receives that makes it otherwise.

"When the girls of the class are married and become mothers, if they have received the good I have from the course, they will never shrink to teach their children."

3. "Besides giving me a knowledge of various methods of reproduction in life, the course has meant much more. The reading has awakened my interest in many social problems. I now feel that women should have the power of the ballot; before, I was opposed. (The matter was not once mentioned in class.) Life seems a more beautiful thing than ever before."

4. "I don't know that I can tell in what ways specifically the course in sex hygiene has helped me, but I think most of all in making me reverence a whole lot of things that I did not particularly reverence before. I was not completely ignorant when I began the course, but I do feel very different about those things than I did before. It has made me feel older in a way, that is, I feel that there is more responsibility someway on my shoulders. Then I have learned many things that I should know."

## SOME ASPECTS OF PROGRESS IN SEX PROBLEMS.

By Very Rev. Walter T. Sumner, D. D., Chicago.

Keen competition compels every man today to live at his best. That which takes from him the power to meet the demands which labor and society put upon him is the thing to be shunned. We may preach sermons and give addresses, publish pamphlets and books upon intemperance, lust and kindred vices. But none will be so convincing as that which will enable a man to understand that those are not the only things for which some day he must answer, but the things that take away from him his power to live at his best.

The one thing which receives reward, which demands promotion in the profession and business life today is efficiency, and the laws of efficiency hang upon a man's output either in quantity or quality, or both. Manifestly it is the part of wisdom, therefore, for every man to so guide himself and so handle himself that he shall be at the highest point of efficiency. We are dealing with a subject tonight which has taken away man's efficiency, which is threatening the integrity of the home and the integrity of the country. It is not a nice subject. If you have not been horrified, if you have not had your sensibilities tremendously outraged tonight, then you are not normal. It is a salacious subject, and if you approach it only from the salacious standpoint and you are interested in the horrible things that may be told to you, then you lack the one requisite that is going to make for any efficiency at all or that is going to make for the solution of any problem, social or personal, and that is the moral viewpoint.

We are dealing with a subject where one man's opinion is just as good as another's provided two things obtain: first, absolute knowledge; second, the moral viewpoint of which I speak. We have a larger subject tonight than simply personal hygiene. It is not sex hygiene. It is moral hygiene. It is the subject of the whole social evil question as a commercialized business. I haven't the heart to go into the details of it. I think you have heard enough already.

With regard to personal, moral hygiene, without exploiting even as a matter of education the commercialized business which hangs on it, I am going to give, therefore, only a very few statements with regard to it, and let that suffice. My statements are based not only upon my own judgment but upon the judgment of the Vice Commission of Chicago, the first municipal commission ever appointed by a municipality and financed by its city treasury, a commission which was given $10,000 by the City of Chicago to investigate, deliberate and return its finding to the City Council.

Eleven months was taken up in the investigation and deliberations and the return of the verdict. That verdict has tremendous weight, for this reason: It represents the minds of thirty men and women, who came from nearly every walk of life—Roman Catholic priests, Protestant clergymen, the Chief Justice of the Municipal Court, the United States

District Attorney, the President of the Northwestern University, lawyers, doctors who are specialists in this subject, business men, representatives of the Federation of Women's Clubs and of the Mary Thompson Hospital for Women. The most remarkable thing about it, as I have said, is that notwithstanding these various viewpoints, when the decision was rendered it was an unanimous decision, and the decision was this:

"Constant repression of the social evil as our immediate method;
Absolute annihilation as our ideal."

That doesn't mean temporizing. That doesn't mean segregation and regulation. It means absolute repression wherever it is found. When we come to understand these tremendous physical dangers, when we understand what is more important—the moral danger—then we will agree with that Commission that there must be constant repression.

We took the roster of the police which was given to us, which numbered 1,008 who are giving up their lives to this industry. We found 4,200 others through our investigations. That makes five thousand. But taking only the 1,008 in the City of Chicago, the profits in one year are sixteen million dollars. We have, then, what is an illegal business. A vice can never be legalized. It is unconstitutional. We take this business, highly commercialized, highly developed, and we give to the department of public administration least liable to be honest or genuine, the handling of a business whose profits at the very lowest are sixteen million dollars a year, and we give them a threefold statute: first, the power to make laws; second, power to decide when, how and where these laws shall be enforced; third, power to punish offenders against these laws. No department can stand up efficiently and honestly in the face of such tremendous power in the handling of an illegal business. Therefore our first recommendation is the appointment of a Morals Commission in every community to take out of the hands of the police the handling of this illicit business in order that the exploitation of it may be minimized.

The greatest supporter of this commercialized business is the saloon. I have never been identified with an Anti-saloon movement—and it is perhaps not to my credit, but I speak of it to show that I am unbiased in my judgment—but during the last eighteen months I have come to the conclusion that there is, as the saloon is conducted in this country today, no more damnable institution that is menacing society.

The second step is that we separate the saloon from the exploitation of the social evil, that there shall not be eight million dollars profits, if you please, to the saloons in the resorts of the City of Chicago. And when I say the City of Chicago I say it with all loyalty. No city will ever reach any high pinnacle of fame or of efficiency until she is believed in by her sons and daughters, and we believe in Chicago; and when I draw these lessons it is only that I may stir you in other communities to make a similar investigation and learn conditions and change them. Because Chicago is no worse than any other city of its size. It stands third in flagrancy and in extent.

Five thousand is the lowest estimate that the vice commission makes. The Civil Service Commission makes an estimate of 15,000. If that be the case, then multiply your sixteen million dollars by four or multiply it by fifteen, and see what the tremendous profits are.

The source of supply is a thing to which we have to give most serious consideration. I believe that the source comes largest from those who are ignorant, as we heard today. Many are feeble-minded. Eighty per cent. of all those between the ages of twenty and twenty-five have the mental capacity of children from twelve to fifteen. The greatest source of supply is through ignorance and degeneracy. The next source is through the economic conditions which prevail. They are so complex that it is almost impossible to give a concrete example of how they may be changed, except that we may demand a living wage for an honest day's work; that we may demand for the girls who work in department stores, not, as the government reports, an average wage for those who live at home of $6.13 and for those who live away from home of $7.31. That is the average, and it means that some work for four or five dollars a week. It is a clear case of arithmetic: so much wage, so much for living—where comes the difference? Therefore the industrial situation and the economic situation in general should receive our most careful scrutiny and should result in demands upon employers to give to women the wages which their honesty alone is worth in any department of commercial life. And I would not cast one reflection upon the girls in department stores who are leading good lives, putting up a strong fight and winning out.

Education has been spoken of here very glibly all day. It is so easy to say: Educate! **Educate! EDUCATE!** There are three sources through which we educate: first, the home; second, the school; third, the church. The home we can reach in some instances, but it is not the most hopeful source. In the City of Chicago within a month we have appropriated in the Board of Education $2,500 for the teaching of parents in sex hygiene. In the evening we have segregated classes, and already lectures are taking place. The church has very little opportunity to teach these things. We cannot speak as frankly from the pulpit to the children as might be wished and therefore the church is not able to preach purity except as an infringement of the commandment. The school is the most hopeful source, and yet the Vice Commission is absolutely opposed to the teaching of sex hygiene, or moral hygiene, to children under high school age; absolutely opposed to the use of textbooks or printed matter on it; advocates the teaching of high school children only with the greatest care and only by those who have been given the imprimatur of the State—that, is the physician. The physician approaches the whole subject, as we might expect, from the biological standpoint. That is not the best standpoint. It is the best at the present time, because the public will have confidence in physicians because that is their business, to protect the public health.

We have heard a great deal about the physical deficiencies and the

great dangers physically through the spread of these unmentionable diseases. When we come to realize, as I said today, that the very lowest estimate is sixty per cent. of all male adults not in the army, not in Germany but in the United States, of all male adults who have or have had these unmentionable diseases—when we come to realize that they are spreading broadcast sterility, insanity, paralysis, the blind eyes of little babes, the twisted limbs of deformed children, moral degradation, physical rot and mental decay, then we shall stand up and do something to change the conditions as they exist today.

The education of parents is going to do more than legislation, and this is not coming about through an approach in economic circles. It is not coming through the changing of some sociological condition. It is only coming through a moral regeneration. What we want is not reform but regeneration. And until men and women approach the subject from the moral standpoint, when they come to have a conscience in the matter, just so soon will there be a public conscience which will demand a change in the situation.

Some time ago I gave an address in Chicago, and Mr. Wilbur Nesbitt wrote this poem, which was based upon the Magdalene coming to our Lord. The point is that it has never been revealed what it was that was written in the sand that made the scribes and the pharisees turn about and go away, from the oldest to the youngest. They were stricken in their conscience by what they read.

We have saved the soul of the man that killed,
We have turned to shrive the thief;
We restored the pride of the man that lied
And we gave him our belief;
But for her that fell have we fashioned hell
With a faith all stern and just—
It was so of old; and no man has told
What our Lord wrote in the dust.

We have sighed betimes of our brother's crimes
And have bade them be of cheer,
For the flesh is weak, and the soul grown meek
May yet read its title clear.
But we draw away from the one astray
As the truly righteous must.
She is cursed, indeed!—and we did not read
What our Lord wrote in the dust.

For the men who thieved, and who killed and lied—
Who have slain the woman's soul—
We have worked and prayed, and have seen them made
All clean and pure and whole.

But we drive her out with a righteous shout
In our Pharisaic trust.
So the man goes free—but we did not see
What our Lord wrote in the dust.

The one thing that must be maintained is the one standard of morality for men and women. This is a man problem that we are facing tonight. It is not a woman problem. It ceased to be that some years ago. It is a commercialized business, the supply furnished by men, the service demanded by men, the gains reaped by men, and the whole thing exploited by men.

I am not such a believer in the great reforms that are coming through the elective franchise to women, but I do believe this, that when women are given the ballot—as I hope they will be—that they will stop the exploitation of their sex by men. And men are never going to take up the solution of this sex problem until you, the women of the country, force them to do it.

Take the girl as she leaves the department store at night, tired to the point of recklessness, hungry not only for food and shelter but for a kind word and a friend. See her as she is huddled away in some cheap boarding house, and what does she meet with? The advances of men without a spark of honor, aye, without even a spirit of sportsmanship, if you like, but who will hunt down as their prey this poor, tired, hungry child of poverty. She goes down. He goes free. She goes into a life of prostitution. He is accepted by society. It is not just, and we shall never reach the solution of this problem, until we can arouse in men a more splendid sense of honor for womanhood, a finer chivalry for women, and the conviction that to fight for a woman's honor is indeed the occasion for a valiant fight.

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## THE EUGENIC PROBLEM.

By Bleecker Van Wagenen.

*"Eugenics is the study of agencies under social control that may improve or impair the racial qualities of future generations either physically or mentally."—Sir Francis Galton.*

The eugenic problem is the problem of race-regeneration. "Physical life is a relation between inborn tendencies and the surroundings in which they find themselves, between heredity and environment, between nature and nurture." Saleeby.)

Deeply seated in the nature of man is the desire to conserve, improve and prolong physical human life. The great movement of social reform in the effort to improve conditions of life which has been carried on during the past one hundred years, has proceeded generally in four stages: (1) the effort to clear away the gross filth of our cities, to improve dwellings, to introduce sani-

tation and to combat disease; (2) the attempt to attack the problem more thoroughly by regulating the conditions of work and introducing an elaborate system of factory legislation; (3) the still more fundamental step of taking in hand the children who have not yet reached the age for work, providing free and compulsory education for all children and, ultimately, pushing back the care and oversight of infants even to the moment of birth; and (4) finally, most fundamental step of all, the effort, which is only beginning, to provide the conditions of healthy life even before birth. This movement in all its four stages is still in active progress among us. It is a movement which is continually spreading and at every point becoming more thorough, more harmoniously organized.'' ''We have to realize at the same time that this movement has been exclusively concerned, not with the improvement of the *quality* of human life, but with the betterment of *the conditions* under which life is lived. It tacitly assumed that we have no control over human life and no responsibility for its production. It accepted human life, however enormous it might be in quantity, however defective in quality, as a God-given fact which it would be impious to question. It heroically set itself to the endless task of cleansing the channels down which this muddy torrent swept. It never went to the source.'' (Ellis.)

There are disquieting indications in all civilized countries that the quality level of the national life is not rising to meet the greater demands of the increasingly complex conditions of living which we face to-day, if indeed the level is not actually falling. We are being forced to recognize the fact that there is in every country a considerable, perhaps a growing, number of persons, who, as individuals, and often as families, tend strongly to lower the quality level of the national life, and are a heavy and increasing burden on national advancement, even threatening the progress of civilization. We do not yet know the extent of this danger that threatens us.

In Europe reliable statistics are available in several countries. In America, alas, we have few of real value. We have not yet learned the importance of uniform and reliable statistics concerning the facts of life which so enormously affect the well-being of the nation. Biologists tell us that whether of wholly defective inheritance or because of an insurmountable tendency toward defect, which is innate, members of the following classes must be considered as socially unfit and their supply should be eliminated from the human stock if we would maintain or raise the level of quality essential to the progress of the nation and our race: (1) the feeble-minded; (2) the pauper families; (3) the confirmed inebriates; (4) the criminaloids; (5) the epileptics; (6) the hereditarily insane; (7) the constitutionally weak or asthenic; (8) those predisposed to specific diseases or diathetic; (9) the congenitally deformed; (10) those having defective sense organs, such as the blind and the deaf, or Kakaisthetic class. This is the classification proposed from the social point of view. Obviously it is also partly medical, partly legal

and in part biological. A purely biological classification would be very complex and in the present state of scientific knowledge probable impossible, for it must be based upon unit traits of defective inheritance inherent in germ plasm, and their combinations, which result in definite types of defective beings. Only a few of these unit traits have as yet been certainly identified. In the classification above given it is clear that many of the classes overlap. For instance factors of feeble-mindedness doubtless run through many of these classes. Insanity and criminality often overlap, and so on through the list. No two individuals belonging to the same general group will have exactly the same combination of traits and one individual may belong to one only or to several types of the socially unadapted; nevertheless, this classification is the one that best fits into the social scheme and is the basis upon which society, with the aid of the several social and biological sciences, can well proceed to the investigation of possible measures for eliminating its defectives. (Laughlin.)

The actual number of each of these defective classes in the United States we have no means of knowing; but from the United States Census statistics and from special studies in limited and distributed areas we are able to form an approximate idea. The figures of the 12th and 13th Censuses of the inmates of institutions, both public and private, are as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 15,153 | Blind, deaf and dumb ..... | |
| 14,347 | Feeble-minded ..... | 20,199 |
| 150,151 | Insane ..... | 187,454 |
| 81,772 | Criminals ..... | 113,579 |
| 23,034 | Juvenile delinquents ..... | 22,903* |
| 81,864 | Paupers ..... | 83,944 |
| 268,656 | Eleemosynary institutions ..... | |
| 634,977 | | |

The figures for 1910-12 are as yet incomplete, but they show increases in institution population which indicate that fully 1 per cent. or ten out of every thousand of our present total population is in custody, is non-productive and living at public expense.

It is impossible to measure the industrial and social handicap caused by these individuals, but just as the great leaders of successful human endeavor exert an influence altogether incommensurate with their number, so, doubtless, these classes constitute a correspondingly heavy drag upon society.

"It is a reproach to our intelligence that we, as a people, proud in other respects of our acquired control of nature, should have to support about half a million insane, feeble-minded, epileptic, blind and deaf—80,000 prisoners and nearly 100,000 paupers at a cost of over $100,000,000

*This figure does not include those on probation.

per year. A new plague that rendered 4 per cent. of our population chiefly at the most productive age, not merely incompetent but costing 100 millions annually to support, would instantly attract universal attention. But we have become so used to crime, disease and degeneracy that we take them as necessary evils. That they were so in the world's ignorance is granted; that they must remain so is denied.'' (Davenport.)

It is difficult to estimate the number of defectives not in institutions. I will not take time to show how the figures are arrived at, but students of statistics consider it conservative to estimate that at the present time, at least 3,000,000 persons, or about 3 1-2 per cent. of our total population, who are not in institutions, are equally defective and non-supporting, while upon the borderline of defective and normal there are several millions (perhaps four or five millions) more. These latter are the people who are barely able to maintain themselves or who just succeed in abstaining from acts which would bring them into the custody of the state. These are the people of inferior blood, who are so interwoven in kinship with those still more defective, that they are wholly unfitted to become the parents of useful and valuable citizens. They carry germ plasm more or less charged with defects and unless their matings are with better strains deterioration is sure to follow in their family lines.

Here, then, is indicated, if not fully defined, the problem of eugenics on what is called the negative side. Along with hospital, penal and eleemosynary care a remedy looking toward the cutting off of these defective lines of inheritance is now being sought on every hand. From others we shall hear of some of the proposed remedies.

The problem of what is called positive eugenics is a different one. Studies made in England, France, Germany and in some parts of the United States indicate that there has been a steadily declining birth rate during the past thirty years. In most countries the decrease in the death rate has equalled or surpassed it and populations have generally increased; but in France there is an actual decline in population. The disquieting factor about this, however, is that the percentage of the decline of births is much greater in the higher than in the lower classes of society. This appears in all civilized countries, varying only in degree. This is not the time or place to discuss the causes. We have now but to state the facts. The following are the birthrates from latest statistics in some of the principal countries of Europe, per 1,000 of population: Russia, 48.1; Hungary, 36.3; Austria, 33.8; Italy, 33.4; Spain, 33.2; Japan, 33; Germany, 32.3; Holland, 29.71; Denmark, 28.3; Belgium, 25.3; Ireland, 23.3; France, 20.2, and all show declines from a period thirty years back. For the birthrate in the United States we have no data. Vital statistics are in many states imperfect or altogether lacking. We find, however, that in Boston in 1910 the birthrate from native-born parents was only 18.2 and in Providence only 16, while that from foreign-born parents was in each 31.1—the general birthrate being about 26 per 1,000 of population. ''An actual reduction in the number of children may not

be an unmixed evil,'' says Kellicott. ''A falling birthrate may be a good sign, but when in either a rising or a falling birthrate, we find a differential or selective relation, then the subject is eugenic.'' ''If the higher rate is among the socially valuable elements of each different class the eugenist can only approve. What we really find, however, is the undesirable elements increasing with the greatest rapidity, the better elements not even holding their own.'' The eugenic problem, on the positive side, is how to counteract the tendency everywhere apparent among civilized peoples to restrict and limit the progeny of the well-born, the well-endowed, members of society, out of all proportion to the increase of those of inferior quality and blood. It is also to discover and apply rational means of improving the quality of human life from a strictly biologist does not send him away without a contribution. The sociologist mental strength, ability and efficiency.

Elimination of the inherently unfit and anti-social elements of society, propagation of the higher and better strains of human life, these are the aims which eugenics set before us and to the study of causes and effects, of methods and means we are now called. Quoting again from Prof. Kellicott—''The sociologist now comes to the biologist, inquiring whether by any chance he may be in possession of data or guiding principles which may be of service in the building of a stable society. The biologist does not send him away without a contribution. The sociologist makes known his needs, the biologist displays his possessions, and it is at once evident to both that they have much in common and that each is able to supply the other with some needed wares. Each may learn from the other and best of all the biologist seems to have information which will be of the greatest service in their common work of building sound societies.''

Nature and Nurture, Heredity and Environment.

These are twins and they go hand in hand in the attempt to solve the eugenics problem.

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## EUGENICS: ITS SCIENTIFIC BASIS AND ITS PROGRAM.

By Professor Robert M. Yerkes, Harvard University.

(Abstract.)

The speaker, after defining eugenics as **systematic endeavor to improve the nature of man**, briefly sketched the history of the chief eugenic ideas from Plato to Galton and Pearson.

In considering the necessary scientific basis of the art of eugenics, he insisted that adequate knowledge for the control of the nature of man must be sought from the sciences of biology, psychology, and sociology.

As the chief lines of activity in present eugenics, **education, investigation,** and **legislation** were named. The speaker dwelt on **education**

as the necessary condition of profitable investigation and of safe legislation. As especially important for the progress of eugenics, he mentioned education (a) concerning the facts and laws of heredity and of their relations to environmental influences; (b) concerning the responsibility of the individual to himself, to his fellows, and to generations yet unborn; (c) concerning the intelligent appreciation of proper, socially and racially profitable marriages; (d) concerning the intelligent production and up-bringing of children; (e) concerning opportunities to render social service by enlightening others.

**Investigation** was presented as essential for the wise development of practical procedures and it was pointed out that we to-day know too little of the facts and laws of heredity in man and of the significance of the conditions of life to safely attempt to alter, in any radical manner, the nature of man. It was proposed that intensive studies of the structure and functions of the human body, of the mental life of human beings, and of their social relations should command the attention of eugenists in as great a measure as do practical procedures whose purpose is the improvement of life.

Under the heading, **legislation**, it was suggested by the speaker that a federal department of public welfare be established in which there should be bureaus of health and of eugenics. The chief functions of the department would be the encouragement of the scientific study of heredity, the collection of studies concerning family and racial traits, both bodily and mental, and the accumulatio of such other data as should condition eugenic advice and wise legislation. It was pointed out that legislation should be the result of research and of the development of intelligent public opinion rather than the precursor of knowledge and public sentiment.

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## EUGENICS AND CHARITY

By Dr. C. B. Davenport, Cold Springs, Harbor, N. Y.

Man is a gregarious species and is led by his instincts to live in communities. Communities imply organization—a society. Every normal member of a society recognizes that his rights are only those of the rest of the community, and that he has always to consider his neighbor. The rules governing conduct in our society are the laws.

Now any society develops with the less friction the more homogeneous it is. That is why associations elect their membership and clubs even maintain the practice of blackballing. If the society is homogeneous it is easy to make rules for it; or, since all members look at things alike, rules may be unnecessary. But society as we find it in the United States is as heterogeneous as possible. And this is not merely because blacks and whites, Italians and Scandinavians, Jews and Gentiles are thrown in together, but because, in any of these groups there

are persons who range in intellectual capacity all the way from the most effective and the most cultured to those who have less intelligence than many apes. No wonder society finds its rules or laws inadequate, based as they are upon the fundamental falsehood that "all men are created equal."

If society is satisfactory only as it approaches homogeneity, only as the ideal that "all men are created equal" becomes in a measure realized, then it is our clear duty to strive to achieve this equality. The method by which equality is to be secured is variously conceived by different persons. There are those who believe and teach that the differences between people are due primarily to differences of income. The beggar on the street corner may become as effective in the world's work as any of us if only each passer-by gives him enough coin. This theory seems to be abandoned in practice and we are warned by organized charity that the exercise of the little vanity of giving alms at the street corner is really harmful to society. Organized charity undertakes to show us a better way to bring about equality. It admits that the poor are of two sorts which are unlike to start with and are without the same capacity for achieving equality—these sorts are the undeserving poor and the deserving poor. The first class cannot be made good social units by the gift of money; the second class, it is hoped, may. Only experts can distinguish between the classes, so give your alms to the experts and then they will be of use to bring about the desirability equality.* But, alas, useful as are alms to help tide over temporary disabilities how little do they help solve the problem of poverty; how little do they raise the great mass of the submerged. No expert myself in "scientific" almsgiving, I merely echo the regret that I have heard expressed by at least one in charge of the organized charity of a great city. I gather that, were there this year ten times, or even a hundred times, the amount available for charity in its narrower sense that is now available in a great city like New York, there would be no important dimunition in need at the end of ten years. No, people are unequal less because of unequal external conditions and opportunities than because of unequal innate equipment. In fact it is futile to hope to supply innate deficiency by means of improved environment. Even better schools, more churches, better living conditions, better food, sunlight, air and hours of work will not make strong those without the elements for mental and physical development. The only way to secure innate capacity is by breeding it.

Here is where the program of the eugenist comes in—elimination of the worst by segregation during the reproductive period; instruction to the "middle" class how to marry so as to avoid reproducing specific weaknesses; encouragement to those carrying the best solid traits to leave a large progeny in order that the number of those carrying these traits, which are so valuable to the nation, may be increased to the utmost. En-

*This is probably the furthest from an accurate statement of the position of organized charity, that has ever appeared in the Proceedings of the National Conference.—Editor.

couragement of this sort may take various forms, such as reduction of income tax and inheritance tax in proportion to the number of surviving children. That reproduction of the worst classes—those from which society finds it necessary to defend itself to-day—can be controlled is conceded. That the great mass—the middle class—of the people may to some extent be influenced in marriage selection by engenical considerations is quite certain; I have answered scores of letters asking, very seriously, for advice on these matters. Especially are people inquiring about the undesirability of cousin marriages. People are influenced in their marriage selections not only by hair and eye color and the sweet smile, but also by considering consanguinity, insanity, imbecility, criminality, striking physical defect (such as hair lip or albinism) and by tuberculosis and cancer. The presence of any of these taints in a family is to-day widely and seriously considered in making marriage selections. They will be more widely considered whenever knowledge is more precisely formulated and more widely disseminated. Thus by the elimination of the worst matings of the animalistic strains and by the union of sense and sentiment in many others a more uniform innate capacity in our people may be achieved. Thus the need for charity in its narrower sense will diminish because bred out by the operations of the greater charity.

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## DISCUSSION.

MISS ADAMS, of Cleveland (blind music teacher)—As an intelligent woman but handicapped by blindness I do not in the least object to the classification which has associated us with criminals and feeble-minded. But I will say that in my fearful struggle for human life against such a terrible handicap, and in my experience as a teacher I have more than once wished that we had that fearlessness of conscience which would permit us by a painless anesthetic to send every little blind baby back to eternity. I would remind you that sixty per cent. of the blind people sent out from the schools are self-supporting; that among the other forty per cent. a large number became blind in later life, many of them by accidents through industrial conditions which we permit in factories and shops. When I observe the idle, selfish, shallow sons and daughters of the rich spending their days in worthless pursuits, making no contribution of life and service to society, no answer to the great cry of humanity, I ask myself the question—who, in the sight of God, are the unfit?

MRS. MANSELL—I want to make a plea for custodial care of the feeble-minded in our institutions. I am bitterly opposed to institutions as such, but we need custodial care for these children—for that is what they are, whatever their age—to prevent their reproducing their kind. If we could in this present generation have enough institutions to take care of them, we could after a while put these build-

ings to other uses. I am superintendent of a home where we have 235 girls, every one I fear subnormal. I asked Dr. Goddard to come and look over eighteen. He decided seventeen were absolutely feeble-minded and he was in doubt about the eighteenth. Thirty-three per cent. of our girls are actually feeble-minded and should have custodial care. Some people are horrified at the thought of the expense, or of the fact of depriving them of their liberty. But if you will visit the institutions for the feeble-minded and see how happy they are and what useful lives they can lead you will change your mind.

DR. MYERS—Are eugenists agreed as to what diseases are transmissible by heredity? It is suggested that an enormous amount of pauperism is due to heredity.

THE CHAIRMAN—Feeble-mindedness is one of the defects that has been most definitely proven to be inheritable, also insanity, within certain limits, also the fact of Brachedaxelism—six fingers on one hand instead of five. The fact of eye color has been proven to be inherited in certain conditions, and chorea or St. Vitus Dance. The tendency to bleed easily is inheritable. As to tuberculosis, alcoholism and some other affections it is not yet known.

MISS LAURA B. GARRETT—As a worker in institutions I find a certain percentage of boys and girls who are high-grade feeble-minded. As these children are now segregated would it not be wise to provide permanent custodial care for them rather than to place them out in homes? Members of boards and managers think they cannot afford the expense. Would it not be wise to have those who appear to be defective carefully examined by experts, and if proven to be abnormal, kept in institutions? Would it not be cheaper in the end and wiser in every way? Otherwise in a few years their progeny will return to the same institution and be found to be quite as defective and often more so than their parents.

QUESTION—If sex hygiene could be taught in our schools and we could have one generation of educated fathers and mothers, do you think it would solve the question?

PROFESSOR YERKES—Yes, the problem of sex education is one of the chief problems of the eugenic movement. The understanding of the sex relation and the proper education concerning it would solve many of these problems.

MR. WILSON—Is it known whether feeble-mindedness is increasing or decreasing?

DR. GODDARD—The Royal Commission in England is authority for the statement that it is increasing at twice the rate of the general population.

QUESTION—Is it not a fact that a frequent cause of feeble-mindedness is poverty, malnutrition?

DR. GODDARD—There is not the slightest evidence that mal-nutrition or any environmental condition can produce feeble-mindedness. It might produce one or two years of backwardness. Biologists show what marvelous power of resistance the human organism has to environmental conditions, how almost completely starved the child may be, and still react if placed under wholesome conditions

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## MEDICAL SCIENCE AND THE MEDICAL PROFESSION IN THE MOVEMENT FOR SEX EDUCATION AND HYGIENE.

By Phillip Zenner, A. M., M. D., Cincinnati.

Condensed.

(The writer began by explaining the evil results of the two chief venereal diseases, syphilis and gonorrhea and emphasizing the present wide prevalence of these diseases. He then insisted on the best medical treatment of every case and on the need of sufficient hospital accommodation. He then took up the topic assigned as follows:)

The next mode of activity of the medical profession in this movement which I shall mention is the teaching done by many of its members. Doubtless there are countless physicians who give needed instruction to individuals and families, but there is, also, not a small number who instruct the public by means of suitable addresses or the like. Lectures are given in the army and navy, very often to working men and working women in factories or elsewhere, and to various other kinds of public gatherings. Perhaps most frequently lectures are given to so-called mothers' meetings to instruct mothers how to teach their own children. Then many colleges in the land are calling upon physicians to speak to their students in sex hygiene, and, probably very rarely, the public schools make a like request.

What more should physicians do in this movement?

Every physician should carefully instruct patients having venereal disease (doubtless very many are accustomed to do so) so that they fully understand all the dangers of conveying the disease to others, and, also learn a lesson for their own good. It is even more imperative, that this instruction be given in dispensary and hospital, than that it be given to private patients.

Physicians are becoming private and public instructors and it is of the greatest consequence that they perform that function well. The teaching is not always a benefit. One sometimes hears an address spoken of in a way showing it has made far from a favorable impression. The true purpose of this teaching is not to impart knowledge, but to produce results in the hearts and minds of those who are taught, that will influence for good their own and other lives. In the case of the young man, the highest object must be to create ideals which will help him to

resist temptation; in the case of the child and adolescent, to create a pure mind into which the poisons of life will not penetrate. To teach in this way requires more than the mere facts of disease of which I have spoken. It requires knowledge of the needs and the nature of the child and the adult, and perhaps also the gifts of the teacher. All this seems to demand special gifts and special knowledge and ofttimes special preparation.

This whole field is almost an untilled one, but soon it will be better cultivated and then we may demand and expect that physicians who do such teaching should be competent for it. It were best that they should have special gifts, but at least they should have special college training to prepare them for the work.

I believe the greatest achievement of the medical profession in the cause of sex hygiene is in arousing the world to its needs, for the world must take part if very much is to be accomplished. The medical profession alone, though earnest its zeal and strenuous its efforts, could not to any great extent eradicate these evils. It is, therefore, no little thing that its preaching from countless pulpits is awakening the people to the great havoc wrought by the sexual vices, especially by venereal diseases, and is bringing to them the knowledge that the welfare of society, almost its existence, is at stake. And we are beginning to see the results of this awaking. One of them is that large societies have been formed in every land to combat these evils. This section of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, just organized, is an instance of this order.

When the world has become sufficiently aroused we may expect a satisfactory solution of the problem, what is to be done to save society from the results of sexual vice?

I believe the solution of this problem is to be found in education. There is nowhere so much ignorance as there is of the sexual functions and of sexual hygiene, an ignorance which, hitherto, society has done all possible to foster. This ignorance is responsible for a very large part of the prevailing sexual vice, for the ruin of many girls and young women, and for the occurrence of countless cases of self abuse, and many cases of venereal disease. There is, therefore, no question that full knowledge would very much lessen sexual vice and its results. But it is equally certain that the mere imparting of information would not be a satisfactory solution of our problem, that, notwithstanding the possession of such knowledge, there would still be an incalculable amount of sexual vice and sexual disease. The prevalence of vice and disease among those who are fully informed attest the truth of this statement; nor is it hard to understand why this is so.

This knowledge is expected to protect the individual through inspiring him with fear of the dangers incurred, and in very many individuals this will be the result. But life is full of dangers which some individuals shun and others brave; and the dangers of which we are now speaking countless numbers will first brave, then slight, and then forget.

For this there are strong reasons. First, there are the promptings of man's strongest passions, next, are the widely prevalent false ideas of sexual necessity, that is that continence is injurious to health. Then, there are the constant provocations to passion and allurements on the stage, in newspapers and other reading matter, in ordinary conversation, and in so many scenes of life. But, above all, is the influences of one's associates, which is mostly not favorable to chastity; and the young man usually prefers to share the mode of life of his companions and to brave their dangers, rather than to risk meeting with their contempt. The remedy for all this is to remove false ideas and inspire higher ideals. This remedy will be especially effective if the effort be to teach not one but all, for thereby the individual will escape the most demoralizing influence of the present, that of his associates, and, besides, the teaching should result in a change of environment, so that allurement and temptation would not be so constantly before him. So I must again emphasize the statement that the great object of sex education is less the imparting of knowledge than the creation of the right ideals.

In these days the question of school education in sex hygiene is being much discussed, but mostly it is the question of teaching in the high schools. But it appears to me that if school instruction goes no farther than this it will fail to accomplish very much that we should hope from it. The misfortune is that, as sex matters are now treated, many children are already so harmed before they reach the high school that remedie then applied may be in vain. I do not now refer to those sad cases, unfortunately so common, where young girls are ruined, or where bad habits or grave disease is found in the young of both sexes. Stories of some teachers and of social workers tell us how very frequently this occurs in schools, at times in large groups in one school.

I refer to a condition which is almost universal, though sometimes more, sometimes less marked, the prurient mind. The whole mode of modern training tends to this result—the concealment of the facts of sexual life, the sense of shame which seems everywhere attached to them, and their usual acquirement from unworthy and misleading sources. When this state of mind has been acquired the sensuous in life is constantly appealing to and strengthening it, and while it is still possible to implant high ideals, they do not have the same controlling influence as in another mind.

The one safeguard in life, powerful to protect from the sexual vices, is a pure mind, and the only sex education that can be considered effective is that which will create this state of mind. For this reason if this teaching is to do much good it must begin with early childhood, the lessons given at different periods being those appropriate to those years.

This is the work the school must do if it is to have assured success. It is of great importance that this fact be fully recognized in order that this school instruction find encouragement instead of opposition.

The objection made to teaching sex matters to children in school is

that this is the duty of parents and should be left to them. It is true that this is the duty of parents, and one of their highest duties. It is true, also, that the parent—this usually means the mother—should be the ideal teacher. She should know her child best, should know when it is seeking and needing information; and, by giving the right information in the right way and at the right time, should be able to gain the full confidence of her child and make a bond between them that will secure its future safety. But unfortunately very few parents teach their children sex hygiene. Most of them are unwilling and also incompetent to do so. And we need expect little change in this respect, at least in our generation, so that if anything is to be done it must be done by the schools.

There are many parents who believe that children should have no instruction whatever of this kind. There are none so blind as they. With rare exceptions the child gets knowledge but the wrong kind and from the wrong sources. As a result almost everywhere there is vice among school children, though it goes undetected. Only too often, in the case of these very children whose parents would keep them in utter ignorance of sex matters, the worst has already befallen them.

There are parents who aim to give their children the right sex instruction at home and, therefore, object to its being given in school. They are selfish, as they would deprive other children of what they need so much, and also unwise, as they would keep from their own children their surest protection, companions with pure minds and clean lives.

The difficulty about teaching sex hygiene in the present unprepared state of the schools is to get just the right instruction, for teaching may do harm as well as good. It has been said that any kind of school teaching would be better than the way the great mass of children is taught sex matters to-day, and very likely this is true. Nevertheless we should not be satisfied with, nor should we permit, "any kind of teaching."

Poor teaching would miss the opportunity of doing so much good which should be done, and, furthermore, would be a blow to the cause of sex education. Teachers in this field should be specially gifted for the work, or at least should have special preparation which should be given by normal schools and universities. But the movement is manifestly not beginning with this preparation from normal schools and universities. Movements do not usually begin at the top; and besides it is likely that there are at present few competent to teach teachers who are to instruct children in sex hygiene. Probably for a long time the work must be done by pioneers. They must blaze the way, prove the value of their services and finally create a public demand for the teaching and the preparation of teachers. However, in the meantime there should be some security that whatever teaching is done, is well done, to insure both the welfare of the child and the creation of the right public sentiment.

I wish to suggest a method which should prevent harmful teaching

and may succeed in removing public antagonism. I would have the teacher—be that a school teacher, a physician, or anyone whatever—prepare the lesson just as it is to be given to the class, and give it in advance to the parents, perhaps with teacher, superintendent, physician or other expert in the audience. Only if they consider it acceptable is it to be given to the class. This would mean class, not individual, instruction, but I believe that most sex instruction that should be given in school may be given to the class.

Sex matters should never be brought obtrusively to the child. As far as possible they should be made to fall in naturally with other knowledge so that the child's mind does not dwell too much upon them. To a degree the same thing is true of the adult. It is only the great and growing menace of venereal disease and the pressing need of arousing the world to some action for its own salvation that justifies constantly bringing the subject into the lime light. If, however, sex instruction in school is successfully carried out and greatly lessens sexual vice and sexual disease there will be no farther need of hammering away at the public about these matters which will be another great gain to the credit of sex education.

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## SEX EDUCATION.

By Ira S. Wile, M. S., M. D., New York City.

In a consideration of the practical aspects of sex education, it is necessary that the active worker in charities and corrections recognize at the outset that there are two phases of this form of education.

The first phase of sex education is preventive in character; it may be dealt with in two ways: by direct instruction of individuals, or by teaching in groups or classes. The form of the education will vary according to whether the children to receive the instruction are normal or abnormal. The methods of instruction will depend upon the age, sex, previous education and sex precocity of the individuals to receive the instruction. It is essential to appreciate the psychology of children at various ages, to understand the normality of so-called wild tendencies, and to appreciate the distracting value of plays, games and occupations.

The corrective features in sex education again depend upon the sex of the child, its age and the particular definite sex perversion which has called forth the corrective teaching. The method of instruction must vary somewhat according to the place wherein the instruction is given. If the teaching is institutional the mode of presenting the subject would vary greatly from that used by a friend, big brother, probation officer or parent where the child is not under mural restraint.

The most effective form of sex education consists of individual teaching graded to the intelligence of the child and where it is possible to draw from the child some idea of his own sex knowledge and experience.

It is undesirable to place books in the hands of children, either for purposes of preventive or corrective measures, unless the child has passed the adolescent period. It is advisable for the teacher to digest the books containing the essential physical, psychological and moral facts and then to feed the child mind with the information that is most adapted for the individual case under care.

Sex education may be direct through the parent or individual, of a co-operative nature by calling in the services of the minister or priest, the physician or the corrective administrator, as the case may be.

In the scheme for preventive sex education the plan that is most valuable is training parents so that they may live up to their responsibilities and give their children the sex education which has traditionally been denied children, instead of permitting them to acquire it clandestinely. Parental teaching represents a difficult field of endeavor but is the most potent for permanent results, as it tends to establish confidential relations between parents and children which enables counsel to be sought and given at all periods during child development. Sex education is not an isolated part of education but is part of the educational content of nature study, botany, biology, geography, civics, ethics, literature, art and music. If sex education be regarded as a perfectly normal part of the educational life of the child, and parents can be made to see that traditions making sex topics taboo are false, they are more likely to listen to advice as to the methods to be employed for giving such instruction. A book or two concerning the nature of plants and animals, calling attention to the few basic truths that all life comes from an egg, and that essential to the formation of a living egg is a male and female, soon impresses the parent with the simplicity of the instruction, its naturalness, its cleanness and its sacredness. It is insufficient to merely suggest that a story of creation be told—but an actual story must be supplied. One must demonstrate the fact that the principles of sex, as far as creation is concerned, are uniform in life. Technical terms seem like bugbears though there is no reason why people should not be taught the proper names for things. They are then more willing to use the correct terms, if only to show their knowledge, than to use the coarse expressions which are common.

When it becomes desirable to dwell upon the moral aspects of the sex question and the education of the parents seems insufficient to enable them to do justice to the subject, the co-operation of the minister or priest should be sought, because the methods of inculcating morality cannot be taught in a lecture or two. The sacredness of human life, its divine origin, the fear of God and similar ideas relating to theological dogma might well be entrusted to a wise pastor.

The physical aspect of sex education, as far as it may be related to the spread of disease, has been given considerable attention, but particularly has thought been focused upon the personal results of violations of normal sex conduct. If it becomes essential to develop a sense of physical fear, which to my mind in the average youth is the weakest

of the barriers to sexual misconduct, the physician possesses immense social value. It is in many ways desirable to have the instructor, whether parent, relative, social agent, probation officer, or teacher, secure the information regarding the physical side of the sex question from the physician, and give the instruction himself so as to have one source for all the sex instruction.

There are many basic principles which must be understood by all workers in order to be successful in sex education. The first requisite is to appreciate the normality of sex impulses. Sex expression is biologically a normal feature of all life. The early development of sexual precocity should be recognized as abnormal if it exhibits itself prior to puberty.

A third factor that must be recognized is the practical universality of masturbation, that does not in itself possess any moral basis. Begun in the earlier ages of life, it is purely physical in origin and expression and has of itself no moral conception, but is founded entirely upon a mechanical hedonism accidental in its origin. Surgical care of the genital organs may be required to relieve the irritation. The seriousness of this condition is found in its effect upon the nervous system and the key to its correction lies in physical fatigue of the child prior to retiring, the occupation of the mind and body by plays, games, occupation, manual work, and the constant direction of attention under supervision to spheres of activity that do not lead into sexual channels.

Another factor that is of socially great importance is the appreciation of the fact that the problem of venereal diseases is a secondary problem in sex education and results in part from a lack of instruction leading to the establishment of high personal ideals coupled with self-control. Granting that heredity plays some part in the development of the sexual characteristics of childhood, the importance of environment cannot be over estimated.

A social survey of sex education discloses the fact that there are two factors of equal importance to be considered. There must be comprehension of the limitations of the environment which breeds the temptation, and there must be intelligent understanding of the home conditions that fail to develop a will that is strengthened by knowledge and founded on ethics.

Comprehending, therefore, the environmental aspects of the subject, it is patent that where the surrounding circumstances are the main factor in developing incorrect sex ideas, attention must be given to the underlying social causes and these must be remedied insofar as is possible.

Coming back then to the child itself, we find that the basis of appeal in sex education must be three-fold; physical, mental and moral. It is needless to remark that to work upon any one of these lines alone would not bring the desired end, nor indeed is it feasible to follow out any single line of appeal without involving the others. At various ages different lines of action must be followed out. During the first seven

years of life, greatest stress should be laid upon the physical side of the problem. Physical activity should be encouraged, cleanliness hygiene as it relates to sleep and day life must be fostered. Gradually in the course of ordinary mental training facts relating to the biology of life may be instilled without making any definite application of them to sex life itself.

Right conduct towards members of the opposite sex may be claimed on the ground of emotions that exist towards the members of the family of different sex than that of the child being instructed. At this period of time emotional guidance is essential and the moral fibre may be established through religious influences because at this period of life religious feeling is capable of its maximum development. Judgment is not sufficiently well founded to enable children at this age to come unaided to the proper conclusions as to sex conduct, particularly so as the subject is tabooed in the home and the most forceful influences are born of false traditions and gang sex lore. It is important at this particular time to inculcate the principle that health is dependent upon the conservation of chastity. The falsity of the doctrine that continence is incompatible with health must be pointed out; the siren call of the gang must be answered by a constantly echoing call "danger ahead." It is well to point out that the health and strength and vigor of adults and the field idols of youth accomplish their greatest feats through the strength that comes from a life of personal cleanliness. The youthful mind must be taught that incontinence breeds ill-health, physical weakness, mental dullness, moral unworthiness. For some children at this time the physical results of disease that are bred through sexual indulgence have great force. While it is a weak motive to arouse merely a sense of personal fear, at times some children will be found to be swayed more by a sense of personal danger than by any other mode of presentation of the subject. It is far better to seek to point out the dangers of the venereal diseases not to the errant child itself but to his family, friends and the community in which he lives.

At a little later age when adolescence is well underway and the idealism of youth is giving way to the more sound judgment of manhood and womanhood, it is possible to appeal to an altruistic sense that takes cognizance of duty to others and the righteousness of so conducting oneself as to protect the community. It is at this period that appearls are frequently of value based upon the effect of a life of unchastity upon a future home, wife and children.

The purpose of instruction must be to strengthen the will so that it is capable of subordinating emotions, and controlling desires upon the highest ethical grounds. Fear is not a high motive and is a force that is readily overcome by impelling desire when backed up by vicious tradition. Many who would have no fears for themselves would be restrained by a sense of duty to others. The importance of inducing a sense of strength and self-control as the evidence of manhood and womanhood is readily comprehended.

With the few suggestions that I have mentioned based upon actual practice, I may suggest as an outline for treatment: First, the encouragement of outdoor activity; second, the development of elevating mental occupation; third, the creation of a moral sense on altruistic lines, and fourth, the establishment of ethical ideals.

Physical activity involves plays, games, manual work, requiring motor activity. The body should be thoroughly fatigued while interest is held and pleasure is gained. The child should be physically tired so that when he goes to bed he will promptly go to sleep. The period of wakefulness prior to the advent of sleep provides for a period of time when self-abuse is most common. Cool sponging of the genitals before retiring is occasionally of value at puberty, though if possible it is better to avoid any procedure which draws attention to the existence of these organs at this time of the day. A good hot bath is frequently of service in aiding the relaxation so essential to healthful sleep. Upon awakening in the morning, prompt rising should be insisted upon for similar reasons. It is necessary in this connection to again point out the harmlessness of seminal emissions. This becomes of paramount importance in view of the vicious advertisements that abound in our newspapers and in the light of the pernicious influences of the charlatan's booklets whose distribution is so wide-spread.

Mental occupation requires adequate schooling, the encouragement of interest in the phenomena of nature, and a desire for information regarding those things which fill the broad vistas of the senses. In this connection it is essential to correct any physical defects which may lessen the powers of attention of the child, or appear to develop stupidity. Obstructing adenoids, imperfect vision, disorders of locomotion, lack of hearing are all factors in preventing mental occupation.

The moral sense may best be developed on the basis of personal experience, family ties and communal welfare. The church, the children's court, the home and the probation officer, the Boy Scouts, the big brothers and all others engaged in activity with children, must perforce seize the opportunity to give counsel and develop morality. The value of upholding the single standard of morality for both sexes is incontrovertible. The essential morality and sacredness of pro-creation must be established through instruction, whether in the home, the Sunday School or the institution.

Sex instruction presents to a child that knowledge which may be a power for good or for evil. The use to which this sex knowledge may be put depends upon the development of the will of the child so that upon the basis of correct instruction as to sex physiology, psychology and purpose, the child may know evil from right and elect to live voluntarily and gladly a life that will be a credit to himself and the community of which he forms such an essential part. A morality to be a permanent force must be founded on truth, built up by knowledge, and strengthened by reason. A rational ethical intelligence must be developed or the force of morality will not sustain and determine the will to secure the decisive

action so essential for the physical and moral welfare of the individual and the race.

The basis of sex education from the practical standpoint of workers in charities and corrections consists in a recognition of the dangers of false modesty and the imperative necessity of dealing with children frankly and honestly so as to encourage their confidence and secure their co-operation.

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## DISCUSSION.

DR. EVANGELINE W. YOUNG, Boston—The first essential in the equipment of one who would instruct in matters of sex is a wholesome and unembarrassed state of mind toward it. Through an unfortunate heritage of superstitions and false traditions we have come to associate the very word itself with al that is base and unworthy. That which has fallen so low, must be exalted, and this great fundamental law of Nature must be given the status of dignity and beauty which it deserves. All aspects of the subject must be treated reverently, yet without emotionalism or sentimentality.

The second requisite for the successful teaching of sex facts is a comprehensive knowledge of biology. No rational study of sex can be made which neglects a consideration of the manifestations of sex in forms of life lower in the scale than the human. Present-day problems in sex relations may only be interpreted in the light of Nature's intent with regard to this particular device for securing variations. The manifest purpose of sex is to secure infinite variety, and by this variety to insure progress,—evolution. The legitimate curiosity of the young in regard to the origin of life and the processes accompanying it, cannot be gratified by vague explanations based upon the mysterious and the supernatural. Nothing but biologic facts will meet this requirement. When these are properly presented, the romance and the beauty and the sentiment of the subject come of themselves to the child.

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## VENEREAL CONTAGIOUS DISEASES IN CHILDREN.

By William Palmer Lucas, M. D., Boston, Mass.

That venereal infectious conditions exist among children is a fact that is not fully realized even by those who are working continually among them, unless their attention is drawn to it by some individual case. So far there has been no extended investigation of the probable extent of these conditions among school children. This fact led the Massachusetts Society for Sex Education to take up this study, in order to see about how many children in Boston were probably suffering from these conditions, hoping that such evidence might lead to some positive measures being adopted for their control.

The methods adopted in this investigation may seem rather round-

about, but there appeared to be no other way open. School physicians are not permitted to make such complete examinations as would disclose these conditions in the majority of cases; and the school nurses have no definite statistics available on their records from which any data could be gathered. Many of the school nurses were personally interviewed and said they knew of cases, but did not have even an approximate idea of the extent of the diseases. So in gathering the figures for Boston, the following method was adopted:

The records of every institution through which any number of children passed, where physical examinations were made, were analyzed in order to get the approximate number of such cases that were coming to these institutions. These were principally hospitals where children were treated. The following is the list of institutions from which cases were gathered: The Children's Hospital of Boston; The Infants' Hospital of Boston; The Massachusetts General Hospital; The Boston City Hospital; The Boston Dispensary; The New England Hospital for Women, and also The Homeopathic Hospital, and the Board of Health, Vaginal and Gonorrhoeal records. A few cases were gathered from the Juvenile Court and from the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children. No school records were available.

From these ten sources, I was able to collect 2,369 cases of venereal disease among children for the past ten years. Among them there were 1,384 cases of gonorrhoea and 885 of congenital syphilis, of the latter 50 per cent. occurred during the first year of life, placing them unquestionably in the congenital group. Gonorrhoea, however, in comparatively few cases occurred before the first year. The age at which the child was infected dated anywhere from a few weeks up to the time when our investigation closed, 18 years of age. These diseases are certainly innocently acquired up to the age when sexual desire or curiosity is developed, which is differently stated by different physiologists—probably somewhere between the tenth and fourteenth year.

### Causes:

The greater majority of the cases of gonorrhoea probably are acquired innocently as far as the children are concerned and innocently and ignorantly as far as their parents are concerned. Among the causes are the following:

1. By infected clothing and towels, (by far the most frequent cause).

2. By sleeping with an older person, sister or mother, who is infected.

3. Bathing in a common bath tub. Taking a bath after an older sister, without change of water. This has occurred in several swimming tanks. From one source it is reported that 40 children bathed in a common tank with the result that 13 girls became infected with vulvovaginitis, the source of infection being a girl of eight who was found afterwards to have had a slight gonorrhoeal discharge.

Common towels in a household are very often a source of infection even where the common bathtub has not been in use.

4. The type of infection described by Flora Pollack as due to infectionists and occurring very frequently in Baltimore, as far as my own personal experience goes, and as far as I could learn from records, occurs seldom here. This type is caused by a deliberate infection from an adult, given on the hideous superstition that passing this infection on to an untouched virgin will in some mysterious way produce a cure for himself. This ignorant process may be more common than I am aware of here; I have seen only one such admitted case, though at the Children's Hospital we have made a very careful study in trying to find out the source of infection in every case.

5. Among the slightly older children, fondling by older persons—either children or adults—becomes quite a source of infection, and leads later undoubtedly to actual sexual indulgence.

6. Comparatively few cases in this series, except among the older girls, could be laid to direct rape.

7. Hospital infections played some part. These I found had occurred at two or three of the hospitals whose records were made use of.

A certain number undoubtedly acquire these conditions through curiosity or sexual intercourse, after perhaps the age of ten, but more probably from the time that the sexual tendencies begin to develop, which in this climate is about the age of twelve. It was impossible to tell how many of these were actually due to voluntary intercourse and how many were more or less forced. Certainly among the older girls, it would not be placed to anything except direct and voluntary intercourse; and very few accidental infections occur at that age.

## Treatment.

During the past three years, we have made an attempt at the Children's Hospital to have a special treatment clinic for cases of vulvovaginitis—holding the clinic at separate hours from the regular clinic—trying to find out so far as possible the etiology and course of the infection up to the time it came to the Hospital. The treatment of such cases in our hands has been most unsatisfactory. From year to year in our annual reports, we have reported a few cases which we considered cured, but almost invariably they returned some time during the next year with either an exacerbation or reinfection; which, it is impossible to say. So that in the hundred odd cases which we have treated there, rather carefully and with a great deal of persistence, we are unable to report any very successful form of treatment. The complications which we have met with have been those which are met with in the adult, with only one or two exceptions.

From my experience in this clinic I feel very strongly that curative measures in dealing with these gonorrhoeal infections are of comparatively little value, and that our efforts will have to be devoted mainly to prevention. And the only way in which preventive measures can be applied is

in education of the physician, the school teacher and the school nurses; and a complete physical examination with a view to finding out the sources of infection in every school, and so treating or quarantining such cases that they are no longer sources of infection. These examinations need not necessarily be made by the school physician, but certainly a certificate should be given on every case from the family physician. And most of all is education needed in the home; for very few of the mothers who bring these children into the hospitals realize what the infection is; and if by any chance they learn the real nature of the infection with which their children are afflicted, they are deeply distressed and show every sign of not having been acquainted with the real condition. The public needs a carefully directed campaign of education along these lines—not an agitation, but a well-formed campaign of enlightenment. What the ultimate prognosis in these cases is must be left for a future study and one which I hope will be carried on here in Boston in connection with this study already started; for as far as I can find out from the literature, there are no reliable data on how lasting the results of these infections are. Do they lead to sterility, as does the gonococcus infection in the adult? Do they lead to as high a percentage of pelvic operations as does this infection in the adult, are questions which as yet so far as I know have not been investigated. How many carry the marks of these infections throughout life, it is impossible to say; but if one can judge from the chronicity and resistance with which they withstand all treatment through years, one can well imagine that many of these cases carry their infection throughout life, and are heir to all the ills and sorrows which gonorrheal infection carries with it.

Syphilis, however, among children, is principally of congenital origin. There are relatively few cases acquired until after puberty. Of the cases collected 50 per cent. occurred during the first year of life. The death rate of congenital syphilis is very high, being from 50 to 80 per cent. Certainly over 80 per cent. of still-born children, and of miscarriages, and of children dying during the first day or two of life, can be attributed to syphilitic infection. In an investigation which I carried on at the Children's Hospital, in following up the present condition of 100 cases of congenital syphilis, I found that one-third of these had died; that one-third (as far as could be made out from the cursory home examination) were apparently normal, though whether they were slightly nervous or had some slight retardation, it was impossible to ascertain, and some were too young for these defects to have shown themselves. One-third, however, were admitted by the parents to be deficient or backward, and many of these parents asked that special training be given to their children, as they were unable to have them properly attended to and they were certainly not doing well in school. As far as the school facilities go, these children are kept in the regular grades and no definite or special attention paid to them. They are, however, a class which need special attention and special super-

vision over a good many years; and certainly it would be an economic proposition for the state to take them into consideration as from them come a large number of the deficient and backward children who are found in the schools.

The significance of this investigation so far as the present incidence of these two diseases in our Boston schools is concerned is relative rather than absolute. By taking the incidence during these ten years and averaging them, we see that there are about 125 cases of gonorrhoeal-vaginitis, and about 90 cases of syphilitic infection entering the schools each year; and certainly the 125 cases of gonorrhoeal-vaginitis are so many direct sources of infection which are constantly multiplying themselves. It would be fair to estimate, I think, that there were at least the number tabulated here in the schools of Boston, and probably five times as many; for, be it understood, these infections are not by any means found only among the class which seek medical attendance at the various hospitals, but exist uniformly throughout every class of society.

There are no two diseases in medicine which more need to be combatted almost entirely from the preventive side if we hope to gain any permanent results. Whether they continue to exist or not depends on what attitude the present generation, and especially the present educational system, assume toward these infections.

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## NEUROLOGICAL ECONOMICS.

A Plea for the Recognition and Regulation of Venereal Diseases by the State. By Foster Kennedy, M. D., F. R. S., Chief of the Neurological Clinic, Cornell University Medical College.

The presence of a neurologist at a meeting of this kind seems to warrant some explanation. Formerly the neurologist was content to remain aloof from public questions of vital moment, in an inner sanctum studying dead cells in microscopic sections. Now it behooves him to come out of his sequestration and take part in what must be the most important battle to be waged by civilized peoples, for the curtailment, and if it be so allowed, for the obliteration of venereal disease.

No one but the neurologist can form any conception of what constitutes the aftermath of syphilis. The victim of the disease in its initial stages goes to a skin-doctor, is treated, and disappears. It is to the nerve doctor he is brought when his memory fails, when his speech betrays him, when his legs are powerless; it is the neurologist who sees the palsied and half-imbecile child. The storm is over, but the flotsam and jetsam of the wreck are strewn broadcast, and in all the community only the class of men to which I belong can form any conception of the extent of the damage done to humanity.

As to the extent of incidence of the initial symptoms of gonorrhea

and of syphilis you have probably been surfeited with figures: two or three will now suffice. Competent observers in England, America and Germany put the percentage of males infected with gonorrhea at 75 to 80. "In its prevalence it is thus only second to measles, and in the gravity of its results scarcely second to tuberculosis." Fifty per cent. of involuntarily sterile marriages are due to this disease; in the vast majority of these cases the husband has acquired gonorrhea before marriage, and through ignorance and inadequate treatment has infected his wife, perhaps years after the local signs of the condition have ceased to be obvious.

Forty per cent. of the inmates of our asylums for the blind are there because of gonorrhoeal infection of the eyes at birth.

As regards syphilis, it appears that in Europe, at least 20 per cent. of the people have been infected. In Toulouse, Audry cites 18 per cent.; in Copenhagen where notification is obligatory, the number sinks to 4 per cent. Not less than a quarter of a million cases of venereal disease occur each year in New York City alone. The yearly number of men invalided by venereal disease in the German army equals one-third of the total number wounded in the Franco-Prussian war.

In Manhattan State Hospital for the Insane is an average daily population of 4,700 patients; 19 per cent. of these mentally afflicted patients are there definitely as a result of antecedent syphilis; applying to these figures those representing the cost to the state percapita for maintenance and those representing the average period of residence of each patient, we find that the cost to the State of these present residents of a single mental hospital for the use of a restricted social class, insane through a disease preventable by the state, will be $2,487,405. Add to this figure those similarly obtained from other hospitals in the state and the loss to the state of the earnings of these people, the cost of maintenance and loss of potential earnings from defective offspring—add again to these figures those of the vast army of the paralyzed, each a center of danger and often of destruction—add to these hospital figures the number of upper class people treated at their own homes and in doctors' offices and one gets a figure that in all conscience should stagger humanity. The cost to the British nation of venereal disease in the army, navy and government departments alone amounts each year to nearly $40,000,000 dollars. What are we going to do?

The public must be educated to understand the terror in the midst of which they live. The subject must be made common knowledge. The services of the press, if need be, must be enlisted. The man in the street must be made to feel that these diseases are no different from other diseases, that they are no more the scourge of God than is typhoid fever, that they are sad happenings, not sins, and that they must be treated and dealt with rigorously and scientifically, if they are to be mitigated or wiped out. I cannot discuss the merits and demerits of the various methods that might be adopted; I can but state what seems to me to be the best.

These diseases should be made compulsorily notifiable to the board of health.

Two years ago such a measure would have been of no avail beyond the collection of valuable statistic which are now almost lacking. But now, we can act. Formerly the treatment of gonorrhea was empirical to a degree; now, by the combined use of the endoscope and the electric cautery, concealed infected areas can be as successfully dealt with as though they were in full view. Formerly, syphilitic patients were regarded as infective for five years, despite treatment; now we believe that they can be made free from damage to others in as many weeks.

Further, in the Wassermann blood serum test, we can apprise precisely any given patient's infectivity whether he be obviously ill or no. Because of these weapons in our hands, we feel bound to call the state to do its share in rounding up the enemy to be fought.

Treatment must be compulsory and the nature of the case and its manner of treatment must be reported to the authorities. Treatment must be free. Free dispensaries, holding evening hours, must be established.

The communication of venereal disease should be punishable by fine or imprisonment, for not more than two years. Any person transmitting the disease should be responsible for the medical expenses of and for compensation to the person infected. You may say it would be impossible to trace and prove infection. One can answer, it would be easier to do so than to prove paternity in the case of illegitimate children, and this the courts undertake to do every day.

Lastly, let all young men and women know of the dangers of life. Let us remember that the source of all this evil lies in the simple fact that civilization has brought it about that while a man is sexually mature at 18, he is economically mature, at least in the upper classes, among whom contagious disease is most prevalent, at about 32. So—it is the duty of civilization to provide that through this period of stress, ignorance at least be cast forth.

And in reply to the sentimentalists, I would say that fresh air never yet destroyed romance, and that health, courage and a clear vision can do much to make a greater and more lasting romance, which will not be snuffed out, as now too often happens, at the start of life, like a smoky candle in a foul wind.

## SOME SEX PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED BY SOCIAL WORKERS.

By George L. Jones, General Secretary, Henry Watson Children's Aid Society, Baltimore.

(Condensed.)

To the social worker it is given as to no one else to observe the prevailing moral standards of his community. It is his function to reckon with all the family, neighborhood, city and state problems, ranging from the personal, in case work, to the general information obtainable through surveys, investigations and the tabulation of results affecting both public and private administration of charity and correction. Within this range of inquiry the sex problem has many and varied aspects.

1. First among the sex problems encountered by social workers is the prevailing conception of sex morality. It finds expression in the withholding of knowledge intended to prepare children for life, and in a lack of sympathy for the erring which mercilessly drives the weak and friendless to self abandonment.

Every social worker knows that a girl finds it more difficult than a man to overcome sex indiscretion, and if the indiscretion results in motherhood the difficulty becomes almost insurmountable. When the mother courageously takes up the responsibility of caring for her child, it is almost impossible to find a place for her where she will not be advised by persons of respectability to cast the babe aside and hide her shame. The odium attached to her condition is not the offense of sexual abuse, but the fact that she is an unmarried mother.

2. Another problem encountered is that of venereal disease.

A mother of refinement stated the following facts to one of the workers in our office a few days ago: Her husband had deserted after infecting the wife with gonorrhea. The baby of seven months was totally blind and the eyes of a little girl of three were at that time badly infected.

Dr. Flora Pollock, who has given nine years of study to the sex problem in connection with her work in the Johns Hopkins Dispensary and her private practice, estimates that in Baltimore from eight hundred to one thousand venereal infections take place every year in which the subjects are children. This estimate is based on her own records, information supplied by medical men in private practice, police court records and other reliable sources.

Dr. Pollock's charts show that the greater number of children infected are six years and younger; and of these the white children outnumber the colored. "In studying the total number of both whites and blacks (184)," says Dr. Pollock, "we find the pitiful fact that there are almost as many children, nineteen in fact, of three years, as of fifteen years of whom there are twenty, or of five and six years, of whom we find twenty and twenty-one respectively." Continuing she says: "It is not only the child of the slums and of ignorant parents who is the

victim, but every girl baby in the city (yes even the boy) is in danger of infection''

These numerous infections of children, Dr. Pollock traces to the following causes:

First, carelessness and ignorance on the part of parents of the infectious character of the disease. Second, the abuse of the child by the deliberate infectionist acting under the superstition that by communicating the disease to an ''untouched virgin'' a cure may be effected. Third, the assault of the sadist, who seeks abnormal sex gratification.

3. One of the most universal of sex problems is masturbation. The real origin of immorality among children lies in the common predisposition to a vicious conception of life, which results from neglect. A study of fifteen children between four and twelve years of age, treated by the Children's Aid Society, shows that in eleven instances moral exposure to the sexual indiscretion of parents or older associates in the home were directly responsible for children forming immoral habits.

**Mothers and Infants.**

There is one other sex problem encountered by social workers to which I would call your attention, viz: the problem of illegitimacy. The seriousness of this problem may be best understood in the light of such information as was obtained by the Maryland Children's Aid Society last year in its study of the causes of child dependency. It was conservatively estimated that at least a thousand children are born to unmarried mothers every year in the city of Baltimore. This estimate is based upon hospital records and the records of various charities dealing with the problem. It is generally supposed by those in position to know that between one and two thousand criminal abortions are performed yearly. Beginning with these general facts, a case study of one hundred and ninety-four mothers with infants was made with a view to finding out the remote and underlying causes leading up to the pregnancy of unmarried girls and women. Analysis of the facts brought to light the following suggestive information.

Forty-five or twenty-three per cent. of these mothers lost by death or desertion their own mothers in early childhood and were compelled to shift for themselves. In the great majority of cases they went to work either at domestic service or in the factory, their associates and home conditions being determined largely by their weekly earnings. Sixty-four or thirty-three per cent. went to work at or under the tender age of twelve years and for most part at employment unsuited to their mental and moral development. Thirty-three or seventeen per cent. were reared in homes morally unfit, one or both parents having an immoral record sufficiently definite to constitute moral exposure of the growing child. Four or two per cent. were unhappy in their homes, as the result of the second marriage of the surviving parent. Forty-five or twenty-three per cent. were not, at the time pregnancy took place, earning sufficient income for their bare necessities. A number which cannot be

determined exactly were making a bare living at the time, but had no surplus for legitimate amusements and recreation. Sixteen mothers or eight per cent. were pronounced defective mentally by the examining physician. The actual per centage of sub-normal girls was much greater than these figures indicate as a definite diagnosis in these cases was difficult to obtain, making it impossible to tabulate accurately.

The following causes are given here as the best judgment of those who have been associated for two years with the mothers and babies under supervision of the society and who have had an opportunity to repeatedly check up the evidences:

1. Seduction under the promise of marriage. 2. Unemployment combined with the necessity of self-support. 3. The necessity of self-support and inadequate income. 4. Ignorance of dangers accompanying certain forms of harmful amusements and the use of stimulants. 5. Degeneracy and feeble-mindedness. 6. Quarreling in the home. I need not add that in hardly a single instance did we find a mother who had had an education in matters of sex, such as to prepare her to resist the temptations to which she was subject.

It may be interesting to note here that in forty-five instances the responsibility of the paternity of the child was fixed by the courts. This small per centage was not due to lack of evidence but rather to the lack of chivalry on the part of the man. He often hides himself behind the cowardly accusation that others are responsible, the evidence to the contrary, or he assumes that he cannot be held responsible and uses every subterfuge to avoid the enforcement of the law, or he runs away. His is the double standard and he has little sense of responsibility. The reason for this is not hard to understand. Society has so long placed his burden as well as her own upon the woman that he sees no reason for changing his attitude or accepting his share of responsibility.

I have only suggested some of the problems encountered by social workers here, there are others which might be mentioned. The important thing is to find out what the relation of social workers and social agencies is to these problems. My limited search for material to use in this paper convinces me that the social agencies in Maryland have as yet made little progress in definitely tabulating or interpreting the sex aspect of their problems; in fact they seem to have received very little emphasis. The records of treatment I have studied are vague and show such lack of insight and frankness as to lead to the conclusion that social workers, at least those whose work I have had opportunity to observe, have as yet not even made a beginning in the study of sex problems.

It is essentially a part of the social worker's program to use wisely his experience acquired in dealing with sex problems and to aid in effectively planning a campaign which will be corrective and educational. May I be permitted to urge the need of the united effort of all social workers and agencies touching every field of activity in the community to give specialized study within the limits of their experience of sex problems?

This study to include thorough treatment of individual cases, and groups where responsibility is accepted. And an analysis by means of expert medical service of the psychological and social factors involved. This work should be directed and carried out by expert investigators with constructive imagination and technical knowledge of sex hygiene, and the results classified in such a way as to make a valuable record serviceable for future guidance.

Uniform records and the aid of a statistician would make possible the bringing together in classified order the accumulated experience of the community in dealing with sex problems, and the using of the knowledge thus acquired as a preventive of sex immorality by laying a foundation for constructive community education.

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## NEWER METHODS OF ATTACKING COMMERCIALIZED VICE.

By Clifford G. Roe, General Counsel and Executive Secretary American Vigilance Association.

**Abstract.**

We are living in a remarkable age. Remarkable not alone for its wonderful inventions and development of commerce is this age, but also for its scientific research to overcome disease, plague and poverty.

Most remarkable of all, however, is the turning of the searchlight of science upon a remedy for ignorance of moral efficiency and for overcoming commercialized vice. It has truthfully been said that some form of immoral traffic in women and girls is almost as old as the world in which we live. And to overcome this ancient inheritance in this late age seems impossible. Yet genius and science have undertaken this seemingly impossible task of actively attacking commercialized vice by way of newer methods.

The old methods, through all ages, have been regulative. "The attitude of States and Governments toward prostitution has been based upon an assumption which involves two fundamental errors. These are:

"First: That as an institution, it is a necessity, which may be regulated but cannot be suppressed.

"Second: That a varying proportion of women must always exist as chattels to be hired, bought or sold, as a sacrifice to the lusts of men."

This has been and is a discrimination in favor of the strong against the weak. The newer methods are based on a more just and equitable assumption, which is, that commercialized vice is a moral fault which can be entirely eliminated.

In other words, those who have made a scientific study of this, have adopted the attitude of constant repression as the immediate method and absolute suppression as the ultimate ideal.

Therefore, for the first time in history the idea of regulation of vice has been cast aside. It is realized that the ideal will not be at-

tained until moral codes and customs will have been changed through education and enlightenment. As present customs have developed through ages, it is not hoped that they will be changed in a year, a decade or perhaps a century, yet thinking men and women of to-day believe that by persistent effort commercialized vice can be annihilated. This belief has been attained within the past few years because of the efforts made against the traffic in women commonly known as "white slavery."

The attention of the civilized world has been called to this nefarious traffic since 1875, but only in the past six years has the importance of this traffic been impressed upon educators, professional and business men and women.

The attack upon "white slavery" has opened the eyes of the thinking world to the possibility of overcoming commercialized vice. It has brought out clearly the unfairness of the double standard of morals. It has brought to light the fact that the whole problem is one of supply and demand. It has convinced parents that the ignorance of children is not innocence. It has proved that commercialized vice is the breeder of diseases which run manhood, cause blindness to babies and are responsible for coutless surrgical operations upon mothers.

Science says that by adopting practical methods commercialized vice can be overcome. The newer methods for attacking commercialized vice are, therefore, scientific.

The methods include the passage of laws to suppress vice, not to regulate it. Further, the enforcement of all laws against vice. Then, through sex education, to enlighten parents and children. And lastly, through a persistent campaign to change the attitude toward the double standard of morals.

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## WHAT HEALTH AUTHORITIES CAN DO TO PREVENT VENEREAL DISEASES THROUGH THE MARRIAGE LICENSE AND SEX EDUCATION.

By George W. Goler, M. D., Health Officer, Rochester, N. Y.

When the communicability of infectious diseases by contact began slowly to make itself known, both society and the law divided these diseases into two general classes. In one class were placed such diseases as smallpox and measles: both made reportable and quarantinable. In another class such diseases as syphilis and gonorrhea; in few places reportable and rarely quarantinable. Where infectious diseases such as smallpox and measles are confined in the hospitals to be found in most cities, even when they are isolated in the home, they are in most cases detained until the danger from infection has passed. But most of our syphilis and gonorrhea is treated by physicians as office cases, the patients are allowed to pursue their vocations and even when they are confined in the hospitals they do not always remain until all danger from

contact infection has passed. Cases of venereal disease discharged from a hospital, while still infectious, or infectious cases allowed to be at large by the physician, are more dangerous to the public health than cases of measles or smallpox; and the hospital or physician permitting infectious cases of venereal disease to mingle with the well is doing an act quite as dangerous as the house in the red-light district which sends forth fresh cases of venereal diseases to mingle with a more-or-less unsuspecting public.

The needless and careless sacrifice of woman's health and child life, through venereal diseases, make our present protective measures and our hospital care of measles and smallpox on one hand and of syphilis and gonorrhea on the other, a fraud or sham. Uneducated in sex hygiene, unprotected from infection by the state, man acquires the venereal diseases communicating them to others—to his wife and, possibly, to his children. Thus we endanger our men and women by needlessly exposing them to venereal diseases; we sacrifice our infants and penalize our adolescents. Those who escape the dangers of hereditary or acquired venereal disease, and those children of infected parents who remain uninfected through infancy and adolescense, we later expose without sex knowledge to syphilis and gonorrhea. Drained of their health, we offer to them the prospect of the hospital, the prison or the asylum and the grave.

For these reasons it seems that the protection of the child's life must begin with the marriage of its parents. Fit marriages are as really the commencement of parenthood as the blossoming of the flower is the beginning of potential fruit in the plant. Only the wildest storm can prevent fruition in the perfect flower or in the woman in complete marriage; for in every sense new life begins with marriage. We may begin to protect the married and the potential offspring of marriage by supplementing already existing law, through the marriage license issued by the health departments; or by enacting laws requiring a marriage license to be issued from health departments. We shall also have to invoke the aid of sex education before marriage. We may then slowly begin to control marriage by the marriage license. No marriage license should at first be unduly restrictive. Beyond the usual questions relating to name, social conditions, etc., both prospective bride and groom should be required to state whether they have any disease that should prevent them from entering into the marriage contract. If either one or the other, or both are syphilitic, gonorrheaic or evidently tuberculous, a license should be refused and marriage denied them. In any case, each applicant for a marriage license should receive a small, clear, concisely worded booklet, stating the dangers of venereal diseases and tuberculosis to the married and to the offspring; describing the care of the child; explaining the duty of the mother to nurse her child; and insisting that upon a properly selected and well qualified obstetric attendent depends not only the conduct of the mother through the pains of maternity, but the future health of herself and her child.

A sex story that the mother may tell her child ought at the same time to be given to the prospective bride.

Further and most important; there should be connected with every health office issuing marriage certificates, at least, two highly trained and tactful physicians—a man and a woman—whom bride and groom-elect might consult regarding marriage. Both of these physicians should be especially prepared for this most important kind of work. About the consultation between prospective bride and groom and these physicians there is to be nothing compulsory; it is to be private and confidential. The physicians are to be gratuitously at the service of people applying for a marriage license, if the applicants desire such service. The aim of the plan is the protection of the health of those contemplating marriage and of children yet unborn.

Could such a plan as this be instituted, health authorities would have another means for preventing disease and protecting health at the very beginning of life. For it is only through perfected records of marriage, birth, disease and death, that the state can make a plan and formulate a policy for the prevention of disease, the prolongation of life and the promotion of happiness.

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## DISCUSSION.

VERY REV. WALTER T. SUMNER—I am sure it is not necessary to tell the social worker of the great necessity for statistics. After talking with physicians from San Francisco to Boston, among them the greatest authorities on the communicable diseases, I have learned that the consensus of opinion is that sixty per cent. of all male adults between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four have or have had a venereal disease, and that eighty per cent. of all operations performed on women in hospitals are due to infection by the husband. When we realize that the social evil is leading to sterility, insanity, paralysis, the blind eyes of little babes, physical rot and mental decay to an alarming extent, we shall stop and take account of stock, and see how we can stop these conditions.

It is not for the church to take action with regard to eugenics, primarily. It is not for the legislature to legislate enactments which will carry finally this whole subject. Those who have studied eugenics approach the subject with the greatest humility. It is far beyond our knowledge of the present day. But because it is so stupendous, is that a reason why we should allow a continuance of this wreckage of human life, the passing on of it to the next generation, and constantly increasing physical and mental deficiency of the present generation?

In Chicago—and that is no different from any other community—we spend thousands of dollars and no end of energy in trying to change existing conditions with regard to environment, but not one thing is being done to protect future generations. If a man wants to carry on a

street vender's trade—sell shoe strings or bananas—he has to bring a reputable citizen to vouch for his responsibility. If a man wants to get married, he sticks his name into a wicket, and the name of a similarly unknown female, and they are allowed to become married and to propagate their kind.

As I said, it is not for the church to take action primarily; but it is the place of the church to educate the people. The church has always been a leader in education, and she, God willing, has a duty to perform as leader in eugenics, to educate, as has been said here today, rather than to legislate. When knowledge takes the place of ignorance, then we will find parents doing something to change these conditions.

In the three years that I have been a member of the Board of Education, we have come in constant touch with defective and deficient children. Out of 305,000 children in our public schools every year 6,000 pass through our child-saving department, because they are physically or mentally deficient, or both.

In conversation with the first citizen of the country a few weeks ago he said, "I have to be interested in all sorts of administrative problems. I am exceedingly interested in the industrial situation as it exists to-day. But it will not matter fifty years hence whether the tariff is forty or fifty per cent. higher. This is of supreme importance—whether men and women are good, and whether the home is protected from the onslaught of these awful social diseases, the integrity of the home maintained, and thereby the integrity of the nation."

# Relation of Medical and Social Work

Report of the Committee, by James Alexander Miller, M. D., Chairman.

The natural development of a medical viewpoint by the progressive social worker and the more painful achievement of a social conscience on the part of the conservative medical man, have led us to a common ground upon which we can stand with mutual respect and equal advantage.

In the rapid growth of social service in its various forms there has been need of independent thought and action in order to meet the urgent problems pressing for solution. The cultivation of original resources has been a potent factor in the moulding of social experts, trained largely only in the school of hard experience. It is consequently not surprising should such workers feel that they have developed a social field quite distinct from other kindred but more stereotyped lines of social effort.

It is perhaps wise to pause and consider how nearly this may be true.

The most characteristic expression of our recent notions of medical and social work, appears in hospital social service, and yet when this is carefully analyzed it represents merely an application of modern principles of charitable and social work, by which all of the numerous agencies in the community for the study, prevention or relief of social ills, are placed at the disposal of organized medical institutions, that is the hospitals and the dispensaries.

The scene is changed, the environment different, but the underlying problems are the same ones which have confronted district nurses, settlement workers, or agents of organized charity for many years. Distress or dependence due to disease have always claimed a large share of their attention. Hospital social workers merely have gone a little further and specialized in these conditions to the exclusion of many other social problems.

The real change, amounting really to a revolution, is in quite another direction, namely, in the medical attitude.

Our faltering steps toward the acquisition of a "social sense" still need so much coaxing support, however, that the united effort of the whole army of social workers, by whatever name they may be called, is needed.

Preventable disease is the central object of attack and all the social forces of the community must share in the brunt of the battle.

With this main object in view, it is particularly fortunate that a representative body of social workers should appreciate the importance of combining the medical and social viewpoint in these problems of preventable disease as has been done in this committee of the National Conference.

Emphasize as we may, the social aspects of disease, we cannot eliminate the fact that after all it is the *disease* which confronts us and a proper understanding of it can only be obtained through medical training. Physicians have their legitimate and important place in such a gathering as this and it falls to the lot of this committee to especially further the demands for a sound medical basis, in our efforts to approach many important social problems.

We may decry the social apathy so widely evident among physicians, but we must nevertheless recognize the change in this respect which is overtaking leaders of medical progress. As in many other spheres of modern activity, this is a period of transition in the practice of medicine. Like many other of our institutions, medicine as a science as well as an art, is becoming socialized to a considerable extent and recent tendencies point still further in this direction.

Physicians are now coming to realize that the health of the individual can no longer be considered simply a matter of personal concern, but quite as much one of public interest and responsibility. That our knowledge and our training most more than in the past be placed at the disposal of the community and our efforts directed to further the interest of the common good. Whether we call this state medicine or not, really matters little, but it is certainly socialized medicine.

With these facts before us nothing would be more fatuous

than any effort upon the part of social workers to break away from their dependence upon medical science and its exponents, the physicians, in their efforts to combat preventable disease. To do so would be to undermine the rational basis for well ordered progress with only the inadequate excuse that as individuals, physicians have often failed to realize their social responsibilities.

The field that has lain open to our committee is so comprehensive that it has been necessary to confine our consideration to the more evident and important problems which belong equally to medical and social science.

Our committee has been resolved into several subcommittees each of which has submitted a brief report upon the subject assigned to them, printed copies of which have been placed in your hands. The officers of the committee are deeply indebted to the individual members who have so faithfully and efficiently performed this somewhat thankless task and we wish to gratefully acknowledge the obligation and to express our deep appreciation of the loyal support thus afforded to our plans to place our many sided subject before the conference in a concrete and usable form.

The subjects which we have represented to you are as follows:

1. Certain Important Social Diseases: Tuberculosis, Syphilis, Alcoholism and Hookworm Disease.
2. Infant Mortality.
3. Preventable Blindness.
4. Hospital Social Service.
5. Industrial Diseases.
6. Insanity and Epilepsy.
7. District Nursing.

These reports do not attempt to deal extensively with the subjects involved, but to sum up briefly the present state of our knowledge, to trace its development and to point out the more likely lines of future progress. In all of these the more important points of contact between the medical and social points of view have been emphasized, in an effort to meet the particular objects which this conference may well have in mind.

In these reports certain fundamental principles are involved which are more or less common to all. It will be my endeavor to correlate these in some fashion, so that the main objects of our committee's work may be presented to you as a somewhat harmonious and systematized whole.

1. *The Causation of Disease.*

Knowledge of the causes of the diseases we are studying, is of course a fundamental requirement.

It is important to realize here our obligation to scientific research in many instances, particularly in the diseases caused by infections, such as Tuberculosis, Syphilis, Diarrhoea of Infants, Gonorrhoeal Opthalmia and Hookworm Disease. In all of these conditions, our plans for prevention and treatment are primarily based upon the control of the specific infection, which lends direction and accuracy to our methods.

Scientific medicine has served us well in these instances as well as in many others not mentioned and is constantly reaching out into new fields of inquiry, bit by bit attempting to rescue us from futile and purposeless struggles and gradually to give us a sound basis for effective effort founded upon proven facts.

Not only social workers but medical men also, are too much given to loose thinking in our theories of disease and their causation, and we would do well to constantly keep in mind the importance of obtaining demonstrable truths as an ultimate basis of action. Learning to reason logically rather than jumping at conclusions from insufficient evidence. Letting into our work some of the inspiration of science by appreciating and appropriating the researches of others, even though we may not ourselves share in the researches.

No one influence could be more productive of good in social work than the acquisition of this scientific attitude of mind.

Nor should we make the mistake of thinking that science breeds only in laboratories. It might well be the ambition of every medical and social worker, in some way, be it never so small, to widen the confines of our knowledge, and this can be done by systematic training in logical reasoning and by the cultivation of habits of accurate observation.

The *rapprochement* between medicine and sociology upon which we are felicitating ourselves, could have no single more important effect than to bring to social workers also, that compelling thirst for fundamental truth which is the rational basis of modern scientific medicine.

But, as we well know, not all of our social diseases are as yet accurately ticketed in the catalogue of science. Occupational diseases, Alcoholism, Insanity and other nervous disorders are among those which as yet have escaped inclusion in the germ theory of disease. Our knowlege of their causation have been gathered from study of the personal habits and social environment of large numbers of patients. This knowledge is at present only partial and tentative and social workers have splendid opportunities to make it more complete.

This may be done by accurate observation, careful records and skillful correlation of the facts thus obtained, so that sound deductions may be made from them. As our subcommittees show, the beginnings of our knowledge have usually come from medical initiative, but of late, the study of the many relations between social and economic conditions and these diseases, has been carried on largely by lay workers and it would appear as though we may expect still greater progress through their efforts in the future, as they are becoming more expert in various specialized fields of service.

To social workers, as to physicians, the temptation is great simply to be satisfied with each day's task conscientiously performed, but for those who would really excel, the responsibility for careful research with the aim of adding to our insufficient store of useful knowledge cannot be evaded.

No more fruitful field for such studies exists than that which lies before us in the attempt to disentangle the complicated factors concerned in the causation of the various social diseases.

2. *Early Diagnosis.*

It is interesting to note the similarity between various diseases in the paramount importance of early diagnosis in order to obtain effective treatment.

Tuberculosis, Insanity, Alcoholism, many eye diseases, Syphilis, certain diseases of occupation, such as lead poison-

ing and many others, are comparatively mild affairs in the early stages, but incapacitating, incurable or deadly, when more advanced.

The responsibility for such early diagnosis may be rightly placed upon physicians, but can social workers escape it entirely?

Patients usually consult a physician only after they realize that they are ill or when they find themselves unable to work. The onset of these diseases is generally insidious, so that actual incapacity comes only with advanced disease, too late for cure.

Social workers come closely in contact with the home and family life. If they are wide awake and have learned to recognize the more usual signs of commencing disorder, many are their opportunities to render efficient service by recommending prompt medical advice.

In tuberculosis, for example, it is now a common experience among physicians that the early and favorable cases come to them through the aroused suspicion of some relative or friend, who has learned the danger signals from sanatorium or health resort experience, and has in consequence earnestly urged the medical examination. The physician makes the diagnosis to be sure, but the intelligent friend has made it possible and deserves the credit. So it should be with social workers, only more so.

Well directed reading, or better still, a regular course of instruction in Medical Sociology, should make it possible for any intelligent social worker to recognize the early signs of the more common diseases, and aroused suspicion is frequently all that is needed to afford the opportunity for diagnosis and appropriate treatment.

3. *Adequate Treatment.*

When we pass from diagnosis to treatment we realize that medicine, with the exception of surgery, has made slower progress in this direction. This is partly because our knowledge here, with certain brilliant exceptions, is upon a less scientific basis, and partly because efficient medical treatment usually involves much time and patience with annoying details, which is not easily obtained in hospital and dispensary practice.

It is here that alliance with social workers, especially in

hospital social service, has been so remarkably helpful. In fact it has often been through social investigation that the futility of much of our medical treatment has been disclosed and the way to better things pointed out.

Nowhere is this more evident than in the follow up work with babies and the after care of the insane. In these conditions as in many other familiar instances, notably tuberculosis, the social worker by establishing an intimate relationship between medical institutions and the homes of the patients has made possible the understanding of evident reasons for failure in treatment and has been a potent factor in removing such obstacles.

All through our subcommittee reports, especially those upon hospital social service and district nursing this feature is prominent, and it is the one which has most strongly commended the movement to the perplexed physician, who now would not know which way to turn without assistance which is thus afforded them.

Here again the social worker finds application for her knowledge of the underlying causes of disease, for it is interesting to note how often the principles of adequate treatment for social diseases are merely intensive efforts to secure an environment which shall exclude the unfavorable factors which were concerned in their occurrence and to maintain a maximum of the opposite and favorable influences.

One need only to cite our experience with Infant Mortality and Tuberculosis to make evident how a clear understanding of causation leads immediately to an accurate conception of proper methods of treatment.

4. *Prevention.*

But after all it is for the prevention of disease that our combined medical and social forces are at present directed with the best hope of success.

Perfect as we may our methods of treatment, the results will probably always be unsatisfactory and disappointing.

We have perhaps been too enthusiastic about the curability of these diseases, and appreciation of this fact is already causing a wave of reaction and discouragement, which is most noticeable in the case of tuberculosis.

But if we are wise we will learn to be satisfied with comparatively meager results in terms of patients cured and concentrate our efforts upon the next generation, in the expectation of a healthier race, exhibiting a marked decrease in both sickness and death.

Already we have cheering signs of Infant Mortality and Tuberculosis, but only the merest beginning has been made in our world-wide campaign, and it will fall to the lot of the social workers to take a chief place in what promises to be one of the most remarkable achievements of all history by diminishing human misery and increasing human efficiency.

It is this ideal before us that cheers our hopes and kindles our enthusiasm for the tasks that are at hand.

The methods of operation are manifold.

In tuberculosis it is the segregation of the advanced case, the supervision of suspected or exposed individuals especially the children, and the elimination of untoward factors in environment.

The struggle to save the babies centers about a campaign for more efficient motherhood both present and prospective, and from this it reaches out into every phase of our complicated modern life.

In Insanity and Alcoholism it is eugenies on the one hand, and the relief of undue strain and stress on the other.

In veneral disease, registration seems most urgently needed in order to accurately define the extent of the problem, and after that is secured we will face one of the most complicated campaigns for education and control that has yet confronted us.

In preventable blindness, it is the control of gonorrhoeal disease and the proper care of babies eyes at birth.

In each and every one as well as many other conditions or diseases, it is the gradual operation of all those forces that are making for social and economic betterment in the community, whether through individual effort, organized philanthropy, private institutions, trade organizations, or community effort represented in the local, state, or national government.

This general movement leading to the education of the public, to national organizations, to helpful legislation and to

concerted effort all along the line, is already mainly due to the influence and activities of social workers, and upon them will rest largely the responsibility of developing its tremendous future possibilities.

Of this great campaign, prevention is the keynote.

5. *A Call to Better Citizenship.*

There remains a still wider application of the principles underlying the attempted solution of the great problems which we have been discussing.

They so deeply concern the welfare of the entire community, that no one interested in any of their many phases can fail to appreciate his responsibility beyond the narrower field of individual effort.

The problems are so vast that their solution can never be compassed by private means but must depend upon methods of control planned upon a large scale by our agencies of government.

Our government authorities are becoming aware of this responsibility and have the right to look for the support of physicians and social workers, who as experts, shall guide and advise in the administrative control of preventable disease, whether in federal congress, state legislature or in municipality.

Physicians are notoriously poor citizens. The engrossing nature of their regular tasks may be offered in explanation, but will no longer serve as an adequate excuse, in the light of the clear call to public service to which we have already alluded. They are slowly awakening to an appreciation of this fact.

It is hardly probable that social workers will ever confine themselves quite so exclusively to their individual and immediate tasks as have the physicians in the past. But there is grave danger of it unless we are alive to the possibility.

Our immediate duties are so pressing, the day's hours so full, that we are apt to lose sight of the importance of what the city or state may be planning to do or to what extent and to what purpose public funds are being expended for the betterment of the public health.

To take this interest often entails personal sacrifice or may temporarily interfere with routine tasks, but can we afford to neglect it?

I am not suggesting that every social worker should become a politician or a lobbyist, but rather that he or she shall read widely and think intelligently upon these matters of public concern which are going on about us and of which we are so apt to become oblivious.

Intelligent opinions can thus be formed which it should be our business to express upon every favorable opportunity and thus do our share to mould public sentiment, be our circle of influence large or small, important or restricted.

Let us not become unthinking cogs in a machine even though that machine be the beautiful and engrossing one of social service, but rather respond enthusiastically to this call for a better and higher form of citizenship.

With our traditions, our inspiring tasks and our ideals, it is hardly thinkable that we, either physicians or social workers, will fail in this, our evident responsibility.

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## REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON CERTAIN IMPORTANT SOCIAL DISEASES.

By John R. Shillady, Chairman.

Tuberculosis, hookworm, syphilis and alcoholism are important social diseases because the results in morbidity and mortality are not confined to the individual sick and do not end with the individual's death.

They cannot be solved by social workers alone since the very important first thing in treatment is diagnosis; and diagnosis requires the skill of the trained physician. Diagnosis is of the greatest value, if made early, in the incipient stages of the disease. The physician, as society and the profession are at present organized, is usually dependent for his opportunity to make a diagnosis upon the voluntary call of the patient for that service, i. e., there must be a desire in the patient's mind, which, to use commercial parasecology, creates the "demand" which the physician is able and willing to "supply." This "demand" involves some comprehension on the patient's part of a need and means of obtaining the "supply," i. e., a belief that he needs the skill of a trained medical man, and the ability to pay for that skill in money.

All social diseases at present, so far as individual patients are concerned, are diagnosed in the later, rather than in the earlier, stages of the disease. This is due to the failure of the patient, on the one hand, to realize his need for the physician's services, and on the other, his inability to pay adequately for such service.

Ignorance and poverty, or more correctly, poverty and its resulting ignorance prevents the earlier treatment of the individual, hence his later death, and the spread of the disease to his associates.

The social workers whose first concern was with the poor found that among their clients were many whose poverty was either caused or accompanied by sickness and premature death; and in a large percentage of cases, physicians described the medical phase as tuberculosis, in an appreciable proportion, alcoholism, in some syphilis and in certain geographical areas, hookworm disease. The physician's skill was called into service because the social worker had found a social problem which could not be handled without medical co-operation. The "doctor's dilemma" was that he had diagnosed a disease, but could not accomplish anything but the most superficial and palliative results without dealing with the economic, social and community problem involved in the treatment of the patient and the family of which he was a part.

Here, in brief, lies the foundation of the recognition as social diseases of the four within the province of this committee.

Only socialized medicine can hope to grapple with these diseases as yet, but the beginnings are being made. Only the very rich and the poor have to-day the opportunity for the best modern treatment of any social disease. The social grades between are left to the chance ministrations of an unorganized medical and social system which lacks the co-ordinating of the medical and social factors necessary to a comprehensive and adequate plan of treatment.

It does not follow that the examination by an expert, the "follow up" work of a "social nurse," the farm colony, sanatorium, hospital, or convalescent home, must be provided "free" by governmental or philanthropic funds, but social diseases must have social treatment if we are to get anywhere in our methods of cure or of preventing infection of the well by the sick.

The four diseases considered by the committee are manifestations of a general social maladjustment. Both medical and social workers have been led to realize that the care and treatment of the individul patient could not be successfully undertaken without an understanding of all the factors involved. All the available data at hand points to the existence of these diseases among large numbers of the people in every community. Purely local and special causes are infinitesimal as compared with general social, economic, industrial and moral causes, obtaining universally. As a consequence, measures looking to the

cure of the individual and the protection of the community assume the aspect of community problems.

In syphilis the best informed students of both diseases are in practical agreement with the conclusions of Dr. Prince A. Morrow, in his "Report of Progress" at the Seventh Annual Meeting of the American Society of Sanitary and Moral Prophylaxis, February 8, 1912, "that we shall never deal rightly or effectively with the social evil until we recognize that the prostitute is not so much a culprit or a criminal as a victim of bad social and economic conditions."

The same language could properly be applied to the inebriate and the alcoholic. To apply moral stigmata and the attempt to cure by ethical teaching, moral appeal or through repressive or punitive measures would be of comparatively small moment in attacking the real problem, if unaccompanied by a more far reaching and fundamental handling of the larger social problems involved.

An educational program sufficiently comprehensive to penetrate the dense ignorance of society in general must first of all affirm the right of society to know the facts and be informed as to the necessary knowledge appertaining to the prevalence, causes and remedies for the chief social diseases without prudish and false standards of "morality" intervening.

The entire resources of the social body must be enlisted in the struggle for the elimination of diseases which have their origin and owe their continuance to remediable social conditions.

Socialized means must be found to combat social diseases as the lack of them has proved disastrous in its social consequences.

The relation of industry to the prevalence of the four social diseases within the province of our committee should receive more thorough consideration than has yet been given the subject.

Hospitals, dispensaries, and social agencies could be of greater service if in collecting and compiling data as to occupation and industrial life, the records included a mere complete and more intelligible classification of the essential facts as to kind and duration of employment, whether recognizedly dangerous conditions as to dust, fumes, gases, poisons, fatigue, lack of ventilation, etc., were present in the places of employment, and other important and pertinent data.

This phase of the subject is important enough to warrant the appointment by the National Conference of Charities and Correction of a special committee for the study of records used by medical and social agencies involved in the treatment of individuals and families in which social diseases are a factor, in the effort to ascertain if uniform records could be introduced for more effective classification of industrial and social factors.

This suggestion may be of more than a volunteer committee could undertake. Perhaps the Russell Sage Foundation would think it worth while.

In tuberculosis, one of the most important things, in the language of one of the committee, Dr. Theodore B. Sachs, is "that we have reached a point when the greatest emphasis should be placed on the right kind of hospitals for advanced cases of tuberculosis. The provision is insufficient, and what there is, is inefficient. The formulation of standards of construction, medical and nursing regime, as well as diet, should come, (from the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis) after a thorough investigation of conditions all over the country." Dr. Sachs is the chairman of a committee appointed by the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, to study this problem and report upon the formulation of proper standards. It is expected that with the elevation of the administrational and medical standards of our hospitals for advanced cases, and an increase in the number of well-managed institutions, the advanced consumptive will willingly go and stay there, thus sparing his family and associates from the inevitable infection.

A more aggressive method of finding the patient must be pursued. Dispensaries generally attract patients, those who come without special solicitation, at least, in straitened circumstances, who, upon diagnosis, are found to be in an advanced stage of the disease. The plan formulated by Dr. Sachs for the detection of early cases of tuberculosis among workmen deserves attention. He suggests the examination of employes by physicians in the factories as an essential next step in tuberculosis work, and says: "The tuberculosis patient should be discovered in the early stages of the disease, while he is at work, not when he is down and out."

Adequate treatment of alcoholism involves in the language of Dr. Irwin H. Neff, (a) "the detection of inebriety in the formative stage and the institution of educational and proper medical treatment (b) the care of the 'rounder', who usually frequents almshouses and is a public charge; (c) the state care of the inebriate in farm colonies should be encouraged on grounds of public necessity, economy, and well-being; (d) specific and authentic instruction in schools and public gatherings of the effects of alcohol, should be inaugurated, in place of the often distorted and misleading teaching now given in many places."

Syphilis must be overcome largely by education measures, the basis of which will be: (1) The general dissemination of knowledge among the public, in a proper and discreet manner, of the extent and dangers of these diseases, (venereal diseases), and their modes of contagion direct and indirect. (2) The enlightenment of the public respecting the social dangers of these diseases, especially to the innocent members of society through their introduction into marriage.

The education of young people in a knowledge of their physical selves and of the laws and hygiene of sex. Since the ordinary chan-

nels of communication with the public and which serve for its enlightenment are not available, the only practical means of disseminating this knowledge is through lectures, conferences, pamphlets, printed slips and other educational literature.

Hookworm disease is now being studied and combatted by the very efficient and well equipped Rockefeller Sanitary Commission, an ideal socialized agency. The Commission has undertaken three definite tasks: "To determine the geographic distribution of the infection and to make a reliable estimate of the degree of infection for each infected area; to cure the present sufferers; and to remove the source of infection by putting a stop to soil pollution."

The Commission adopted the State as the unit of organization and work, and enlisted the co-operation of the State Boards of Health, recognizing in the beginning that no volunteer agency could take the place of the State as the responsible organization for the health and well-being of its own people.

The Commission very early realized its problem as as much social as medical, and, in its preventive aspect, almost wholly social. Education of the people has gone along with the organization of other phases of the work. The relation between the poverty and ignorance of the people and the disease is clearly evident.

For the better co-ordination of medical and social work, the subcommittee recommends to the general committee on medical and social co-operation, the following suggestions to the workers in each community.

1. A close co-operation of all the medical and social agencies in every community for the study and treatment of social diseases in which their work is involved.

2. Registration in a central registration bureau of all patients treated by any agency.

3. A co-operative social service committee, composed of representatives of all agencies, medical and social, for review of all problems affecting patients or families, common to all of them.

4. Close co-operation of medical and social agencies with factory inspectors, health officers, and agents, and other public "social workers."

5. Courses in medical schools and to hospital nurses on the social side of these diseases by social workers; and instruction of social workers in medical phases of the problems involved.

6. That the attention of relief agencies and associated charities, be called to the advisablilty of requiring district visitors to have medical as well as social training, wherever sufficient compensation is to be paid the worker to make such requirement reasonable.

7. The continued insistence by all medical and social agencies of adequate minimum standards of living for every family and an adequate wage for all, both men and women, sufficient to support them-

selves and dependents; no working person over eighteen to receive a wage which is merely supplementary to "family income," in order that economic needs may not result in the social diseases considered by the committee.

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## REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON INFANT MORTALITY.

The knowledge that Infant Mortality is high has existed practically since the dark ages. The realization that it is excessive and largely preventable is of recent date.

The social side of the problem attracted attention in the 18th century, but it was chiefly from the standpoint of the mother that it attracted attention. In France in 1784 Beaumarchais suggested the modern idea of helping a poor nursing mother, not by an asylum for harboring her baby while she worked, but by giving her enough money in installments, so that she could do some work, nurse her baby, and keep her home together.

Newman quotes a report in 1775 that in a certain province of Finland the women began to work in the fields to a greater extent, and resorted to the method of hanging a bottle of sour milk over the baby's crib. It was soon found that the mortality among these babies increased enormously; and an investigation was carried out. As a result a tract was prepared urging those women to go back to previous methods and nurse their children. A royal edict was promulgated imposing a fine of $10 upon any mother whose baby died and who had not nursed it for the first six months.

The relation of social conditions to Infant Mortality came to the front about 1850. Numerous studies were made in England and France into economic conditions affecting Infant Mortality. Sir John Simon in 1858, in his report to the Privy Council of England, said "Infants perish in the neglect and mismanagement which their mothers' occupation implies." Dr. Greenhow, at about the same time, said: "The employment of women in factories seems to aggravate the infantile mortality." Even earlier than this, about 1843, some statistics were published dealing with the mortality among children in the different classes of society. It was not until about 1870 that much was done in handling this problem.

Whether there is a dual aspect of the problem depends upon what is meant by the practice of medicine. If practice consists in the dispensing of drugs there is a duality. The attention of the world was called to the problem through the work of physicians chiefly, and it has been their suggestion which is chiefly responsible for the undertaking of various means in vogue. There is no field of work where the social and medical aspects are so absolutely bound together as in the prevention of Infant Mortality. In work among the poor the physician

must and does rely to a great extent upon the trained social worker for carrying out the principles he lays down. The social worker does and must rely upon the physician for laying down those principles and for estimating the results.

With the coming to the front of prevention various new methods were tried. Prevention means education. Newman says, "The problem of Infant Mortality is not one of sanitation alone, or housing, or indeed of poverty as such, but is mainly a question of Motherhood." "The child . . . depends for its life in the first twelve months, not upon the state or the municipality, nor yet upon this or that system of creche or milk feeding, but upon the health, the intelligence, the devotion and maternal instinct of the mother. And if we would solve the great problem of Infant Mortality, it would appear that we must first obtain a higher standard of physical motherhood. Without a moment's hesitation, I place this need as the first requirement. Other things are important, but this is the chief thing. And, therefore, in the consideration of any measure for reducing the Infant Mortality, we must first attempt to solve the problem through the mother."

In 1876 in France was formed the Society for Nursing Mothers. In France such associations are private in character, but receive subsidies from the general and local government according to the amount of work done and its character. The society above mentioned has changed its methods. Since 1892 it has been carried on somewhat as follows: A refuge is provided where mothers are received during pregnancy. No questions are asked. About half of them have been unmarried women. Ten thousand have been received between 1892 and 1904. They are given light work to do, such as preparing the baby's outfit, and are taught the general principles of hygiene and housekeeping together with moral instruction. They are transferred at term to lying-in institutions, and from there passed on to the second activity of the association. An allowance is granted them during the first year so that they may continue to be with their babies and nurse them. Each woman is placed under the charge of a lady patroness who keeps track of the mother and gives her her allowance and sees that she is living up to her part of the agreement; 39,119 children have been so cared for.

The Mothers' Mutual Aid Society in France has been in existence since 1891. Its object is to provide sufficient funds to mothers so that they may not have to work immediately after child-birth. This work has been augmented by association with milk stations and "Consultations de Nourrissons." In 1894 Mme. Coulettes began her restaurants in Paris, five of which now exist. Two good meals a day are provided to nursing mothers free. The cost is less than 4 cents a meal. No questions are asked. The requirements are, "They are mothers—they are hungry." The idea is that it is cheaper and better to feed

two with one square meal than to provide expensive and difficult modification of milk through distributing centers.

The education of mothers is carried on extensively in England, or the beginnings have been made in many places. Ninety-two such schools, under various names, were in existence in Great Britain in 1910. They work chiefly with mothers after the birth of the child and in some cases include the mothers' restaurant feature.

Consultations with mothers were started in 1892 in Paris by Pierre Boudin in connection with the maternity clinic at the "Charite." They are exclusively for nursing mothers. Dr. Dufour started the "Gouttes de lait" at Fecamp in 1894 with the distribution of modified milk under medical supervision. Instruction is the keynote of both systems. Mr. Strauss in 1893 started milk stations in this country. Instruction was not made a prominent feature and has become less so each year. The first station in England was founded at St. Helen's, Lancashire, 1899. There are now very many of these stations scattered all over France and England.

Dr. Newman says there are four essentials in running milk stations:

**First.** Absolute control of milk and the avoidance of the fallacy of sterilizing dirty milk.

**Second.** Medical supervision of the entire management of the depot and the infants using the milk.

**Third.** Discriminating and careful distribution of the milk only to infants who cannot be breast fed.

**Fourth.** Systematic study of the effects of the milk upon the child.

In the United States milk station work has been chiefly confined to the distribution of already modified milk. It is only within the last few years that home modification has been resorted to. This brings in the social element of education of mothers. Also milk stations have chiefly been run during the summer months and, even when education is made an important feature, it is thus only applicable for a short time, it fails to accomplish great and permanent results.

A very large number of cities are now carrying on milk station work, chiefly through private philanthropy. That milk stations when carried on along the lines mentioned by Newman, with emphasis laid on education of the mother, can accomplish much there is no doubt. The results in New York City last year, where an extensive campaign was waged by the Health Department, New York Milk Committee, Diet Kitchen Association and others prove it conclusively. There were nearly 1,200 fewer deaths under one year in the city than in 1910 and over 900 less than in 1909. The Infant Mortality rate which was 127.9 in 1908, 129.9 in 1909 and 125.6 in 1910 dropped to 111.6 in 1911.

In the United States the education of mothers especially beginning before the birth of the child, is a recent development and has

been carried on in a haphazard and very small way. Very little is said about it and it is impossible to find out much. It is being carried on in Boston and New York, by private organizations. The problem of education of young girls in hygiene, is also coming to the front. England has adopted a tentative plan for educating its future mothers in the higher schools. France is also struggling with the problem. In New York the Little Mother's League is attempting to do the same thing along slightly different lines. Social Service Departments of Hospitals and Dispensaries are featuring more and more the prevention of Infant Mortality through the education of the mother. In all our great cities and in many of the smaller ones, active, painstaking work is being carried on along some or all of these lines. The great stumbling block to a more complete success lies in the lack of information as to what is being done and the methods used. This is in part due to the petty jealousies between organizations, and to lack in most cases of any attempt at co-operation. It results in a tremendous waste of money and duplication of effort.

The National Association for the Study and Prevention of Infant Mortality is attempting to fill the need by acting as a general clearing house for such information, and deserves the cordial co-operation and support of every organization in the country.

The separation of the social and medical, or better, pharmaceutical, sides of the problem are a distinct disadvantage. So long as responsibility can be shifted by physician or social worker, just so long will results fail to be obtained. The program that promises the greatest permanent success is one based on:

1. **Education** of the mother, of the father, of the physician, of the social worker.
2. **Publicity.** Making available to all the experience of each.
3. **Co-operation.**

**Education** of the mother can be carried out by milk stations, which encourage breast feeding, give expert medical advice, see that this advice is understood and carried out by the use of trained nurses Their home visiting gives opportunity for personal instruction in hygiene where it must be applied. Pre-natal care and advice and instruction is essential in the campaign and can also be carried out through the milk station, and every organization doing district work.

Of the future mother, by such methods as Little Mothers' League, and making such instruction a part of the compulsory public school education.

Of the father, through working men's clubs, and organizations, churches, etc., explaining the need of preventive methods, rarely appreciated by the working man.

Of the physician, in the social aspects of medicine, and their relation to the prevention of infant mortality.

Of the Social Worker in the principles of hygiene and the facts of Infant Mortality, as is done in schools of philanthropy, etc.

**Publicity.** Through the aid of some such organization as the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Infant Mortality. It is only applying business methods to philanthropy. Every organization should be able to profit by the experience of others.

**Co-Operation.** Utilizing the existing agencies in any locality, saving an enormous amount of duplication of effort.

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## REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON PREVENTION OF BLINDNESS.

By Lucy Wright, Chairman.

### Beginnings.

Two interesting things about the recent movement for prevention of blindness and conservation of eyesight from the standpoint of medical-social work, are that the immediate practical means by which this subject was brought effectively to general lay attention were:

1. Some of our schools for the blind **kept careful records through ophthalmologists**, of the causes of blindness in children who came to them, and,*

2. At least one **ophthalmologist, with a profoundly social point of view**, pointed out to his own profession with such force that it came to the ears of individual philanthropists and social workers, a single fact, appalling alike from medical, social or purely economic point of view,

Although in 1881, Professor Crede, of Leipsic, made the wonderful discovery that a single drop of 2 per cent. solution of silver nitrate dropped from a glass rod to the eyeball of a new born infant, would destroy the germs of ophthalmia neonatorum should any be present, and would not injure a healthy eye, still, in 1900-1910 at least 25 per cent. of children in schools for the blind in the United States are blind as a result of this disease.

### Growth

A third point of interest about this movement is that the combination of medical and social attention to this single most obvious aspect of preventable blindness, not only has led to interest on the part of the public in one aspect after another of the problems of eye protection, but has **precipitated new methods of work** in which there is an active share for medical-social workers.

The facts of continued needless blindness had led, largely through medical initiative, to special legislation in various states, from 1891-

*Bulletin No. 1—Prevention of Blindness Committee, Russell Sage Foundation Room 65, 105 East 22d Street, New York City, May, 1910.

1896, and in 1906 led to systematized national work by the American Medical Association,* which appointed in every state of the union committees on ophthalmia neonatorum, strictly medical in membership and character.

There has probably not been a single Association or Commission of lay workers for the blind, public or private, organized since about 1905-1906, when the New York Commission for the Blind made its first investigations and when the Massachusetts Association for Promoting the Interests of the Blind made work for prevention a part of its active program—that has not put **prevention** first on its program. At least ten lay organizations for doing state wide work have been organized** since then and in 1911 the American Association for Conservation of Vision organized with a scope of work including:**

1. Prevention of infantile blindness.
2. Prevention of blindness from industrial and other accidents and from disease.
3. Conservation of vision through improved conditions during school life, and in industrial occupations.

**Problem.**

The groups of patients to whom the medical-social aspect of this work should make a difference are not only the 40 per cent. or more** of the blind population who are victims of avoidable accidents and disease, but hosts of people, young and old, whose sight may be saved from the partial impairment that sends so many into the ranks of cheap labor and helps create the class over whom penology and charity organizations so often struggle too late. They include:

1. The small children we often see sitting on the steps and sidewalks in tenement districts and in the country too, shading their inflamed eyes from the light, victims of bad hygiene, phlyctenular keratitis cases.***

2. Defective eyesight cases such as we find in every school, children as apt to keep pace in their classes as to be retarded, but showing the strain in broken general health. These children are very likely on their way to a choice of occupation as bad for them as the system of education that trains through the single sense of sight to the exclusion of the other senses.***

3. Then there are the one-eyed children, on their way to join the ranks of the blind, if they choose occupations dangerous to the remaining eye.***

*Report of the Committee on Ophthalmia Neonatorum, American Medical Association, 1909. Report of the Committee on Prevention of Blindness, American Medical Association, 1912.

**Prevention of Blindness—a Circular Letter—Russell Sage Foundation, Bulletin No. 2, 1911, and Bulletin No. 1, Am. Assn. for Conservation of Vision, Room 68, 105 E. 22nd. St. N. Y.

***Bulletin No. 2, Massachusetts Commission for the Blind—Conservation of Eyesight—Phlyctenular Keratitis, Boston, 1910.

4. The multitudes, young and old, suffering from contagious eye diseases and innocently passing them on to others.*

5. The army of children suffering from inherited syphilis which threatens eyesight yet may be arrested by prompt and adequate care.

6. Adults working at trades damaging to defective eyes and those working under conditions dangerous to good eyes.

### Methods.

The methods for saving the eyes of these patients must include no less than:

A. Extension of facilities for both medical and social service.
B. Study.
C. Legislation.
O. Enforcement of Laws, underlying and surrounding every effort.
E. Education in this highly specialized field of public health that concerns everybody who is alive and has sight.

### A. Extension of Facilities for Medical and Social Service.

Whether in the mountain districts of Kentucky** or in our big cities where special organization is necessary to get through the tangles of congestion*** and immigration, and bring patient and existing medical resources together, the common problem is **how to reach the patient in time, how to give him adequate care, and how to educate him.** Some of the most substantial contributions of the past five or six years of medical-social activity in these directions have been:

I. The establishment of a training school for midwives at New York City, in connection with Bellevue and Allied Hospitals is one important means of increasing the chances of reaching patients in time to prevent many other bad results as well as blindness.†

II. Hospital Social Service, as applied to cases of eye disease.

1. In the Social Service Department of the Massachusetts Charitable Eye and Ear Infirmary, we have an example of medical-social work, of interest not only as a means of daily social service in case-work, but as a means of turning the year's experience of the hospital to practical account in answering questions concerning public health, including phlyctenular keratitis, industrial accidents, ocular tuberculosis, etc.††

*No. 8. Trachoma Leaflet, Illustrated and Printed in Four Languages—Committee on Prevention of N. Y. Association for the Blind, 1911, and No. 4, Direction to Mothers, Midwives, and Nurses for the Prevention of Ophthalmia Neonatorum—a reprint in five languages—Committee on Prevention, N. Y. Association, 105 E 22nd St.

**Bulletin of State Board of Health of Kentucky, Bowling Green, Nov. 1911.

***Practical Work in Sight-Saving—Ohio Commission for the Blind, 965 Franklin Ave., Columbus, O.

†Prevention of Blindness, No. 9—3rd Annual Report of the Committee on Prevention of Blindness of the N. Y. Association for the Blind.

††Fourth Report of Social Service, Mass. Charitable Eye and Ear infirmary, 1910-1911.

2. It is of interest, especially in view of the lack of special hospital facilities in many parts of the country, to cite a recent example at the Boston Dispensary of the most intensive work imaginable in caring through the clinic for cases of iritis, etc., where it was necessary to find a substitute for institution care,—the physician, the social worker and the visiting nurse here organize home and dispensary visits so carefully that the patient has daily, skilled treatment,—in the morning through the physicians at the dispensary, and in the afternoon through the nurse at home. In this way, the eight iritis cases thus far tried have been successfully treated.

At the Boston Dispensary too, the presence of the social worker in the clinic makes it possible to carry out more efficient treatment with syphilitics, both congenital and acquired. A persistent attack is made on the fundamental trouble, instead of superficially on the many local symptoms as they arise. For example, children with Interstitial Keratitis, a damaging eye disease, generally traceable to syphilis, are treated not only for the eye condition, but constitutionally as well. A study is also made of other members of the family to arrest if possible the development of the disease in those already infected and to prevent its further spread in the family and the community.

III. Field Work Associated with Work for the Blind.

Unexpectedly practical work for prevention of blindness and conservation of eyesight has been found possible in Massachusetts* in association with work for the blind. The underlying organization is a state board, authorized among many other things, to maintain a register of the blind, including a record of causes of blindness, and to do state wide work through field agents. The continuous reporting to the central office of this board by hospitals, physicians and social agencies, not only of the newly blind, but of cases in which work may be done for prevention of blindness by securing special education and occupation as well as by securing medical care, gives a chance for case work and an incentive such as comes only through personal acquaintance, both with those who need not have been blind and those for whom a chance of saving sight remains.

The burden of preventive work, of study, of co-operation with medical and health authorities, of educational work and the general campaign falls upon a field worker for prevention of blindness** and conservation of eyesight who devotes full time to the subject. The other agents, especially the field worker for children, take active part in securing proper medical care, etc., for individuals coming to their attention, in the course of their regular work.

*Fifth Annual Report, Mass. Commission for the Blind, 308 Ford Bldg., Boston, 1911.

**A Campaign for Good Eyesight, by Henry Copley Greene, Field Agent for Prevention of Blindness and Conservation of Eyesight, Massachusetts Commission for the Blind.

IV. Care of the Eyes in Institutions for the Seeing.

One of the finest opportunities for preventive and educational work towards eye-protection should come through not only our schools, public and private, but all institutions, public and private.

In schools for delinquents, for example, the proportion of diseased and defective eyes is naturally greater than in the ordinary public schools, and an admirable system is that carried out at the Industrial School for Girls at Lancaster, Mass. On admission to the School, every girl's eyes are examined, under the influence of drops, by an ophthalmologist who prescribes glasses if necessary, and sees that the prescription is accurately filled. Any ocular disease is treated. And when the young girls are transferred to the probation department, not only their general physical record, but their ocular history and prognosis, are also transferred, so that the superintendent of probationers may intelligently secure any treatment that may be needed while the girls are under her care.

V. Medical Social Field Work in a Rural Community.

The best illustration of spirit and a most interesting illustration of method in work for prevention of blindness and conservation of eyesight is offered by the work of Dr. J. A. Stucky, of Lexington, Ky., among the Kentucky mountains, in co-operation with the local special schools. He says:

"For more than a quarter of a century, I have had many patients coming from the interior mountain region of Kentucky, with trachoma. The number of these cases increased each year, so I determined that I would personally visit these regions to investigate the cause of the disease . . . In September, 1911, accompanied by four trained nurses, we rode mule-back or in one of those springless mountain wagons . . . stopping at some of the mountain homes or school houses . . . It is rare to find a candle or lamp in these cabins, often finding the dip lamp our forefathers used long ago. These people all have a large degree of asthenopia or weakened accommodation for near vision. Many of them are hypermetropic, or far-sighted.

"At Hindman, in the clinic connected with the W. C. T. U. Settlement School, we saw over 400 natives, some of whom we had seen in the April before, and 25 per cent. of the entire number had infectious diseases of the eyes. In 10 per cent. of this number, the vision was hopelessly impaired and in a large number was destroyed. Many of these patients came from the surrounding counties, some walking as far as 45 miles. . . . We had prepared for a large number of patients and in addition to the cabin hospital presided over by Miss Harriet Butler, of the W. C. T. U. Settlement, we had two Hospital tents. Besides the assistance of Dr. Wilgus Bach, of Jackson, Ky., five trained nurses, four of them from Lexington, Ky., and the help of some of the good women connected with the school,

we had more than we could do, though we worked ten hours a day for one week . . . More than 80 operations under ether anaesthesia were performed, besides a number under local anaesthesia . . . On this trip, in addition to holding the clinic, I examined all the children of several of the mountain schools as to the condition of their eyes, ears, noses and throats and teeth, and at Hindman, every one in the large, flourishing school was examined and a record kept of each pupil.

"The solution of the problem, as I have said before, is through education. This will be accomplished most effectually through the schools. One of the crying needs of these people is for clinical facilities, and for clinical opportunities, the need of the opportunity for relief from these diseased eyes from one who has paid especial attention to these diseases. A small hospital properly equipped would accomplish almost as much in the education of the people and would do more for the relief of the condition already referred to if presided over by one who had been especially trained in the care of the eyes than anything else . . . To make the solution of the problem still more ideal would be the placing of graduate nurses in the mountains qualified by especial training who could do the work similar to that done by the District Nurse in the cities and carry out the instruction of the medical attendant."

**B. Study.**

Since we have directed both medical and social effort towards this piece of work, we have found ourselves to have been several times "a little off on the facts," from either medical or social aspects taken alone, for example:

1. On the ground that midwives were mainly responsible for the bad results, we have out of twenty-five states making **ophthalmia neonatorum** a reportable disease only 5 or 6 which make physicians liable for failure to report. The facts of the case for Massachusetts at least have been brought in through hospital social service studies, where the medical history has been supplemented by social history in 388 cases of infant ophthalmia covering a period of* four years and showing that 368 cases were attended by physicians and of 65 cases which reached the hospital too late and became wholly or partly blind, 59 had been attended by a physician.

2. Studies through the Research Department of the Boston School for Social Workers, and later studies by the Field Agent of the Massachusetts Commission for the Blind, have also brought into prominence certain facts of practical value.

As to the prevalence and the treatment of ophthalmia neonatorum, a field study by the Research Department of the School for Social

*Fourth Report of Social Service Work at the Massachusets Charitable Eye and Ear Infirmary, 1910-1911. Ophthalmia Neonatorum section reprinted in.

Workers,** for the first time brought clearly to light the fact that at least six cases per 1,000 births occurred in the cities investigated, that while 15 per cent. of the births were attended by midwives using no preventive at any birth, 42 per cent. of all births were attended by physicians who also used no preventive at birth; and that, among 104 investigated cases of ophthalmia neonatorum, 44 were treated by obstetrical practitioners who had received no training in the care of eye disease, and who failed to prevent blindness in every fifth case.

This study paved the way (1) for a law empowering the State Board of Health to furnish all physicians with a prophylactic outfit; (2) for a regulation requiring the use of the prophylactic at every birth in any Lying-in Hospital and also requiring that every case discharged uncured shall immediately be reported to the State Board of Health; (3) for a law requiring notification of births within 48 hours; (4) for a law requiring that the reporting law be printed on all birth return blanks; (5) for thorough enforcement of the reporting law; (6) for the following up of all reported cases by the public health authorities; and (7) for a growing insistance on at least a minimum of efficient treatment for every case of this disease.

Further studies by the Research Department and by the Commission's Field Agent for Conservation, have influenced eye records by emphasizing the importance of racial and occupational factors in relation to both accidents and diseases of eye. These further studies have also brought vividly to light the amount of blindness due to accidents destroying the sight of the remaining eye, where the first has already been ruined by accident or disease; to **phlyctenular keratitis** as the second of all eye diseases in the order of prevalence, and to **syphilis** as the next most prevalent cause of eye diseases.

### C. Legislation

What experience has shown during the five years past on the subject of the value and limitations of legislation, can only be hinted at. Valuable legislation bearing closely upon the protection of eyesight has included:

1. **Protection from Eye Strain.**
   School Eye examinations.
   Supervision of School and Factory Lighting.
2. **Protection from Disease:**
   *Ophthalmia Neonatorum a Reportable Disease.
   Early Birth Return Laws.
   Provision for Free Distribution of Prophylactic.

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**Ophthalmia Neonatorum in Ten Massachusetts cities, monograph No. 1. American Association for Conservation of Vision.

*Public Health Bulletin No. 49. Treasury Department. Public Health and Marine Hospital Service of the U. S. Opthalmia Neonatorum, an analysis of the laws and regulations relating to, in force in the United States by Dr. J. W. Kerr. Public Health Bulletin No. 45, a digest of laws and regulations of the various states relating to the reporting of cases of sickness. U. S. Public Health and Marine Hospital Service.

Regulation of Lying-in Hospitals.
Abolition of the Common Towel.

3. **Protection from Accident:**
   Protection of Minors in Industry.
   Investigation and Prevention of Industrial Accidents to the Eye.
   Workmen's Compensation Law with special provision for partial loss of sight.

### D. Enforcement of Laws.

The most effective lessons of all perhaps have come through efforts for enforcement of the reporting law for ophthalmia neonatorum.

The discovery has been made that a system of prevention for this single cause of blindness, if it is to stand the test of the individual case, calls for such organization and follow-up work as none of us dreamed of. **We should no longer recommend the reporting law except as it may go hand in hand with inspection from health authorities of reported cases, transfer to hospitals of severe cases, and follow-up visits for discharged cases.**

In Massachusetts the excellent reporting law of 1905 was* practically a dead letter outside of Boston until 1909, when the question of enforcement was tackled by the State Board of Health. An adequate handling of a case is best attained by active representation of the three parties concerned:

1. Medical authorities as represented by the special hospital.
2. Public health authorities by state and local boards of health.
3. The needlessly blind, as represented by a field worker for prevention under a State Board for the Blind.

A comparison of recent reports of the New York and the Massachusetts State Boards of Health, shows for the same month, five reported cases of ophthalmia neonatorum in one state and 135 in the other. This means, not that the disease is twenty-seven times more prevalent in one state than in the other, but that, in one state, and not the other, a local Board of Health and the State Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children have prosecuted physician after physician who have violated the reporting law. On the ground that any violation of the law deprives the health authorities of the opportunity to see that proper treatment is secured, the local board of health has prosecuted physicians without reference to whether or not their violation of the law has been followed by serious results. The Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children, on the other hand, has prosecuted, in various localities, only physicians whose violation

*Massachusetts Bulletins and Reprints: Bulletin No. 3, the Law to Prevent Blindness in Babies. Reprint No. 12. Lost Sight and the Law. Boston Common, Oct, 7, 1911.

of the law has been combined with apparent neglect resulting in blindness. Both courses are logical from the point of view of the agencies concerned; and both have resulted in an enormously increased observance of the law.

Midwives have been prosecuted in Boston and Fall River, Massachusetts; Cleveland, Ohio, and doubtless in other cities.

Under Workman's Compensation laws, awards for the loss of an eye have already been made to workmen in more than one state. Such awards, as they multiply, are counted on as strong inducements to employers to put in use and in force devices and rules for the protection of eyesight. A newspaper report of May 7th states:

**"Fifteen Years' Pay for Loss of An Eye."**

San Francisco, May 7.—In the first decision of the kind the California Industrial Accident Board rules that Harry Christ, an employe of the Pacific Telephone & Telegraph company, who lost an eye while at work, shall receive $100 for medical and surgical expenses, full wages for hospital time, 65 per cent. of his wages for the following eight weeks, 65 per cent. of his estimated loss in earning capacity thereafter for a maximum period of 15 years.

The board finds that, although the loss of an eye does not necessarily impair a man's earning capacity, it increases the difficulty of finding work.

### E. Education and Publicity.

The main question for the social worker seems to be the question of when to call in an expert. "Education in this specialized and yet all-involving field of public health, demands such a revitalizing of existing medical schools, of training schools for nurses and social workers, and of State Boards of Registration for Physicians and Nurses,—such a revitalizing of all these that the physicians, nurses and social workers, (including public administrators) shall be eager to call in experts, to work with them, and to work for them, in the saving of eyesight."

Proper work in this field also requires the education of experts, medical, nursing and social, whose specialty shall be, each in their own department, the preservation of eyesight. Only through such increased education can the demand, now too often falsely filled by so-called "eyesight specialists," "optometrists," etc., etc., be legitimately filled.

Meantime the wider public must be reached, and is being reached by health authorities, through circulars and the direct work of their inspectors, and nurses; by such State Commissions as the Ohio Commission for the Blind, with its traveling lecturer, and its newspaper pages; by Field Agents; by Social Service Departments, and by such loan exhibits, lantern slides and popular lectures as have been made use of by New York workers.

## REPORT OF THE SUB-COMITTEE ON HOSPITAL SOCIAL SERVICE

By Elizabeth V. H. Richard, Chairman.

### Background and Beginnings.

To understand the hospital social service movement, it will be necessary to follow certain forces which have been responsible for its development. Roughly defined, these forces are three-fold:

First, the industrial changes which have crowded the masses into the cities. Neighborhood life has gone and with it the family physician and his intimate knowledge of the family's life. Dispensaries and hospitals have multiplied in number and grown in size, until health and disease, once so personal and individual, are being met wholesale.

Second, the change in the character of medical treatment. Following the passing of the family physician, has come the "passing of pills and powders." Drugs are no longer the chief dependence of the physician, but rather "food, rest, sunshine, bathing, massage,—these are the sheet anchors of our new Materia Medica."

Third, the growing sense of the social causes of disease. This has been most universally acknowledged in tuberculosis, whose cure demands attack not only on the tubercle bacilli, but on low wages, long hours of work and unsanitary homes and shops.

To meet the ineffectiveness of this wholesale treatment of dispensary and hospital, came the first organized expression of social service. In 1905 Dr. Richard C. Cabot, of Boston, placed "a nurse with some settlement experience" in the Out-Patient Department of the Massachusetts General hospital.

She was to be useful in the following ways: Bringing to the physician a knowledge of patient's home and work conditions, she would extend his field of examination; making it possible for the patients to carry out his prescriptions of "food, rest, sunshine, etc.," she would help make treatment effective; steering patients with just a kindly toned direction to the right clinic, she might bring some vivid personal interest to the hundreds who filed bewildered through the maze of a mute institutionalized routine.

That social worker was an answer to a demand for more efficient medical treatment. She was to restore to the physicians that intimate acquaintance with their patients' lives, which as family physicians, they had found necessary, but had lost in the impersonal routine of institutional practice; and she was to make possible the complex diagnosis and treatment that come with replacement of drugs by hygiene and sanitation and with realization of the social bases of health.

### Development and Organization.

During the seven years since the establishment of a social worker at the Massachusetts General hospital, about sixty hospitals and dispensaries in eleven cities have organized in various forms, to meet the growing demand for social service departments. So contagious has been the consciousness of the need for social service that this demand has come from within the hospital, and from without, from doctors, from boards of managers, from philanthropic individuals and charitable agencies. One doctor has been known to refuse a universally coveted dispensary appointment saying: "You have no social workers and I would never attempt to work again without one."

The need once recognized, has made such an appeal, that it is almost impossible to state the exact number of departments now established. Like mushrooms, they have grown up in a night. The movement is suffering from a forced growth.

The special center of interest is usually responsible for the form of organization of the social service department. Differing in details, they fall into four general groups: Those organized and controlled by the hospital board and taking a parallel place with the medical departments; those organized and supervised by a committee appointed by the board; those organized by a self appointed committee, yet recognized by the management; those started and supervised by an outside social agency, such as the Associated Charities.

There seems to be little change in the purpose of present social service departments from that outlined by Dr. Cabot. As intimacy with the routine and problems of the hospital has grown, the field of activity has broadened and deepened. Where, at first for instance, the social worker casually extended little kindnesses to patients who did not understand directions, now in two hospitals at least, social workers are at the admitting desk—a strategic point for smoothing out difficulties and misunderstandings.

While "making diagnosis complete" is included in many outlines of social service, it should hardly be given much prominence, It is true that in infrequent instances, diagnosis has been completed by the investigation of the social worker. For example—as the result of a home visit in connection with a child treated for tubercular glands, a family history was secured which led to the discovery that the glands were of syphilitic origin. Such illustrations are in reality only bi-products of the social worker's most valuable contribution to the hospital, namely—her assistance in making treatment effective. It is on this ground that most advance has been made in development and organization. Specialization has already been felt in the division of work. In the larger departments will be found the tuberculosis worker, the worker with nervous patients, the worker with sex problems, the worker for children and babies and a social investigator.

These workers may be found in a central department to which

the physicians refer their cases, or they may be granted the privilege of themselves choosing from the admitting desk or books, the patients whose condition suggests the need of their help. And they may also be distributed in the clinics as part of equipment, and as one physician expressed it "so much a part of my clinic, that patients feel no line between medical and social treatment."

**Opportunities and Implications.**

Certain opportunities are taking shape as natural outgrowths of the daily experience of social workers in hospitals. It is in these larger implications of the movement that its future should be conceived. Six opportunities suggest themselves:

1. An opportunity for helping a whole group may come from carefully watching accumulated individual cases. One hundred and fifteen children had come to a children's hospital for treatment; thence to a social worker for home supervision of extensions and braces. As child after child came, the social worker realized that she was touching a big educational problem. Now the school system of one of our large cities is being considered afresh, as the result of that one hospital social worker's startling presentation of the number of crippled children without suitable school provision.

2. To social workers in hospitals is given the opportunity of bringing together and interpreting the experience of two experts—the physician and the social worker. To the physician the social workers may indicate the limitations of his patients resources for health; and to the social worker in the community, struggling to rehabilitate those who have stumbled, they may pass on the physical situation and its significance. Examples of "the social worker's education of the physician," have been all too loudly recited. Of the physicians contribution to social work, less has been heard but its significance is even deeper, for it touches one of the fundamental elements of social distress; it raises the question—how far character may be dependent on neglected or unimprovable physical handicap. As an example of the physical significance of social failure, a recent social service report cites—"the case of a man, forty-eight years of age, who was sent to us one day, ragged, emaciated—almost helpless without the glasses, which had been broken a few days before. His record with the public and private charities of———and other cities was a very bad one. Idleness, drink, immorality, neglect of his children. The hospital found a condition of high myopia, which had been corrected only after the man had passed his twenty-fifth year—when he had thoroughly learned the lesson of idleness and the rest had followed easily. All his life he had been handicapped. In school, where his fellow pupils who had better vision, left him far behind; later when work was difficult to find, and for him, almost impossible to keep; and later still after glasses had been found to help the vision, by the habit of idleness and

its attendant evils acquired through little fault of his own. There was no doubt about his very bad record, but the hospital finding left much doubt as to his individual responsibility for it."

3. Medical social workers have an opportunity to pass on to the community something of the solid spirit and inspiration of medical science. A lifetime of service in medicine is rewarded if it yields at the end one step in the understanding and cure of disease. Nothing is accepted as fact that has not been proved in thousands of cases. Surely this struggle for truth, which gladly counts a lifetime as a second, has a message for the social workers who are impatient for their more universal acceptance by the medical profession. We must be willing to prove our usefulness again and again.

4. Too much has been said about the social workers' opportunity for humanizing the hospital. No one element in any institution will change its entire character. There is no magic in the social worker. In fact, social workers may well feel humble before the infinite humanity and tenderness of many physicians. The social worker may be an element to give the hospital pause in its unthinking routine, but not until each physician, each nurse, each employee, feels and expresses with the patients that "goodwill," without which personal relationship is dead, will the hospital be truly humanized.

This "goodwill" is indeed but an expression of understanding and understanding comes with knowledge. All attempts to bring to physicians or nurses, first hand knowledge of their patients are being welcomed as vital opportunities for the humanizing of the hospital. One such attempt is well under way in connection with the medical department of Indiana university. The dean of the department, who has had considerable experience in social work, conducts a weekly social conference following a medical clinic. In the social conference, certain of the patients who have been already under observation and with whom the students are familiar medically, are selected for social care. They are assigned to medical students who volunteer for follow-up work in the homes. A member of the Sociology Department in the university supervises their visiting.

5. Social work is proving itself in hospitals an opportunity for economy. The first conception of social service was naturally in relation to "acute" cases socially, whose very helplessness spoke for itself. These "acute" cases require long care and are therefore expensive. In taking them up, the social departments in large hospitals have dealt with only about 5 per cent. of the hospital's total patients; but a review of the yearly cost of this limited service has seemed to spell prohibition to anything like complete extension of the social department. Further knowledge of the situation, however, brings out certain very encouraging facts. First that these "acute" cases are in reality only a small and manageable fraction of the total hospital patients, and also that the hospital, even in dollars and cents,

cannot afford to neglect them. A carefully analyzed example of the dangers attendant on failure to follow up treatment, is that of a family treated both in the ward and "out-patient" of a large hospital. Every member of the family, eleven in number, had been given treatments and medicine amounting to a cost of $255.27. At the end of three years they were referred to the social service department. A thorough investigation showed that nothing had been accomplished medically. Then in a week's time it was proved that the oversight and instruction of a social worker was all that had been needed to cure the infection, which had spread from ignorance through the entire family.

6. Social workers placed in the clinics, have demonstrated their opportunity to improve the clinic's medical efficiency. In addition to caring for the "acute" cases, the social worker as an integral part of the clinic renders assistance in its routine. With the opportunity to see every patient, she often learns facts pertinent to diagnosis and treatment. By systematically keeping track of the days when patients should return and when they fail to do so by encouraging them to return by some personal notification she lessens the waste disclosed by a recent investigation of two days new patients coming to the Boston Dispensary. Such an investigation was made to ascertain, among other facts, "how many patients, who were suffering from diseases, the cure of which require consecutive treatment, failed to return." At a very conservative estimate, the investigation places the number at 33 per cent. When one stops to consider that this number includes syphilis, gonorrhea and tuberculosis, one realizes that social workers who can help to organize a clinic so that this number is reduced to a minimum, are rendering service of enormous value both medically and socially.

**Future Soundings.**

The future holds the responsibility of determining standards of work and standards of training. Already beginnings have been made in both directions. In New York and Philadelphia, organizations of the local social service departments have been formed to meet and discuss mutual problems. The New York School of Philanthropy for two years has offered special courses in Medical Social Service. In 1912, the Boston School for Social Workers will offer a second year course for the training of Medical Social Workers. Under the auspices of the Russell Sage Foundation, Miss Cannon, head worker of the Massachusetts General Hospital Social Service Department, is writing a text book on Hospital Social Service.

The movement is still in its infancy and those who are guiding its growth may well feel the seriousness of their position. They can take no safer ground than that of being ready to allow social service to find its place unhampered by any previous conception about it. Each year is demonstrating that Social Service in its relation to the hos-

pital management, to other charities in the community, even to the doctors and patients, will pass through many changes before it reaches its greatest usefulness. Each year is teaching Hospital Social Workers the truth of Emerson's saying: "In proportion to our relatedness are we strong."

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## REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON OCCUPATIONAL DISEASES

The origin of the study of the evils arising from hazardous occupations is distinctly medical. The literature of the past three or four decades contains many investigations of the effects of metal poisoning, dust inhalation and other toxic substances. The medical knowledge of the nature and means for preventing tuberculosis has been largely interwoven with the study of occupational disease conditions, especially those involving the constant inhalation of toxic gases, vapors and fumes, as well as irritant dusts and fibres. This knowledge and investigation from the medical standpoint began to attract attention from the social and economic aspects, and for some years past in foreign countries, notably in England, Germany and France, legislation has been enacted to abolish or control some of the more serious of the occupational disease hazards. In the United States, however, it is only within a year or two that such legislation has been promulgated and a beginning of control has been made in eight states by requiring physicians to report the presence of cases which they may meet with, of a half dozen types of occupational diseases.

As yet in this country, the economic advantage to the employer of protecting his workmen from disease hazard by proper mechanical. structural and other means, as well as by frequent physical examinations conducted by physicians, has not yet been appreciated. The occupational accidents are far more definite than the occupational diseases in immediate cause and effect; the latter also being subject to definite limitations in extent. An occupational disease, on the contrary, begins insiduously, lasts with remissions through long periods of time, perhaps for many years, and may eventually prove fatal, either of itself or by laying the foundation for some other malady such as tuberculosis. Hence, the study of the occupational diseases is complex and conclusions should be formulated only after very careful and prolonged investigation. Many other conditions, such as alcoholism, syphilis, faulty home environment, poor food, and anxiety (developed especially under "speeding up") are factors to be reckoned with in their relationship to occupational diseases, but are factors which may largely be neglected in the study of occupational injuries. For these reasons it is much more difficult to convince the employer that a disease, such as chronic lead poisoning, actually

exists among his workmen, than it would be to convince him that a surgical injury, by a machine for example, was due to neglect in giving sufficient warning or protection to the workman.

An active campaign of education in regard to the nature of occupational diseases, harmful substances and harmful trades should be conducted among physicians, employers and industrial workmen alike. Remedial legislation should be suspended until more reliable scientific data have been gathered regarding the prevalence, distribution and exact nature of the occupational diseases as met with in this country. As to the extent of the problem involved, some idea may be gathered from the following facts: Dr. John B. Andrews has gathered records of sixty fatal cases of lead poisoning occurring in 1909 and 1910 in New York State. Dr. Gilman Thompson has collected records of more than three hundred cases of lead poisoning among patients sufficiently ill to seek hospital or dispensary relief in only three out of many similar institutions in New York City. Six deaths from inhaling the vapor of wood alcohol used as a diluent of varnish applied to the interior of beer vats have resulted in the cities of Buffalo and New York within a short time.

The research of Mrs. Lindon W. Bates on mercury poisoning in the industries of New York and vicinity tabulates one hundred and two cases of patients who were for the most part fatally affected by this poison.

Dr. Alice Hamilton in her investigation of lead poisoning for the State of Illinois, special Commission, found lead poisoning in 33 out of 56 industrial establishments where lead was used in manufacturing, with a yearly average of 665 cases of plumbism.

The hospitals and clinics of the larger cities of the country contain at all times illustrations of occupational diseases, many of the patients being permanently disabled.

Dr. Fred L. Keays in a research upon the caisson disease, observed 20 fatal cases in the Pennsylvania tunnels in New York City.

The important problems of collecting information, of educating the public and of devising remedial measures through legislation, or otherwise, in regard to the occupational diseases are at present being actively dealt with by several organizations, namely:

First: National Conference on Industrial Diseases, the first of which conferences was held in Chicago in 1910; the second is to be held in Atlantic City in 1912.

Second: A committee on Industrial Diseases of the American Medical Association, under the section on Preventive Medicine and Public Health.

Third: The International Congress on Hygiene and Public Health, which at a meeting in Washington in September, 1912, is to devote considerable time to a special discussion of the occupational diseases.

Fourth: In at least eight states, either the Labor Bureaus or

the Departments of Health of the state have undertaken a compilation of statistics regarding the prevalence and nature of the occupational diseases.

In New York State, a printed classification of these diseases, giving in parallel columns, the name of the trade, the hazardous substance, the chief symptoms and name of the disease has been issued to the medical profession, social service workers and any persons willing to co-operate in the work.

An informal Committee on the Study of Occupational Diseases was organized by Dr. Gilman Thompson in the Autumn of 1911, to co-operate with the State Labor Bureau, the State Factory Investigating Commission and other organizations in a study of occupational diseases. The committee in its membership comprises such interests as those of sociology, economics, scientific chemistry, labor legislation, philanthropy, workmen's insurance and medicine. This Committee has been recently absorbed by the New York Association for Labor Legislation, where it is continuing an active compaign of investigation and instruction.

The Hospitals and Public Health Committee of the New York Academy of Medicine has also devoted considerable time to the study of this subject and during the winter a large public meeting at the Academy was addressed on the occupational diseases by a number of those prominent in this study.

It is earnestly hoped that the results of all this investigation, which at present is being so actively pushed forward, will result in the amelioration of much occupational disease, and it is the ambition of the Committee above mentioned eventually to secure the establishment in New York of an institute and hospital for the study of occupational diseases modeled after that which was opened in Milan, Italy, in 1910.

It is of great importance to secure uniformity in nomenclature of the occupational diseases and a study of this subject is at present being made by the National Bureau of the Census.

The American Association for Labor Legislation having branches in so many different states, can do much to secure uniformity in matters of nomenclature, the collection of data and formulation of suggestions for betterment and for restrictive legislation.

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## REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON INSANITY AND EPILEPSY

Of all domains of medicine, psychiatry has been the first to organize systematic efforts of social work in the form of after-care. While in the main eleemosynary, these efforts were in many ways closely connected with the problem of finding a suitable environment for convalescents and suitable care for patients who, with a little help, could re-establish themselves outside of institutions. The physi-

cians of institutions not infrequently were able to enlist the interest and help of more fortunate former patients, and also of persons interested in charity in its various senses. A paper of Mr. C. W. Beers on after-care gives a sketch of the development of the problem. For many years before such work was actually organized, it was suggested and recommended by physicians and others who had made a study of European experiments along this line, and had become convinced from their own experience of the need of such work. In 1893, at the annual meeting of the American Medico-Psychological Association, and in 1894, at the meeting of the American Neurological Association, papers were read, bringing the matter to the attention of these societies, and a committee of three physicians appointed by the Neurological Association made an extended inquiry, through a circular letter, regarding the opinion of representative alienists and neurologists on the subject. A large majority of these specialists advocated the establishment of a system of temporary relief for discharged, recovered and improved insane patients of the dependent class, preferably by associations under private auspices. In 1897, the subject was presented to the National Conference of Charities and Correction. No active steps were taken, however, towards the organization of such work until some years later. It was largely due to Miss Louisa Lee Schuyler, vice-president of the New York State Charities Aid Association that such work was put into practical operation. Miss Schuyler, who had on the occasion of visits to England, familiarized herself with the work of the English After-Care Society, brought the matter to the attention of the State Charities Aid Association and the State Hospital authorities of New York State. At the conference held January 30th, 1905, of the State Commission of Lunacy, with managers and superintendents of state hospitals and representatives of the State Charities Aid Association, the establishment of a system of after-care was discussed, and resolutions were adopted calling on the State Charities Aid Association to organize and put into practical operation a system of after-care for the insane in New York State. On this occasion, Dr. Meyer read a paper on "The Problem of After-Care and Organization of Societies for the Prophylaxis of Mental Disorders," setting forth a plan for the assistance of needy patients, and also dealing with the need for preventive work and the general education of the public regarding the causes and prevention of mental diseases. Dr. Meyer had at this time established in connection with the patients under his supervision at the Manhattan State Hospital the visitation by volunteers of the homes from which certain patients had come, with a view to securing needed data regarding case histories, and carrying news of patients and their families to one another, relieving anxiety on both sides.

The State Charities Aid Association's plan of organization of its work for the after-care of the insane included a central committee in

charge, and local committees for the different hospitals, consisting of members of the Association living in the district from which the hospital draws its patients, with the superintendent and two or more managers ex-officio. The central committee, organized in February, 1906, employed from April 1st of that year an agent experienced in social work to assist the volunteer committees in their work for the discharged patients referred to them by the hospitals. The methods used are:

1. Paving the way for the discharge of patients by seeing that the necessary conditions can be assured in the old or new homes.
2. Securing positions and work for those needing such help.
3. Financial assistance, temporary board during convalescence, etc.
4. Visits to assure the carrying out of the recommendations, and occasional timely consultations of the physicians.
5. Maintenance of friendly and constructive relations between the public and the hospitals and dispensaries.
6. Occasional lectures and possibly also exhibits to attract the attention of the public to the possibilities of collaboration.

From the outset, the State Charities Aid Association looked upon this after-care work as an experiment in a field that might be considered to belong properly to the hospitals. Dr. Meyer early pointed out that "it is in the interest of the hospital to be the leading element of the after-care organization and prophylaxis organization in its district" and the Manhattan and Central Islip State Hospitals, the two larger institutions receiving patients from New York City, were sufficiently convinced of the value of after-care for their patients to wish to undertake the responsibility for such work, and at the request of the State Charities Aid Association, the consent of the State Commission in Lunacy was secured, an appropriation of state money authorized, and an agent appointed from November 1st, 1911, to carry on the work for both hospitals. Of course, one agent serving these two enormous hospitals can attend only the most obviously needy cases, but a beginning has been made and a principle established. Already other hospitals in the state are considering the appointment of social service workers, and it is anticipated that work of this sort will be gradually extended. This step assures greater interest on the part of the hospital staffs. It is expected that the committees of the State Charities Aid Association will continue to help in the necessary organization of the public in the hospital districts towards a fruitful and vigorous collaboration of the existing agencies which can be appealed to for help and for a promotion of mental hygiene in the community for the repression of alcoholism and unsanitary conduct of life, primarily in the families of the patients, but also in families and parts of the population which are merely endangered, owing to otherwise insufficient social activities.

Soon after the State Charities Aid Association of New York State undertook its work for the after-care of the insane, an organized movement towards the prevention and relief of mental diseases was started in Connecticut. The Connecticut Society for Mental Hygiene dates from May, 1908. The organizer and executive secretary of this society was Mr. Clifford W. Beers, the author of "A Mind That Found Itself." Mr. Beers' plan was the organization of a National Committee for Mental Hygiene, with state societies in different states. The first of the state societies to be organized, that of Connecticut, had among its objects, "to advise and assist those in danger of nervous and mental disorders, or actually ill, to co-operate with the hospitals in the work of caring for the insane, and to assist the many who are discharged as cured or improved, so that relapses due to avoidable and remediable causes may be prevented, to enlighten the public regarding all phases of mental disorder in the care of the insane."

This society grew quickly to a large membership, and now employs a woman field secretary who devotes herself largely to the assistance of individual cases.

The National Committee for Mental Hygiene was organized in February, 1909. Three years later it secured a fund of $50,000 and is about entering upon work for the investigation of the methods of caring for the insane, and educational work looking towards an improvement in the condition of mental and nervous cases and the prevention of insanity. The chief objects of the Committee are given as follows:

"To work for the protection of the mental health of the public, to help raise the standard of care for those threatened with mental disorder, or actually ill, to promote the study of mental disorders in all their forms and relations, and to disseminate knowledge concerning their causes, treatment and prevention, to obtain from every source reliable data regarding the conditions and methods of dealing with mental disorders, to enlist the aid of the Federal Government so far as may seem desirable, to co-ordinate existing agencies and help organize in each state in the Union an allied or independent society for mental hygiene, similar to the existing Connecticut Society for Mental Hygiene."

In the State of New York, the State Charities Aid Association's Committee on the After-Care of the Insane has changed its name to "Committee on Mental Hygiene" and on October 1st, 1910, entered upon an educational campaign for the prevention of insanity. By means of the circulation of popular pamphlets, the holding of public meetings, the giving of lectures, the promotion of clinics, and other means this Committee is endeavoring to educate the public regarding the causes of insanity, the means of preventing it, and the facilities for securing early treatment.

In a number of other states there are already more or less marked movements in the direction of mental hygiene and after-care work.

The Illinois Society for Mental Hygiene was incorporated early in the year 1910, and an agent was appointed and began work in June of that year. The work at the outset was confined to after-care; that is, looking up the home surroundings and following up cases paroled from institutions for the insane to Cook County. In the winter of 1910 calls began to come to the society from different charitable organizations for assistance in cases which had never been committed to institutions, but in whom a mental difficulty was suspected, and a number of such cases were taken up and a diagnosis made by alienists at the request of the society, and treatment given. In the spring of 1911, the society was asked to direct the work of two nurses to be employed by the county to investigate cases before they were adjudged insane. This work has been undertaken by the society. Apparently, as yet, there is no independent movement on the part of the hospitals to undertake the responsibility for the after-care of their own patients.

In Minnesota, a man and a woman, formerly nurses, are connected with the State Board of Control to visit patients on parole.

In Missouri, the State Board of Charities and Corrections has arranged with the Board of Public Welfare of Kansas City, an efficient social agency, to provide after-care for inmates paroled and discharged from the various state charitable and penal institutions, and the Board hopes to co-operate with similar societies in other parts of the state, if this experiment proves successful.

In Maryland, the After-Care Committee of the Maryland Psychiatric Society has undertaken to raise a fund to pay the salary and expenses of a physician to do after-care and preventive work in connection with the hospitals, collaborating with existing social service and organized charitable agencies, and when this fund is sufficient such a worker will be employed.

In Wisconsin one of the hospitals co-operates with charitable societies, who visit the home of the patients previous to discharge on parole and after discharge, and give such assistance as may seem to be needed.

In Massachusetts, New Jersey, and to some extent elsewhere, field workers supplied by the Eugenics Record Office to secure data regarding the heredity of insane and feeble-minded inmates of state institutions have brought to the attention of the hospitals the need for social service work in connection with many of the patients and their families, and it is likely that in many cases such work will be an outgrowth of the purely scientific research that is now being carried on in conection with these institutions.

In one locality an inquiry into the home conditions of patients discharged on parole from hospitals for the insane has led to a study of the extent to which the birth of defective children is a result of the return of such patients to their homes. Patients suffering from

forms of mental disease which are recurrent in their nature are very likely to spend months or years of their lives between these recurrent attacks in the care of their families. From the point of view of eugenics, the return of such persons to normal family life is likely to be disastrous.

Preventive work is a natural outgrowth of ameliorative and curative work and the assistance of individuals is likely to lead to recognition of the need for the education of the general public as to the causes of the trouble and the means of preventing it. During the past six years, the whole problem of prophylaxis has been shown to depend quite extensively upon the same activity which promised the best results in the individual after-care of discharged patients, and during this time the medical aspect of such work has become more clearly defined. The preventive interests are especially strongly dependent on the successful organization of extramural work for the insane.

The relation of the medical and the social end of the problem cannot be defined. It will always depend on the individuals engaged in the work and the extent to which they are on safe ground in their own field and capable of grasping the opportunities for helpfulness in the other. There is no doubt that the dispensaries and the social service departments have barely started on the great task awaiting them. An interdependence of medical and social aspects can hardly be spoken of at this stage; for this, the field is not sufficiently surveyed as yet.

The outlook of the work depends very much on the persistent interest and activity of relatively few hard workers. An automatic working of a scheme cannot be expected. It is all the more desirable to encourage the individual methods of the relatively few workers to the utmost and to assure the possibility of getting adequate reports of the work from which it would become feasible to say what is actually being attained. Out of adequate reports we would obtain the best practical guides for a spreading of the methods and of the interest, in the hospitals and dispensaries, and at large.

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## REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE ON VISITING NURSING.

From the early days of Christianity we find interest shown in nursing the sick poor, usually by religious orders, as part of their religious duties. In the early part of the 19th century, Pastor Fliedner and his good wife, at the little town of Kaiserwerth, laid the foundation of definite training in the care of the sick, especially in their homes, but it was always from the religious point of view, and these nurses were known as Deaconesses. It was here that Florence Nightingale came for her training, which combined with her own

knowledge and ideals issued forth into the modern training school for nurses.

But it was Mr. Rathbone, a philanthropic merchant of Liverpool, who out of appreciation of nursing service rendered to his wife, conceived the idea of sending trained nurses into the homes of the sick poor. Because in those days—about 1858—such nurses were hard to find, he, after consultation with Miss Nightingale, also founded a school in Liverpool to train nurses for this service; and from that time the work has grown rapidly in England and other countries. It has been slow to take root in America. In the last ten years, however, it has made rapid strides, first through the interest of graduate nurses themselves and later through co-operation enlisted by nurses of men and women seeking new forms of philanthropic usefulness. At that time medical work for the poor consisted in the treatment of disease in hospitals and dispensaries, or in homes by private or city physicians, without consideration of the social circumstances of the diseased, except as individual medical men were inspired to play providence in individual cases. Social work in connection with homes was represented by mothers' clubs, and the visits of kindergartners, school teachers and settlement residents, without observation of the physical conditions of the home in relation to the health of the family. Relief with little basis in investigation or reference to records and constructive case-work was given by various organizations and by churches.

The district nurses, daily giving bed-side care in the homes of the sick poor, found themselves in constantly increasing co-operation with the hospitals which admitted patients in larger and larger numbers upon the application of the new Visiting Nurse Association. They also found themselves increasingly perplexed in regard to the use of the great hospital dispensaries for such of their patients as were in their trained eyes the victims of rapacious or ill-qualified physicians. While attempting to steer cautiously between the danger of violating medical etiquette on one hand, and what seemed criminal neglect or mis-treatment of human need on the other, the nurses did undoubtedly increase the attendance in those clinics in which they—as protectors of the poor—felt a certainty that their cases would receive just and skillful treatment.

As it became evident that the activities of visiting nurses multiplied material for special clinics and convalescent homes, new positions were offered to them in connection with older organized medical work, followed speedily by the creation of new forms—in social dispensaries for the prevention of tuberculosis and infant mortality, and for the instruction and care of maternity cases. The nurses' work continued to demonstrate new needs for more work in the home, and scientific and humanitarian interest met in response to the revelations her trained observation made, and united to send out more

nurses as indispensable agents in a new education of society. A little later the perception of the economic value of the nurse as a factor in the health of the community led to the appointment by Boards of Health of larger number of nurses in the departments of tuberculosis and infant hygiene and of medical inspection and nursing in the schools.

At present there are some localities in which there is very little medical-social work done by any other than a visiting nurse as the agent. On the other hand where there is no visiting nurse, medical charity has no intimate relation with social work. Even the use of a Charities Clearing House or Confidential Exchange is deferred on the plea that clerical service is not available to make use of the reports which would be sent by the Clearing House. Delay in finding means to support new service for the purpose is, of course, due to a feeble realization of its value in returns to the institution. These seem to be limited—in the minds of the procrastinators—to sifting charity from possible paying cases. The resultant advantage to case-work is not even fore-shadowed.

To show up its practical daily advantage in the admission and treatment of cases, to prove there is an inter-dependence between social and medical work, vitally important to medical charity, is still a problem, hardly second to that one always with us—of securing the best treatment, of ensuring against the harmful treatment of those patients whom physicians of inferior training and ethical standards regard as the legitimate source of their income. The former problem may be solved by offering the services of visiting nurses for demonstration periods to such agencies as can be interested in the possibilities of social work. This has often been a successful method. The problem of the "shyster doctor" will probably be affected only by the slower process of the socialization of all professions and the higher standards of medical schools.

During these ten years visiting nurses, while acting as agents of medical relief, have been constantly urging the application of social ideals to medical work and consciously ranging themselves in the group of social workers, without having had any training for social work other than that gained by a willing mind in the school of experience. By so doing they have challenged the criticism of better trained social workers, and in case work and in the attack upon the problems of health in special fields such as tuberculosis, they have shown and suffered from their lack of even the rudimentary training given by Charity Organization Societies and Schools of Philanthropy.

Yet by special division of labor between all visiting nurses and all the agents of the Associated Charities (greatly developed in ten years), excellent daily results have been secured and gradually the basic importance to social work of the unique training of the nurse is being clearly revealed. In one city, at least, by agreement, no

nurse, unless the agent of a special Committee, has any share in administering material relief, though she may recommend milk and eggs. In return, the Associated Charities instructs all its agents to report every case of sickness and physical injury to the Visiting Nurse Association, which takes up the case *de novo* for investigation and treatment. In family problems which involve neither medical aid nor material relief the nurse and agent confer and either share or divide responsibility for further work.

A divergence between the standards held by nurses and agents as a result of their respective training, is always apparent. Investigation, except of the physical history of the patient and his family, is undervalued by the nurse, nor does she weigh the ultimate effect of her plan and her work as the trained social worker does, nor see it in relation to the wide world of social forces. Prompt relief for immediate need is the instructive result of her hospital years and may be harmfully shortsighted. On the other hand, sights, sounds and smells in the patient's environment have for the nurse a social significance which the social worker ignores. The food standard the nurse urges is almost always higher and more specifically adapted to the individual than the Associated Charities agent has learned. If the health of the poor man is his capital, the food standard which recreates health instead of that which maintains existence is the only one intelligence can endorse and the nurse who seems extravagant is nearer to being socially right than her more cautious and economical co-worker.

But it is far more important that the nurse commonly excells in a sympathetic approach to individuals. By years of patient, personal service of folks, their bodies and dispositions, in weakness and trouble, under stress of unusual emotional disturbance, she has learned to understand and deal with human beings. No other professional training includes a comparable discipline. It is frequently pointed out that the greatest lack in the schools of philanthropy is a sufficient body of experience in field work, to supply this very element in which the nurses' training is rooted and grounded and cultivated. For this reason it is no longer debatable with some of us but Q. E. D. that the medico-social agent par excellence is the nurse, who has had thorough training for social work in addition to her hospital training. If the latter may be grafted upon college work (and the possibility grows), the plant can hardly be improved.

The first fruits of social training centers for nurses are already a distinct contribution toward strengthening the medico-social work which exists. As they multiply, they will demonstrate as nothing else can, the necessity for the mutual reliance of medical and social work upon each other. Therefore as we look to the socialization of the medical profession as the solution of part of our problems we look to the social education of nurses as of equal importance.

## EDUCATIONAL ASPECTS OF MEDICAL-SOCIAL WORK.

By Dr. Richard C. Cabot, Boston

As I have grown older I have become less and less willing to talk about things I know nothing about. I fear therefore that I may disappoint some of you this evening because I shall not speak of the preliminary education of hospital social workers. Of that I know little or nothing. I shall deal with the following points:

I. What doctors learn from social workers.
II. What social workers learn from doctors.
III. What doctors and social workers learn from patients.
IV. What patients learn from doctors and social workers.
V. What we all learn from success in this work.
VI. What we all learn from failure.

I have had some experience with these items, especially the last, which I think is the greatest of all in its importance.

First: A Social Service department in a hospital is one of the few educational institutions where every one is both teacher and and taught. Secondly, almost all of this teaching occurs in the form of demonstration and of practice and a very little of it in that worst of all forms of teaching—talk. Thirdly, this special medical-social contact in hospitals brings about the contact of two professions—**of two professions,** not of one profession and one aid to that profession, (doctor and nurse)—but of two independent professions, doctor and social worker. Very few people in this country have any idea what a hospital social worker is. She is frequently confused with the district nurse.

I shall have to define what I mean by a hospital social worker, in order to make clear the distinction which I have just emphasized. Doctors, nurses and social workers all deal with people and with their environment. But the doctor and the nurse are interested in the individual and his environment **from the point of view of health.** The social worker is interested in the personality and in its environment **from the point of view of character,** which is a vastly different thing. The social worker has been trained to recognize and to deal with all in personality or in environment which bears upon character, all that drags it down, all that builds it up. The doctor and the nurse have no special training in this and as a rule no special fitness for it. They have therefore the greatest need of this contact with another profession and of being taught by their peers.

For years I have had a special interest in team work of two professions—any two professions. I have been greatly interested in the attempt of two great professions, medicine and the ministry, to get together in my city. That attempt to achieve close co-operation was a failure, in my opinion, because the doctors wouldn't play the game. The mass of the doctors in my city, look down on the ministers, and because they look down on them and on their

mission to souls, won't work with them on equal terms. Most doctors of my acquaintance think that they can do the work of the minister better than he can do it; that they can deal with the patient's body and soul; that is with all that needs to be dealt with at all. Some doctors likewise suppose that they can fill all the functions of a social worker. But many are becoming awakened on this point, although we have not yet become awakened to the normal function of the minister.

The closer relation of the legal profession with social workers seems to me likewise one of the best things that has happened to the legal profession of late years, as shown in the development of our juvenile courts and probation offices.

When doctor and social worker associate together in the medical clinic as peers, teaching and assisting each other, certain helpful points are conveyed by each. The most familiar point which social workers have to teach physicians is that the patient himself is often a symptom often of a family condition, a family disease, not in the physical but in the moral sense. Physicians still have to be taught that the family is the unit. It is true we protest sometimes when a social worker insists, as a friend of mine recently did, that a homeless man is a family! But although the homeless man is not a family, the vast majority of individuals with whom we deal in hospitals and social work are essentially members of families and must be treated as such.

Second, social workers teach us physicians that good medical treatment involves knowing a great deal more about the patient besides what we can get from his medical history and his physical examination. Good treatment turns out to involve knowing a good deal about his finances, for otherwise we may easily prescribe treatment which is a great deal worse than nothing to him. One of the astonishing facts about hospital work is that people not infrequently come to hospitals for diseases which they themselves don't mind very much and to which they don't attribute very great importance. If then they receive an expensive treatment from the doctor and are not told that this treatment is expensive, they may be much annoyed later on to find that what they hadn't themselves taken much account of has turned out to be so ex pensive.

There is a term often used by physicians, the word "placebo," which literally means, "I will appease"; practically it means a "bread pill," such as doctors prescribe copiously in most dispensaries. They give a very large number of placebos, as they do every where else, and if the placebo happens to be one which costs something, as it may, and if the patient is not looking for just that kind of appeasement, the kind that cuts the pocket, he may again be very much disturbed when he comes to find out just what has happened. In one or two cases, knowing the nature of the ailment and the nature of the medicine, and knowing that the one had nothing to do with the other, our social workers have been able to prevent a patient from spending his scanty money for a placebo.

We have to know something about the patient's customs, especially his race customs, if we are to do anything efficient in matters of diet. It isn't any use to hand out the same diet slip to patients of different races. We ought to have some idea of what they can possibly be induced to eat under ordinary conditions before we can do anything intelligent with the prbolem of diet in disease.

The hardest of all things, and one which is frequently impossible, is to make a doctor see that health is not the most important consideration in the world. Every act of heroism involves the denial that health or life is the most important thing in the world. Now, patients are often ready and willing to do heroic acts and very unwilling to be withheld from them by considerations of health. But it often needs a social worker to bring that home to a physician. For we physicians are taught steadily and persistently to look out for health, and we have learned the lesson so well as to make it almost impossible for us to look out for anything else.

I remember one of my early lessons in this particular direction was from Miss Higgins, of Boston, when she first came to look into our work at the Massachusetts General Hospital. I was very proud at that time of the use we were making of convalescent homes. There were a number of them in Boston which had never been made use of for the good of dispensary patients. The dispensary had never thought of utilizing these convalescent homes, and when our social service department got on to that wrinkle and began to use it, we felt very proud of it. From the point of view of the patient's health it was a distinctly good idea. But we hadn't stopped to consider the effect upon the patient's character of taking indefinite doses of convalescent homes, for indefinite lengths of time. From the physical point of view, it was probably the best thing the patient could do. From the point of view of the social worker, the point of view of character and of the family, it may have been very bad.

In one Boston hospital especially, and in all the hospitals to some extent, the social workers have taught the doctors that the way things are said to a patient makes fully as much difference as the accuracy of the diagnosis and treatment. I know one institution, a free dispensary, where for years patients could go with the certainty of getting as accurate a diagnosis and as efficient treatment as they could by paying a large fee to any doctor. But the patient went to that institution with pretty certain knowledge that they would be treated like cattle there; that they would be pushed along up to the examining desk and roared at if they didn't happen to understand a language quite foreign to them; because you know the ordinary idea of the unsocialized doctor is that if a person does not understand your language he must be deaf.

But it isn't merely in matters of good manners that social workers are instructing doctors. A large part of efficient treatment in hospitals consists in inducing people to change their habits. Any one who has ever tried to change a habit knows what an herculean task it is. If one is to change a habit of eating or sleeping, he has to be encouraged, has

to feel confidence in the man who tells him to do it; he has to be kept up to his word from time to time by the right kind of stimulus. If he is merely told what he ought to do, nothing happens, and in fact nothing does happen in a large number of hospital cases for that very reason.

We doctors need to consider more than wte now do the personal element, the tlement of character. And the social workers are keeping it before our minds very constantly.

Lastly, one of the things that social workers keep before us simply because they don't live in hospitals as constantly as we do, and because they deal with families and with homes rather than with scattered, flying fragments, is that a case isn't closed when the patient disappears from the clinic. I don't think there are half a dozen out patient clinics in the country where the management undertakes to follow up a case to see what has happened. The patient comes in, his case is diagnosed, treated, he passes out, a new patient comes in, and the hospital is very proud of its extensive statistics, showing the enormous number of patients treated each year. But hospitals are only beginning within the last two or three years—and I think under the influence of social workers—to realize that efficient work means finding out what has actually happened to the patient after you suppose you have done him some good.

## II.

I come now to another question—what can social workers learn from doctors?—I feel rather more humble about that and more doubtful, but still I think there is something to be said. First I should like to speak of the use of written records. Social workers have realized for many years—I suppose as many years as doctors have—that records are of value. But I think that the study of records, the systems and the science put into records by social workers, has never quite equalled that put into them by physicians. I find very few social workers who, when they talk to other social workers of the value of records, emphasize the fact that when you are through writing a record, you ought to know more about the case than when you started to write it. In making a good record you have not merely emptied upon your paper what was in your head before. If you have written a proper record, you have written it as a means of getting all your best thoughts about that case simultaneously before your mind. The psychology of this matter is difficult and involved, but most of us realize that our minds ordinarily see their own experience as it were through a narrow slit and very seldom come to get even their own ideas before them at one time. We do not "put two and two together." The great value of the written record, besides its value as a permanent memorandum, ought to be that it shows us what we had not thought of doing before. When we come to write it out we see the holes, the empty places that we should not have seen if we hadn't spread the record out in this form upon paper. It makes us reason better, helps our memory, makes us go back to our case and look again where we otherwise would not

have thought to look. This was impressed upon me years ago in studying diseases of the heart, with small groups of medical students in the ward. At first I had each student listen to the patient's heart and tell me what he heard. I found, after a little, that I got much better results, if I had each man listen to the patient's heart and then write it down. The student after examining the patient would start to write his record, get about half way through and say, "Oh, I guess I had better examine him again." That return for a better look at the case is symbolic of what records ought to do for us and how they tend to produce more scientific and thorough work.

The next point which I think social workers have not sufficiently realized in case work, is the importance of the particular group of medical facts which doctors call prognosis, the reasonably expected outlook at any one time. What social workers are making is a plan on the basis of an investigation. I have seen a good many faulty social plans which would not have been so faulty if the worker had taken occasion through the help of physicians to get a proper prognosis on the case. How long is this thing going to last? That is a question which doctors ask themselves a hundred times for every once that social workers ask it. What are the chances of permanent physical improvement? The physical sid of importance, I believe, not merely to medical-social workers in hospitals, but to all social workers of every grade and especially in this matter of prognosis. There is nothing less worth while, nothing more disappointing, than to make a careful, well thought out plan, and have it upset for the lack of prognostic knowledge at the start.

Social workers need to learn from doctors a certain section of medical knowledge. I might, of course, have gone much further into that field, but certain things I have been reading lately by social workers make me want to emphasize especially this lack of knowledge on matters of insanity, neurasthenia and sex. The last book by the greatest social worker in this country, the woman whom we all reverence, and for whom we would like to use some warmer term—in that book, which is one of the finest, I think, that has been written in many years, fine as everything is that Jane Addams does—there are evidences, that even such a life of heroic devotion as hers, even such a life-long study of the professions of social work, has not prevented her from being weaker than she might conceivably be in her knowledge of feeble-mindedness and of insanity. The attention given to feeble-mindedness in that book is not as great, I think, as it would be had it been written by any one closely associated with medical social work in hospitals. I shall not stop to go into the other details of the study of the mind and of the abnormalities of the mind as it shows itself in neurasthenia, or in the abnormalities of sex. To mention them is all that I have time for tonight.

III.

I quoted Sunday morning certain words that came from Pastor Fliedner of Kaiserwerth in Germany, through his leaflet for deaconesses, the order which has spread from there all over the world. I am

sorry that I have to give you those magnificent words in a rather impotent English translation, but the best I can do with them in English is something like this:

"The poor make me rich.
The sick give me health.
From the dying I have learned to live."

These words call to mind some of my infinite debts of gratitude for things which I have learned from patients. I have spoken of the frequent heroism of patients which makes them disregard, or tends to weaken, their consideration for health, because they are thinking of something greater. The supreme wonder of the virtues of the poor as I have seen, is their absolute lack of selfconsciousness. Those of us who have had an education, so-called, who have read books, essays and novels, never can have the depths or the wonderful beauties of virtues, that all of us who work with the poor see, in that absolute unconsciousness of the names of the virtues they are practising. I think none of us could have the virtue of courage as it is possessed by a person who does not know the name of courage, has never heard of self-sacrifice, yet sacrifices self in a way that makes you and me want to get down on our knees.

IV.

But patients learn also now and then from doctors and social workers. Indeed, I think there are some elements of vital benefit to our national life in just this contact. As long as there are people in the community who teach that all who wear good clothes are necessarily selfish, parasitic vampires, it is going to be a benefit to have the kind of friendship and close contact between poor and those not so poor, which hospital social work provides. If there ever comes a social revolution in this country I don't believe that the greatest bitterness of those whose poverty makes them bitter, will be against the doctors, nurses or hospital social workers.

V.

Lastly, I want to speak of success and failure, best teachers of all of us who meet them frequently or occasionally in hospital social work. I think any profession, any education, any life is deficient in a vital respect that has not learned the lessons both of making a success of something and of making a failure of something. It seems to me, as I look over and classify professions or people, I can divide them into two groups—those who have never had the happiness of learning from success; and on the other hand, those who have never had the even greater happiness, of learning from failure.

To Mr. William H. Allen, of New York, all of us doctors and social workers owe, I think, very great debts. One of the greatest debts that I owe him is for the phrase "One hundred per cent. philanthropy." I wish all of you had heard him speak upon that special topic, because I

can't explain it to you as well as he would if he were here. But what he means is something like this: 100 per cent. philanthropy starts with a scientific survey of the field, to find out the whole need; next it secures resources adequate for meeting the whole of that need, and lastly it proceeds to wipe that need out. That is one hundred per cent. philanthropy. I need not say to you social workers that most of us haven't much experience of that kind. But it seems to me that Mr. Allen has been perfectly right in holding it up before us as an ideal, not inaccessible and inconceivable, but one toward which we should always strive.

An example of this kind of success can be pointed to in the work of the American government in Panama. Resting upon the scientific knowledge of the cause of malaria and yellow fever and the scientific knowledge that it was malaria and yellow fever that prevented the French from digging that canal—the United State government undertook an adequate survey of the Isthmus and made adequate preparations, lasting, I believe, nearly two years before they began to dig the canal. You know the result. I don't know whether you are as proud of it as I am. It seems to me to be one of the most magnificent victories of humanity over lower nature that has ever occurred in the history of our race. The fact that to-day in the canal zone the death rate, if we take it on the face value* of the records, is lower than in most civilized places—is one of the marvels of modern times. Facing the fact that the Isthmus is nearly as safe and healthy a place to live today as any other part of this country, though it was once so death-dealing a place that the French had to kive up attempts to build a canal there, it seems to me we can picture what a blessing one hundred per cent. philanthropy would be.

Dr. Woods Hutchinson has made a plan for a similar piece of one hundred per cent. philanthropy in relation to tuberculosis. He estimated the amount of tuberculosis in New York City and the amount of money necessary to wipe it out, and then challenged the country to get up and do it. It seems to me that we need this sort of challenge, and need it all the time. But we need also to realize something of the conditions of that success. A one hundred per cent. philanthropy, so far as I understand the term, so far as I have ever heard it, or read about it in Mr. Allen's books, always rests upon current scientific knowledge as its basis.

Now our greatest boast about modern science is its rapid progress. But most of us don't stop to think that the progress of science is over the dead bodies of theories which are outworn, of facts which were supposed to be true and were later found not to be true. Science progresses not merely by the discovery of new facts, but by the discrediting of old facts. Science in all its branches calls for our wonder and our reverence by the swiftness of its progress. But the swiftness of its

*The fact that the population contains abnormally few children and old people must be allowed for.

progress is in direct proportion to the number of its mistakes corrected. Nowhere is that more true than in the particular field we are speaking of now, that part of medical science which is applied as preventive medicine. It is progressing and changing more rapidly than any other part of medical science and for that very reason it is likely to fail us after we have planned our one hundred per cent. philanthropy campaign, passed our laws and spent our money. For example, the progress of applied science in the matter of ventilation during the last five years has been rapid, so rapid that I don't suppose one in a hundred in this audience knows what has come about. I suppose ninety-nine out of a hundred of you were taught that bad ventilation means too little oxygen and too much Co2. That was what it once meant but today it means nothing of the kind. Bad ventilation now means hot, stagnant, moist air. Science formerly taught that all we need in good ventilation is plenty of oxygen. This idea written into all the laws of ventilation means so much oxygen per person. Modern scienes denies that and believes that the difference between good ventilation and bad, is not a difference in the amount of O2 and Co2, but in the heat, moisture and motion of the air. Suppose we had made a one hundred per cent. philanthropy campaign on the knowledge of ventilation as it was five years ago. Well we did something of the kind in some of our building laws, and I have no doubt a good many manufacturers and builders of tenements are now bitter against the doctors and philanthropists who made the legislatures pass those laws about the cubic feet of air space.

That ventilation question seems to be decided for the present. But there are many other public health problems not decided; I will name two of them: tuberculosis and dental hygiene. I have seen a one hundred per cent. philanthropy campaign planned in relation to the teeth of school children. I feel sure that no one knows enough today to say that that campaign might not be magnificently successful. I feel equally sure that no human being knows enough today to say that it can succeed. The scientific facts upon which our ideas about tuberculosis and of dental hygiene are based are facts which it is not at all impossible to conceive as upset within the next few years. I do not feel in the least sure that twenty years hence we shall be doing much of what we are now doing in the campaign against tuberculosis. That must not prevent us from doing the best that we can. We must plan a campaign upon the facts now supposed to be true and must do our best to make it succeed. But what I want to point out is that 100 per cent. philanthropy is always a magnificent adventure—nothing more or less. Every venture takes a big chance of failure, and the social worker or doctor who will not take these risks is not worth anything. But these campaigns should be realized for what they are—great, worth-while hazards, nothing certain or secure.

Lastly, failure. Suppose we do fail in this campaign for tuberculosis. Suppose—what I don't myself suppose—that we are wrong in what most of us believe today ought to be done to stamp out tuber-

culosis. There are certain elements that will survive that failure, and those are the elements that make failures very often blessed. The elements that will survive are the elements of human friendship between those of us who have worked together in this campaign against tuberculosis—doctors, social workers, nurses and patients, working together against a terrible enemy and for a great good. Those personal relations can never be upset. Science may change a million times; but it will never change the spritual relations of friendship. Those are the only certain benefits, the only certain blessings of medical-social work. They will come out of success, and just as much out of failure. They are therefore the one thing we can be sure of. It is a mystical, non-utilitarian thing to be able to say at the end of a hard crusade, that you have done your best. And yet I don't know what greater satisfaction a man could have than the sense that he has done his best and that a Being who understands him better than he understands himself, knows that he has done his best. This sort of consciousness is altogether independent of the question of success or failure in the ordinary sense, but it is the sort of thing we can count upon, and, it seems to me, the only thing we can count upon in this profession.

I should like to see, on the whole, more stress put upon this side of our work, more stress put upon the things that can't leave us in the lurch as all of our one hundred per cent. philanthropy can. And I believe that one of the splendid things about the closer union of doctor and social worker in the hospital social work is that both are being taught that the very contact itself, whatever else may come of it, makes the whole venture infinitely precious.

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## MEDICAL AND SOCIAL CO-OPERATION.

By Miss Mary E. Richmond.

A friend of mine has been good enough to analyze for me the bulletin of membership just issued by this conference. It is incomplete, containing the names of only 999 members, and for some of these, the particular form of social service in which they are engaged is not indicated. Among those in which the form is definitely stated, however, no less than 815 are engaged in service with and for individuals. It has interested me to discover that these 815 can be divided roughly into 733 workers in non-medical agencies and 82 workers in medical agencies.

May I venture to make a few suggestions to the group of non-medical workers, of which I am one? Others of this group may have had that particular experience of life or that particular disposition which has fitted them to take the medical point of view, or at least to understand it; so I would address myself especially to those who have found themselves as ill-equipped as I to play this new and interesting game of co-

operating with the doctors. It must be admitted that many of us have been more bent upon getting young people into school and keeping them there, upon starting them to work under conditions as good as are now possible, and upon pressing in upon the older ones the fulfilment of their social obligations, whilst at the same time keeping ourselves alert to ease the strain where it has seemed most galling. It must be admitted that we have been so absorbed in these tasks that we have often failed to recognize the full significance of the bodily and mental strain of ill-health; we have often been blind to the obscurer signs of impending breakdown.

I cannot admit so much, however, without pointing out that health is not a thing apart from training, from work and from social relations; it interplays with all of these in the most interesting and baffling way. But, in all social work that has to do primarily with people, we cannot overestimate the importance of health questions; each added year of recorded experience forces them upon the attention of case workers with renewed emphasis and fresh illustration.

What, then, of practical value can we take away from the medical meetings of this conference and apply to our day's work?

1. The seven sub-committee reports of this section are full of suggestions. We can read them carefully, after the conference is over, with our own particular work in mind. But do not assume that nothing can be done about the evils enumerated in these reports without first organizing all the social agencies therein described. Too often we start an agency of some kind—a hospital social service department, a mental hygiene committee, a dental clinic—and then rest back upon our old habits. In order to get new results, it is not so necessary to start a new agency (though that too may help) as it is to get new habits. Heads and hands were made before agencies, and the sooner we make our heads and hands at home among the new fruits of social experience and scientific research, the better for the agencies when they are started.

I tried the experiment, this winter, of sending for criticism a case record of four difficult girls in one family to a number of children's agencies and medical workers, as well as to my colleagues in the charity organization societies. I received over forty thousand words of comment. For a little while, the slow and difficult process of my own education seemed to receive a great impetus. Let me pass on a few of the impressions that remain.

One of the child-saving workers wrote, more especially of the youngest girl, that while in 1906 (the record was begun in that year) he might have shaped the treatment in the way recorded, now he had learned from the doctors to recognize, as needing expert diagnosis, the symptoms of constitutional inferiority which were the outstanding facts in the case history.

2. In other words, 1912 is not 1906, and no other lesson is more important for us non-medical workers than this one. Too often, we go on doing our work in whatever way we first learned to do it, and con-

tinue that method to the end of time, leaving all the newer discoveries that have a direct bearing upon our own field quite unassimilated.

3. We might hold, as regards physical and mental diseases of social origin, a strategic position, I believe; for such diseases (as one of the reports of this section of the conference points out) are still too often diagnosed in the later and hopeless instead of the earlier and more curable stages. A certain awareness in us would help to get the patient to the doctor much earlier, especially in those cases in which the economic breakdown happened to precede the complete appearance of its physical cause or complement.

4. Let us cultivate, then, the habit of asking ourselves questions, and of asking them early. Not only from the special reports of this section but from the books and magazine articles that specialists are now beginning to prepare for us laymen, let us cull the lessons about health and disease that seem to apply to our own work and then apply them. We should cultivate too the habit of asking questions not only of ourselves but of others. The habit of mind that carries a query promptly to the one who is most likely to have the answer is a far more valuable asset than a whole library of the sort of predigested health information which reaches us daily now in the morning's mail.

5. Another suggestion is with regard to economy of means. In the depth of their interest in those four sisters, the workers responsible ran from doctor to doctor, from hospital to hospital, and each scrap of diagnosis—all the contradictory scraps—were recorded with a blind faith that showed no consciousness of failure. As Dr. Cabot said, in commenting upon the recorded result, there was no sign of rueful awareness that they were not getting what they went for; and that they did not get it was probably due, in part at least, to the fact that no one means was deliberately chosen and then used to the full.

6. We are becoming convinced, of course, that the doctor needs and should use in his own work the social facts that are in our possession. Give him, by all means, the social facts that seem to be significant, but spare him, in so doing, your medical guesses. Otherwise, you will find that you are dealing with a closed mind at the very moment when you most need to find an open one. One critic of the record to which I have referred suggested that our social summary should always be submitted to the doctor in writing; whilst another objected that he might not always read it, and said that a better way would be to make a verbal report and then hand him a written summary before leaving. At the moment, it might mean nothing to him, but two months later, when he knew his patient better, some part of it might mean a great deal.

7. It is needless to say that physical and mental conditions change, that a medical diagnosis of six months ago must be brought up to date before we can safely make it the basis of social action.

Our information must be at first hand, too. So rapidly does it deteriorate in passing from informant to informant that it is hardly an

exaggeration to say that it loses fifty per cent. in accuracy with each remove. A children's agency called up an associated charities, for instance, to find out whether a certain woman who had had tuberculosis was a safe person with whom to place a child at board. Representatives of those two non-medical agencies put their heads together over the telephone to settle this question, when a message over another wire, connecting with the hospital in the case, would have brought the medical record and a medical opinion based upon it.

Thus far I have kept to my text, and addressed myself to the non-medical workers, more especially to the case workers in this audience. Let me, in closing, give one illustration of a handicap that we share with the doctors. Physical diseases and social ones too usually hunt not singly or in couples but in quintuples at the very least. Our task would be easier if this were not true—so much easier that sometimes we are tempted to envy the one-cause-one-remedy men. More or less hastily and clumsily we must choose our first point of attack and deal with one or two outstanding causes without delay, though with the other and more elusive ones always in mind, always modifying our treatment, and with our net so spread as to include them in time.

An associated charities sent me a record some months ago of a desertion case. A policeman had told the wife that if anyone could find her husband the associated charities could. There had been fault on both sides, apparently, and the man, when found in another state, was persuaded by his foreman and by another associated charities to send money regularly for the support of his wife and children. After this had continued for awhile, it had seemed to him best to have not only the expense but the pleasure of family life, and he had come home again.

So far so good, and here the agency withdrew. It was a workmanlike piece of social service, and the man was even overheard telling a chum that nowadays they found you no matter where you went. But while the man was still away and after the associated charities had been applied to, another baby was born. The woman wanted no help for this, or so she said; a midwife, who was unlicensed and whose name she therefore refused to give, would care for her, and she was independent and inclined to resent interference. Should the society make an issue of it? They decided not, being convinced that their treatment of the other disease, of the desertion, would suffer if they did. Having the fear of the committee on the Prevention of Blindness in mind when I read this record, I took the problem to their secretary. The baby had not been born blind, but it might have been. Should they have insisted? No, not at the time perhaps, but they should have examined the registry of births later and have done their best to prevent further unlicensed ministrations by the same practitioner. It transpired, when this examination of the registry was made later, that the child's birth had never been recorded at all, thus bringing a third and quite different social disease into the net.

The moral of all this, of course, is that while we cannot do everything at once, while we have a right to expect our clients and our public to be patient, nevertheless it is a thoroughly good thing for ourselves to keep task number two in mind and to set ourselves about doing it just as soon as task number one is well under way. Let us choose deliberately, excluding one of two irreconcilable things for the time being if need be, but let us take the other task up as soon as possible. Such a policy of inclusion even in a minority of our cases makes for understanding, for resourcefulness and for flexibility, makes for these alike in the practice of the doctor and of the social worker.

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## SOCIAL ASPECTS OF A MEDICAL INSTITUTION.

By Michael M. Davis, Jr., Ph. D., Director of the Boston Dispensary.

Every profession has its own way of looking at the world. We see what we are interested in and overlook what we are not looking for. This is true of social workers and of doctors; of social institutions and of medical.

The particular blindness of a medical institution is to see diseases instead of persons—a series of more or less abnormal and therefore interesting limbs, eyes, livers and hearts, incidentally though necessarily connected with human beings. We need to have the eye that sees people as well as disease, and therefore, the physician, the specialist in disease, needs to have by his side the specialist in people, the social worker.

What are the practical things to do, to realize our ideal of treating not only organs and ailments, but men, women and children as members of society? First, let us remember that, with all reasonable emphasis upon the social side, Out-Patient Departments and Hospitals are primarily medical. A stream does not rise higher than its source, and neither patient nor institution will get more out of its doctors than the minds and the hearts of the doctors can give. The skill and training of the physicians, the adequacy of the technical equipment for medical and surgical work, are fundamental conditions which, in this discussion, we may take for granted.

Wide fields of social relations lie beyond this, as can be suggested by two questions.

1. To what extent are the rules, fees and general routine (the so-called red-tape of the institution) adapted to patients as well as to adminstrative convenience?

Even "objects of charity" are human beings. An Out-Patient Clinic wastes a large part of its time and money in examining patients who never come back for treatment. The frequency and regularity of patients' return are undoubtedly affected by the length of time they have to wait; the pleasantness or curtness with which they are treated

by the employees of the institution; the clinical routine, the amount of privacy during examination; the number of personal questions asked and the tact and skill with which such information is sought.

2. To what extent is the institution meeting those problems of patients' lives which, running alongside their physical condition, affect powerfully the continuity and practicability of adequate medical treatment?

These social conditions or problems can be classified into four groups:

**Problems personal to the patient:** e. g. ignorance which renders it impossible or difficult for the patient to understand what the trouble is or how treatment is to be properly carried out. In the case of the little child, this applies to the parents.

**Family conditions:** e. g. over-crowded or unsanitary housing which causes disease or prevents its cure; or a nagging or neglectful home group within which an ailing member is hopelessly penned.

**Industrial Problems:** e. g. long hours of labor or labor on extremely low wages, which may have produced the disease for which treatment is sought and render cure impossible until the cause is removed.

**General social conditions of patient or family:** e. g. poverty. Successful medical or surgical treatment is often impracticable unless aid is afforded to relieve financial distress, or to secure the needed food, rest and peace of mind.

These problems must be dealt with if we are to make the medical work itself efficient; for neither patients nor doctors will think it worth while to continue a course of treatment if they see no means by which it can be carried out. How many discouraged fathers have gone away from a clinic with a feeling of hopelessness and have let even the medicine bottle stand untouched on the mantle piece, because what they and the doctor knew was necessary, a vacation, a change of work, and better living rooms, were as impossible as a trip to Europe. The determination of the human problems presented by the patients who throng the doors of a clinic, and the classification of these problems so that the methods of dealing with them can be intelligently studied, are fundamental parts of the work of an Out-Patient Department or of a progressive hospital. Social diagnosis must accompany medical.

Some will reply to this demand: "That is what Social Service Departments have been established for." But in most cases Social Service Departments have actually been founded for a much narrower purpose; namely, to deal with striking cases of distress that drift into a clinic—the homeless man, the hopeless widow, the shoeless child. It being obvious that medical treatment is often of secondary importance in the face of such needs, the social worker is called in as an emergency aid. A large Out-Patient Clinic or Hospital is dealing with patients from many different sections of the community, including in fact, all the chief economic groups except the well-to-do. The problem of the poor in that technical sense of the word, which means those individuals or families who are not earning enough to provide a minimum standard

of decent housing, food and clothing, affects only a fraction of the patients of a large clinic. A thousand families picked at random from the rolls of a medical institution would contrast decidedly with a similar number picked from the beneficiaries of a Charity Organization Society. The latter has specialized in families who are poor in the technical sense of the word. The medical institution takes a majority of its clientele, from those who are above the poverty line as just defined, but who cannot possibly pay at regular professional rates for the medical and surgical service which they need.

I am therefore impatient of those who would apply methods of charity organization case-work throughout medical social service. Medical Social Service should indeed be perfect in all things concerning case-work as known to the skilled charity worker; but we need to understand that its field is broader, more specialized in a medical direction, but less specialized and more democratic in a social direction.

I have been endeavoring to look at the 30,000 patients who come annually to the institution with which I am connected from the disinterested standpoint of an observer of human beings, rather than from the professional point of view of a social worker. From this standpoint I have endeavored to classify the needs, social as well as medical, which present themselves in this large group, and to classify these needs into types. I can best show this classification, which I have thus made in a very tentative way, by a series of concrete illustrations.

I. **Type One:** Patients whose social problems are evident and acute. These problems must be solved promptly if the patient is to be in a position to receive any effective medical treatment.

**Examples:** (No. 108*) Baby 15 months old; ill-nourished, enlarged tonsils; pharyngitis. Mother a dishwasher in a restaurant, deserted by husband.

(No. 150) Married woman of 40; chronic arthritis of phalanges, of right hand; scoliosis; teeth almost gone; severe headaches. Takes bromo-seltzer in large quantities. Cannot understand English. Three children at school; husband a tailor.

(No. 208) Young unmarried woman, and illegitimate child. Both syphilitic.

II. **Type Two:** Patients whose social problem is not acute, but whose disease is one dangerous to others. It is a serious matter if a patient suffering from such a disease goes about without continued care and ultimate cure. The interests of the community in such a case are paramount to the needs or wishes of the individual patient.

**Examples:** (No. 105) Woman of 21, recently married. Syphilis. Syphilitic throat lesions.

(Case not one of the 116) Married man of 32, second stage tuberculosis; two children of school age and baby under two years.

III. **Type Three:** In this type there exists no acute problems of poverty, ignorance or employment; but examination at the first visit

*These numbers refer to a series of 116 Dispensary cases, selected at random and specially studied with a view to such classifications.

indicates a disorder which requires that the patient should come back several times for treatment. Unless the work of the physician who makes the diagnosis is to be wasted, so far as service to the patient and the community is concerned, this return should be brought about. It is the duty of the institution to adapt its methods so that patients are most likely to return and so that the most economical and efficient means are used for following up patients until they do return without squandering effort upon hopeless or unresponsive cases.

**Examples:** (No. 76) Man of 52, married, no children. Clerk; rheumatism.

(No. 178) Woman of 53, married; two children, one at school and one working; husband a laborer, work unsteady. Indigestion and bad teeth.

(No. 58) Boy, age 4. Father a helper in a garage. Three other children, one working. Adenoids, hypertrophied tonsils, operative dermatitis.

IV. **Type Four:** No acute social problem exists and treatment of the patient can be completed at the first visit or, if a few additional treatments be required, the disorder is such as to occasion discomfort sufficient to insure the patient's return.

**Examples** of this type are toothache requiring extraction (No. 110); supposed need for eye glasses, found on examination not to exist (No. 2); stye on the eye (No. 55.)

What is the relative proportion of these types? From a study made at the Boston Dispensary, I can say tentatively that:

Type one and type two (acute problems calling for medical social case work), 25 to 30 per cent. of all patients.

Type three (problems requiring social work but mainly by clinical methods), 40 to 50 per cent.

Type four (patients not requiring any follow-up or other definite social work), 25 per cent.

These percentages are, of course, tentative even for the single institution to which they refer. But I believe that this kind of classification is of fundamental importance to the social work of medical institutions. Such work falls into two main types, which, for the sake of better titles, I will call the case-work type and the clinical type. To the latter very little attention has thus far been given. It appears to apply to one-half of all the patients; while the kind of work with which we are more familiar, the case-work type, probably applies to less than one-third. This division has an important bearing upon the cost of Social Service, as I shall show later. The clinical type of social work requires persons equally as well trained as those who pursue case work—and most individuals carry on both kinds, though with different patients—but the clinical work is not necessarily pursued according to those methods or with that point of view which have usually been regarded as effective in the care and rehabilitation of needy families in their homes.

I draw the following deductions from these facts, and from my imagination; in what proportion from these two sources you must judge.

1. The scope of the Social Service Department must be identical with that of the institution. It is the trained hand through which the institution seeks to realize its ideal of dealing with people as well as with disease. Upon the Social Service Department rests the responsibility for dealing with people wisely and not too well; that is, with that restraint upon feeling and that emphasis upon intelligence which careful training brings.

2. The Social Service Department must, therefore, be under the full control of the management of the institution. This places upon it the large responsibility of assisting in the administration of all the human relations of the institution.

3. Another important inference relates to organization. Social workers must be placed in the clinics and in the hospital wards so that they come into first-hand contact with the doctor and the patient together. A well-trained social worker can render important assistance in clinical routine. She can take the social histories, thus securing facts about patients which are often of assistance to the physician in determining a diagnosis. Her aid is still more valuable when he comes to carry out treatment. During the regular period of the clinic, she is able to be of service to a large number of patients and then to take up for home visits and other special work, those particular cases which present difficult social problems or urgent needs.

To "socialize" a clinic in this way means a more elaborate form of organization than has been customary in out-patient service. Nurses and social workers must pull together, and, when not combined in the same individual, the problem of adjusting their functions in the clinic is and will be for some time a delicate one.

4. An Out-Patient Department cannot realize its social relations unless it places a social worker at the admission desk where the new patient is first seen. This is the central point of the building. Here the relation of the institution to the patient receives its first direction and is either pitched on the right plane or is lowered to the wrong. The admission problem is only incidentally a medical one. It is fundamentally social. We want from the admission desk a social classification of patients, endeavoring to learn those items of each patient's "social history" which are distinctive, and thus to determine, or "diagnose," the social problem of that patient. At the very commencement of the institution's experience with each individual, it thus makes a beginning at an intelligent plan for his treatment; or, as sometimes happens, decides that he is not a subject for treatment.

5. What will be the effect of these forms of social service upon its cost? At present, the best statistics obtainable from several representative Social Service Departments indicate that the cost of each case taken up and carried to completion is on the average between $3 and $4; nearer $4 than $3. This is in addition to the cost of the medical work, which in a first-class institution, approximates $1 a case. My answer to this question is that the development of the social aspects of medical

institutions will, as it is more and more worked out, diminish the per-capita cost of social service work, while it will increase the total sum that has to be devoted to it. The per-capita cost will be diminished because we will take up less and less acute cases. Thus far we have dealt in the main with the most difficult types, as I have already pointed out, and these require the most time and are the most expensive. As we enter more and more into medical-social service with a broader view, and deal with the cases according to methods of clinical work, we shall increase the numbers of patients dealt with much more rapidly than we shall increase the number or cost of workers on the staff.

Is this conclusion of any comfort? At the Boston Dispensary the Social Service Department is now dealing by methods of case work with a little more than one-fifteenth of the 30,000 Out-Patients. At the Massachusetts General Hospital the proportion is about the same. If these Departments cost about $10,000 a year as at present, is it true that $150,000 annually would be required to give these institutions all the social service they need? If so, Social Service will have to wait a long time before it gets that amount of money. If the figures that I have presented to-day have any weight, they are important because they indicate that, while the development of social service means indeed more funds, the per-capita expense will diminish as we advance; so that multiplication of our present service by three, and establishing proper relations with co-operating agencies, would perhaps meet the needs of the institution fully.

I do not regard these figures as more than tentative. They have, however, been based upon a definite method of studying the problem of social work at an Out-Patient Department; and this method is important. It consists essentially in selecting at random a number of patients and in studying them medically and socially, so that we have a view of the problems which they bring with them to the Clinic. Thus, we are able to classify these problems and also the kind of work which they require for their solution.

6. Medical Social Service is only one of the ways, though it is one of the most important, in which Out-Patient Departments and Hospitals must realize their social relations. If we are to deal with these institutions as agencies of the public health, we must see to it that they establish special departments aimed to prevent as well as to cure disease. While every good medical institution now carries on some such work as a sort of infiltration amid its regular activity, I believe that preventive clinics (or preventive sections of existing clinics) need to be specially organized if preventive medicine is to have the development which the public health requires.

7. Again, medical institutions must work up their relations to other organizations in the community, such as charitable societies, employers of labor, trade unions and other bodies dealing with the masses of the people. Of especial importance are the relations with the public schools.

8. In a still broader way, the Out-Patient Department should serve

the community by making the material which it gathers concerning disease and its causes available in the campaign for public health. I believe that every large Out-Patient Department and Hospital should have at least one trained person as a medico-social research worker, who would be devoted to studying the material which the institution is constantly accumulating and to formulating its statistics or its suggestions concerning the city's health. Such a worker would, of course, pursue original research upon special topics.

That Out-Patient Departments and Hospitals should realize their social relations and serve the community in more integral and generous ways, is a matter of public importance. The cost of medical service is increasing owing to the advance of science; and at the same time, the demands of the community for improved care of health are growing still more rapidly. The masses of the people, in fact, all but the well-to-do, are unable today to command adequate medical or surgical care by the old method of paying private physicians for it. Organized medical service—and this means clinics, although by no means free or so-called charity clinics—seems called upon to be the medical resource of an increasing proportion of our people.

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## THE RELATION OF THE PHYSICIAN AND SOCIAL WORKER IN THE EFFORT TO SAVE "DAMAGED GOODS."

By Dr. C. Morton Smith, Boston.

(Abridged)

How many here have read Brieux's play, translated under the title of "Damaged Goods?" It is a true and faithful account of a young man infected with syphilis just before marriage, and shows the suffering that comes to him and his family through his neglect to follow the medical advice given him. The story is not overdrawn. It is simply true, and similar ones are to be found in the experiences of physicians the world over.

Perhaps some here know of almost identical cases, or have been allowed to peep into some family closet long enough to see the marks of syphilis on the skeleton therein. Did you believe it when you were told that the disease which left its permanent mark, could be acquired accidentally—innocently—perhaps from the pure kiss of a dear friend, or in the fond caress of a first grandchild, or from the thoughtless use of a public drinking cup? The remark is sometimes made "one hears of cases of innocent infections, but as a matter of fact they seldom happen. It is a convenient excuse to ease a guilty conscience of wrong doing." We will show later that this is not always true.

In our own Puritanic Boston, the early inhabitants believed the syphilitic and the alcoholic to be suffering a just punishment, imposed by the Almighty for their sins. When the Boston Dispensary was founded in 1796, the by-laws stated that physicians of the institution need

not treat syphilis or alcoholism. The same attitude was taken in 1864 when the City Hospital was founded. There is a regulation stating that persons suffering from a venereal disease shall not be admitted. At the present time, the only places where the syphilitic may be admitted as such, are the State Hospital at Tewksbury and the hospital at Long Island—both pauper institutions, and a few selected cases in the skin ward of the Massachusetts General Hospital.

No one questions the claim of syphilis to great antiquity—and that it is often found in bad company cannot be denied—but to always think of it as a venereal disease is far from the truth. It occurs as an innocent acquisition so often that nearly half the cases come under this head. Without burdening you with a lot of figures, please remember that from 6 to 10 per cent. of all infections are extra-genital. Add to this the inherited cases, then the innocent wives infected by their husbands and vice versa, and we have from 35 to 45 per cent. of innocent cases. In the light of these facts the Standard Dictionary does well to define syphilis as a "Chronic contagious disease!" Surely a contagious disease that not only passes from an infected to a healthy person but to his offspring as well, is worthy of our most serious consideration.

Until very recently syphilis was a word never to be spoken outside the consulting room. Within five years the Emeritus professor of Dermatology of Harvard University was scheduled to give a lecture (to men only) in the popular course given at the Medical School Saturday evenings. One of our best daily papers printed a list of the lecturers and their subjects; his alone, on syphilis, was omitted. Such was the attitude towards "damaged goods" by the lay press in our community.

Previous to 1853 syphilis and local venereal sores were classed together as The Venereal. In that year the entity of syphilis was established. From 1853 to 1903 no scientific discoveries were made, but a mass of clinical knowledge was accumulated. Many sought the cause of the disease but were unsuccessful. Investigators were greatly handicapped because they were unable to transmit it to animals. In July, 1903, Metchnikoff and Roux successfully inoculated a female Chimpanzee. The animal was shown at the French Academie and pronounced a genuine infection of syphilis. A few months later she contracted pneumonia and died. However, during her brief life at the Pasteur Institute she indirectly contributed more toward human welfare than is accomplished by many human beings in a life time. This successful inoculation stimulated scientific zeal afresh and in May, 1905, Shaudin and Hoffman published their discovery of the cause of the disease. In 1906 Wasserman made known the complement fixation reaction for syphilitic blood—which bears his name and may be of service not only in making a diagnosis but to a certain extent may be a measure of treatment.

In 1909 the Social Worker came to help us, and it is of her work with us that I wish chiefly to speak. It is doubtless unnecessary to remind you that in 1910 Professor Ehrlich's great invention for the de-

struction of syphilis was given to the world. While it does not fulfill all the inventor's early claims, it is a most valuable addition to our means of treatment. One of the important features in connection with the introduction of this drug is the wide spread interest aroused in syphilis among laymen as well as physicians. This interest would have developed more slowly but for the publicity given the subject of 606 in current literature.

Hospitals play a two-fold part in a community. While they are primarily for the care of the sick they furnish an opportunity for the instruction of doctors, medical students, nurses, social workers, as well as the patients themselves.

Many erroneous views are still held in regard to this disease, by some members of the medical profession. A committee has just been appointed in the American Medical Association, to work for better and more uniform methods of teaching syphilis in our Medical Schools. In our clinic, a considerable amount of time has been given both by physicians and social workers to the education of our confreres, friendly visitors and volunteer helpers of various societies as well as social workers. Just a word about volunteer helpers. It has happened a number of times that congenitally syphilitic babies have been given these visitors to bring to the clinic without being told the nature of the child's disease—and hence of the precautions that should be taken. Considerable work has already been done with the secretary of various societies to eliminate this possible danger.

We have heard much about the great need of social education for the physician—which is doubtless true. But the need of a better understanding of physicians and their handling of medical matters, by social workers, is often apparent. The more they know of medical methods, the better. Not to assume more authority—for with greater knowledge they are cautious about handling that side of the case. Much time and tact are often required to overcome old prejudices and correct erroneous ideas. None of the work, which may be classed as educational, shows on daily or monthly reports—but is of unquestioned value. Much of it would not be accomplished and none of it so well done, if the social worker were not a part of the clinical staff.

Many apparently still believe that "once syphilitic, always syphilitic," and therefore always a source of danger. This is well illustrated by the following incident—A child was brought to the Dispensary with indefinite symptoms. The mother's history aroused suspicion, whereupon a Wasserman test was applied to her, with a positive result. Neither father, mother or child showed active syphilis. However, the mother was given 606 on account of the positive Wasserman. They soon moved out of the state, carrying letters to medical and social agencies, which assured proper supervision in their new home. The family took a cheap tenement, intending to let furnished rooms. The worker there writes us "that as syphilis is a reportable disease.....possibly the family will no longer be allowed to rent rooms, as the danger

of spreading infection is of course great.'' The danger is great from some patients—but by no means from all.

The question is often asked—Is it worth while trying to help syphilitics, and particularly children with inherited syphilis? The answer is emphatically YES. We are then told these children will either die young of the disease or some intercurrent infection, or grow up to swell the number of backward or defective children, some of whom may become a burden to the state. This statement is only partly true, as thorough treatment of a prospective mother and the child after birth does much toward preventing subsequent manifestations. Not infrequently these children are considered dull or stupid, simply on account of defective sight and hearing. At no time has there been anything like the concerted action to save children with inherited syphilis and make of them useful and self- supporting citizens, as at present.

The Boston Dispensary was, I believe, the first institution to establish a department of Social Service as a part of the institution and supported by institution funds. Aside from the department—to which cases are referred—several clinics are assigned whole or part time workers. Without the slightest doubt the social worker should be in the clinic regularly as an integral part of the clinical staff. The increased expense of this method is its only disadvantage. In the clinic she sees the cases from the start—acquires a certain knowledge of the past and family history as well as the present condition of the patient—and can thus select the cases most in need of her services. Beside the saving of time in taking the history, the patients feel that one department only is caring for them. In the clinic many cases come under her influence and advice that are never entered on her records.

A young girl is brought to us by a worker for some Girls' Society—the patient has syphilis. More time may be required to help the worker forget ''the things that are not so'' than with the patient herself, and what is true of the workers of one society applies to nearly all, and as different representatives for the same society come to us, this work has to be repeated again and again. The physician and social workers seeing the cases together are capable of better team work and become more familiar with each other's methods in solving the various problems presented. There is then no sharp dividing line where the work of one leaves off and the other begins. Their work is and should be interdependent.

There are great varieties of medico-social conditions, some common to all, others peculiar to the different nationalities. American ideas, customs and manner of living, well known and understood by our native born, are strange and unknown to the recent immigrant from Russia, Syria, Italy and elsewhere. With the steady stream of immigration our beginners class is never empty. These foreigners, many coming from rural districts and accustomed to an out-door life, soon feel the effect of poor housing and overcrowding.

Social Service is doing a most valuable work investigating home

conditions. Not only is this information important but incipient cases of all sorts are found and directed into proper channels. If patients cannot be safely cared for at home they are sent to a hospital or boarded in some satisfactory place, and children are placed in the care of the proper agency. Visits to the family are of much value, for as a rule patients are more communicative and confidential in their homes—but several visits may be necessary to gain their confidence and get the whole story.

In our department most of the work is done with syphilitics—partly because we have a rather large following of this class and partly because their need seems greater. There is no use in trying to escape—we are "our brother's keeper" and it is our duty to the community to eliminate as far as possible, the spread of the disease.

It is of great value to the physician to have a worker in the clinic who is in touch with all the charitable and philanthropic organizations as well as social workers in other institutions. In this way we often find that a patient is known to many agencies—and may be receiving aid from several at the same time. This is the clearing house feature of Social Service.

Our work during the winter has brought us into frequent communication with about twenty-five different agencies and various individuals connected with each. In all our relations with the different societies, the spirit of mutual helpfulness and co-operation has prevailed.

The following cases illustrate some of the varied problems that are presented.

Mrs. W., aged twenty-four, the mother of a healthy boy of four, was deserted by her husband. He returned and lived with her for awhile, during which time she became pregnant and was again deserted. She was delivered in a hospital of an apparently healthy baby. Having an abundance of milk, she was given another baby to nurse while she remained in the hospital. At the age of six weeks her child showed an eruption, and was brought to the Dispensary, where the diagnosis of inherited syphilis was made. It was of great importance to the baby that it receive breast feeding for the first six months at least. This, the mother could not do and support herself at her old job as waitress in a restaurant. Our social worker took up the case. They were then living with a cousin. After many conferences, a children's society agreed to pay the board of the mother and older child for a time, but felt the cousin's husband should be told the nature of their disease—knowing that if he were told he would not allow them to remain in his house. This seemed to us, unnecessary, as the mother was in no way a source of danger, she taking the entire care of her baby, who at that time had no infectious lesions. Furthermore she was intelligent and to be relied upon to carry out directions. After many more conferences the agent of the society wrote us that "they had decided to put their scruples in their pocket" and pay the board. Later, an arrangement was made whereby mother and children went to board with one of our

better class syphilitic families, then in needy circumstances. The board money came to them as a Godsend and was apparently the beginning of their better times. This baby is now two and a half years old and doing well. The mother is back at her old work and comes in for frequent conferences with our social worker.

Another example of our united efforts is Alice, a thirteen-year-old school girl. She came to us with a sore on her upper lip, of three weeks' duration, which had been treated by the school doctor and nurse. Clinically it was unquestionably an accidental inoculation of syphilis and the microscope demonstrated the presence of the germs of this disease. A brother-in-law came to the clinic with her and was told the nature of her trouble. He consented to the immediate use of Salvarsan (606) which was given, and healing of the sore was prompt and satisfactory, the germs disappearing from the lesion within twenty-four hours. How did she get infected? Our social worker visited the sister's home, where the patient lived. While there, she became suspicious of the sister's young baby who had an opacity of the cornea of one eye and asked to have it brought to the Dispensary where her suspicions of inherited syphilis were confirmed. Here we have a little girl living with a sister, helping "mind the baby" and undoubtedly in fondling and kissing it, poisoning herself on the lip. The baby is now also under treatment and doing well—thanks to the social service! Through the same means we will be able to keep them under observation and treatment. From whom did the baby inherit the disease? Probably from the father, although he has stoutly denied ever having had trouble. Neither parent shows evidence of the disease at present—and therefore are not a source of danger. Nothing would be gained by too close questioning and we might lose our hold on them entirely. As they see the gradual improvement in the baby and come to know us better they will trust us more and we may get the true family history. Should the mother become pregnant, we would put her under treatment at once. There is no use in trying to do everything at the first visit.

One of the best pieces of work done by Social Service in our department, began two and a half years ago. An old patient—unmarried—became pregnant. She needed hospital care but could not be admitted as it was her second pregnancy. We had known her at the clinic for a long time as a case of late syphilis, but how little we really knew about her was soon shown when our worker got on her track. She had given so many fictitious names that she had almost forgotten her real one. She was known to many societies. There was no place for her to go except the state almshouse. This she flatly refused to do—but our worker not only persuaded her that it was best to go there, but succeeded in keeping her there for nearly a year, working in the institution that she and her baby might be together under treatment. And they have been together most of the time since. She has made many personal sacrifices that they may be near enough to the Dispensary to be kept under observation. Our latest report finds her the matron of a respectable lodging house

owned by a syndicate—where she and her child are well liked. She once said that the first square deal she ever got was from us.

Catherine B., a pretty, brown-eyed girl of seventeen, came to our clinic. Her syphilis was most infectious and her history indicated clearly that her mode of life often digressed from the path of virtue. The earnings from these digressions, she said, helped to swell the family income and buy medicine for her sick mother.

A home visit revealed a condition almost indescribable. The family—father, mother and five children—lived in a few rooms under the roof of a tumbling-down wooden building. Plastering was off the walls, panels out of doors, windows broken, and the odor from the insanitary arrangements not soon to be forgotten. The mother was in bed in the last stages of Phthisis, refusing hospital treatment because she was afraid to leave the younger children with her husband, then lying by her side in a drunken stupor.

The father could earn twelve dollars per week in the rare occasions between sprees. A son earned four dollars. The family existed on this. A pile of rags on the floor in front of the kitchen stove, where Catherine had been sleeping to keep warm, showed that it was just existence.

It took the close co-operation of the Tuberculosis visiting nurse, the Associated Charities visitor, the Board of Health and the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, under the inspiration of our social worker to solve this problem.

The mother went to a Tuberculosis Hospital as soon as she was reassured about the children. There she died a few weeks later. The Board of Health condemned the house against further occupancy. The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children placed the younger children in good homes. Catherine herself was sent to Long Island Hospital until her condition was no longer infectious. She then went into a Catholic home, where she was under good influence, both social and medical. When the court asked for the appointment of a guardian over her until she became of legal age, she asked a social worker to assume that responsibility—her way of expressing gratitude for what had been done in her interest.

These are only a few of the ways in which Social Service is working with us. We appreciate its help and hope for its continuance.

# Standards of Living and Labor

Report of the Committee by Owen R. Lovejoy, Secretary of The National Child Labor Committee, Chairman.

The following statement by the Committee on Standards of Living and Labor is prepared by the Chairman of the Committee with the advice and approval of its members.

While individual members of the committee have presented a variety of opinions on the topics, this statement expresses the majority view, and with the exception of two or three paragraphs is signed in its entirety by all members of the committee.

The group of propositions which this Committee undertakes tonight to present for consideration is the result of mature deliberation at every point. The statement is an outgrowth of efforts of the Committee during three years of Conference history. When the first Committee on Standards of Living and Labor was elected three years ago, the Chairman, Mr. Kellogg, wisely attempted to represent a wide-spread conviction that industry should be subjected to certain tests of social efficiency and should measure up to standards demanded by public health and safety.

In the second year under the Chairmanship of Mrs. Kelley certain of these more obvious standards were urged and their necessity demonstrated, as, for instance the protection of workmen from the dangers of lead poisoning, and the establishment of systems of workmen's compensation.

The Committee for the present year believes the time has arrived to assemble in one group, standards which may be promulgated before political parties, church conferences, women's clubs, federations of labor, associations of manufacturers, and other groups of citizens interested in public welfare, and able through organization to direct public thought and secure official action.

Since the dawn of recorded history the only means by which the essentials of social welfare, which we call a livelihood, can be secured, except by theft, gift or inheritance, is by work. The overwhelming majority of the population of this country

depend upon work as the means of livelihood. We therefore declare that industry must submit to such public regulation as will render it a means of life and not of death, of health and happiness, not of misery and inefficiency.

It has been impossible within the limits of this brief report to discuss in detail the wide variety of problems entering into our industrial relationships, but we undertake to outline minimum standards in relation to wages, hours, housing, safety and health, the term of working life, and workmen's compensation, and to urge their adoption. The principles to which we invite attention are not new. They are recommended by physicians and neurologists who have studied the effects of fatigue and overstrain on health; by economists who have recognized the extravagance of unskilled labor, excessive hours and low pay, and by the thousands of social workers represented here, who deal with the human wastes of industry through relief societies or perform the gruesome task of sorting out, classifying and harboring this human wreckage of our industrial anarchy in orphanages, hospitals, insane asylums and almshouses.

We are not deluded by any notion that ninety million Americans will at once accept the standards on which we have agreed. We should be inclined to suspect their utility if no opposition were presented. Social progress is evolved through free and frank discussion, and we eagerly challenge a denial of the validity of any point presented. We have not sought a declaration of social ideals. What we have attempted is to lay the subbasement floor which we regard as positively the lowest stratum that should be tolerated by a community interested in self-preservation. When we declare for a living wage, meaning by that, sufficient reward for labor to enable the head of a family to provide food, raiment and shelter, to furnish education and recreation to his children, to tide the family over periods of sickness, and to guard against pauperism in old age, we venture to challenge any citizen to show wherein any kind of labor is entitled to less than this. We have not asked for luxury, or for the broadening influences of those arts and comforts which are the glory of our civilization. We have merely registered our demand that society shall cease to tolerate conditions that compel any man, as the reward for hard and faithful work to bur-

row beneath our social sub-cellar for a home. We maintain that no craftsman, however unskilled, should be compelled to hear the social experts say of the little children in his home: "These are a luxury you cannot afford, and if you insist upon bringing children into the world, you must be content to see them reared in ignorance and squalor." We protest that our manufacturing, mining and commercial industries shall cease to be a field of slaughter to which an army of men and women go forth every year to face industrial hazards more terrible than those of the military battle ground—hazards which society can readily avert.

We declare that the obligations upon the community and the individual are mutual; that society may reasonably demand from every normal individual his self-support during a certain period of life, but we also maintain that this period should be bounded by a minimum age to protect against premature labor, in order that the body may be properly formed, that the mind may have opportunity to develop, and that the aspirations and idealism of youth shall not be cabined and confined within factory walls, but shall have the range of hills, the sweetness of flowers, the song of birds, and the vision of stars, so that however exacting the burdens of later life, the soul of the child may preserve the divine image through maturity. We also contend that the term of the working years should be bounded by a maximum age beyond which the worker should find himself economically independent of daily toil.

We recognize that under present conditions the heavy burdens now sustained by industrial workers as a result of unavoidable accidents, industrial diseases, sickness, invalidity, unemployment, and old age are burdens which frequently crush those whose career has been honorable and service faithful, and that they constitute a dead loss to the world. Obviously it is unfair and cowardly for society to permit those least able to be longer crushed under these exacting burdens. Some effective system of compensation for these losses is demanded, not only by considerations of justice for the working man, but still more by considerations of economy for our industries themselves, and most of all for the conservation of human welfare.

In all these demands do we ask too much? Does any objector to our platform care to urge that personally and for his

family he would be content with less? We recognize the fact that the standards here set forth do not obtain in any part of our country except in piece-meal, and many of them not at all. But for encouragement we study our *trend* and not our *status*. We recognize that we are young; that our industrial problems are new; that our industrial relationships are entering into untried fields, and the progress now recorded every year inspires hope that we shall come to our maturity by and by .

*The Living Wage.*

The demand for a living wage seems modest, yet a glance at the wage standards in our American industries proves that for a majority of men, women and children employed, the wage standards not only fail to supply any of those elements which contribute to the broadening and enrichment of human life, but fail even to maintain decent standards of food, clothing, shelter and medical care. In a government investigation of 3,297,819 wage earners in 1905, forty-six per cent were found earning $10 or less a week, yet the same United States report urges that it is simply impossible for a family of five to maintain a decent standard of living on an income of $10 a week. The Bulletin of the New York Bureau of Labor recently stated that in the United States at least five million industrial workers are earning $6 or less a week.

If these family incomes are distressing what shall be said of the income of those women and girls who are thrown upon their own resources and have only their labor power as a stake in the general welfare? Not one city investigated in the past ten years has shown that a respectable percentage of the women and girl wage earners are receiving enough wages to maintain them in decency. It is estimated that the least on which a girl can live in Pittsburgh is $7 and yet over sixty-one per cent of the women whose wages were recorded were earning less than that amount. In Buffalo it is estimated that a girl must have $8 a week as the minimum wage, yet the average wages in the city of Buffalo are $6 a week in the factories, and in the department stores $5.50 a week. The minimum living wage for the city of Louisville is declared to be $6.50 a week, yet one quarter of the working women of Kentucky receive $4 or less per week.

These comparisons which deal not in figures, let us remember, but in the hopes, the temptations, the despair of human life, might be multiplied.

But what is the remedy sought? We urge that every state should establish minimum wage commissions to inquire into the wages paid in various industries, especially those in which women, children and immigrant men are employed to determine the standard which may be safely sanctioned by the public as a minimum. If it is contended that such boards would invade the private concerns of any industry, the reply is that there are no private concerns of industry. When man maintained himself upon the face of the earth by knocking nuts and fruits from trees with his own club, by braining the man who tried to snatch away his goods, and by sitting beneath the shade of the tree to satisfy his hunger, his industry may have been considered a private affair. All industry today is social. The employer has an important stake in it; so has the workman; but the largest stake holder in any industry is the public. The industry that seeks to shield from properly constituted authorities information as to its wage scales and other data relating to the earnings of employes, is in the category with the man who maintains his right to guard his private cesspool from the public health authorities who have discovered in that cesspool the genesis of the city's epidemic. The movement for honest weights and measures has its counterpart in industry and when the public comes to learn that sub-normal wages are more directly the source of disease, poverty and crime as the social output which lays its heaviest burdens on the societies represented here than are sub-normal sanitary standards, we shall then lift our industries to a social plane warranting the declaration that both the employer and the employed are workers together with God.

If it is objected that many industries would fail if society requires the payment of such wages as are here demanded, there can be but one answer—"the life is more than meat and the body is more than raiment." If the human race cannot learn to feed and clothe itself without the tragic sacrifice of some member of the family, then better hunger and nakedness than such industrial cannibalism. We claim there are industries which are maintained at a social loss. Whenever attempts are made in

any state to throw reasonable safeguards about the workers; to abolish child labor; to require safety provisions; to regulate night work; they are met by a formidable array of our captains of industry who plead that the proposed measure would mean death to business. I have in mind a beautiful little city in the hills, without poverty, without tenements, without child labor, in which the only cause for discontent is the absence of any important manufacturing industry. The splendid water power is soon to be utilized to develop a large cotton mill. This is as it should be. We must harness our rivers and lakes and forests and mountains to the service of man. What should it mean for that little city? Stimulated traffic, increased wealth, vitalized social intercourse, better schools, better churches, better homes, better streets, parks, playgrounds and libraries. What will it mean? If the business succeeds it requires no prophet foresee that unless it differs from every other factory city reported in modern history, in ten years from now—child labor, poverty, unsightly tenements and crippled industrial derelicts —will be a substantial portion of the output of that factory.

And we all expect it. As soon as the factory starts we shall organize an associated charities and its chief support will possibly come from the very industry whose presence demands its services.

We confidently urge these standards of publicity and regulation not as a war upon industry, but in its defense. The greatest enemy of the honorable employer who seeks a just and equitable division of the profits of his industry with those who join in the process, is the rival industry which seeks to underbid in the market and make up the balance from the blood of its toilers. There must be a clearer distinction between those legitimate forms of industry which are the glory of our American life and those wildcat industries which tear their victims, but yield nothing to social wealth.

*Eight Hour Day.*

Curiously enough our American civilization has not quite risen to the point of dealing fairly with the most helpless of our industrial workers. The eight hour day has been established for many years on government contracts, and by recent act of

Congress has now been extended to all private contracts on government work. A large number of states have established eight hours as the maximum work day on state contracts, and in reformatories and penal institutions eight hours has become the general standard. The trade unions, wherever strong enough, have established the eight hour day in all industries and are seeking to extend it throughout the labor world. But although we recognize the principle of the eight hour day on state and government contracts and for stalwart men banded together in protecting unions, and for men incarcerated in our correctional institutions, the industries in which the hours are longest and conditions of protection most inadequate are those very industries in which women and children are largely employed. We often hear in these days that if woman insists on her equality at the ballot box the spirit of chivalry will die. If it is chivalry that has produced the eighty-five hour week for the working women, if it is chivalry that welcomes our American women into our bank and office buildings to scrub our floors and support a family at $22 a month, then we venture to suggest that chivalry may well die and common decency and fair play take its place.

No argument would seem necessary for so obvious a standard as this, yet in every legislature where efforts are made to secure the eight hour day for women and children special interests have fought the measure and frequently with success. In New York state during the present year a law fixing the fifty-four hour week for working women was compelled to exempt the great canning industry which pled that it would be ruined unless permitted to employ women for practically unlimited hours during the rush season. It has also been urged by clothing manufacturers in New York and other states that the demands of American fashion are so sudden and exacting that it is impossible to conduct the industry except by adjusting it to rush seasons and periods of idleness. They object that not only the industry will be ruined, but the families of the workers will themselves suffer unless some latitude is given for the employment of women and children at night during the brief seasons when American taste suddenly awakens to the new call from the Paris dressmaker or milliner and demands its gown and bonnet. We recognize the inconvenience to any in-

dustry subjected to such vicissitudes. We also recall that there was a time when in many parts of America no man was considered properly dressed unless he could stalk through his village with a goodly string of scalps hanging from his shoulder. There were then rush hours during the open season for scalps and periods of out-of-work when the dove of peace hovered over the Indian village. But those days are gone and a man is considered fairly well dressed without a single scalp-lock hanging from his belt. And the day will come—come tripping on the heels of social regulation—when our manufacturers and merchants will be able to distribute comely and artistic apparel to people without compelling the sacrifice of the health of our mothers or burning out the eyes of our little children who now bend over their work in unventilated and dimly lighted tenements at all hours of the night.

*Safety and Health.*

Our country has already made an honorable beginning in attempts to regulate conditions under which poisonous and dangerous manufacturing processes are carried on. With the precedent established steady and rapid progress ought not to be difficult. Our systems of official inspection are, in many parts of the country, a farce. Factory inspection in Europe has developed a science which invites men and women of the highest talents to prepare by special training for this honorable career in social service. Here, in many of our states, if a man wishes to train for the position of factory inspector he does not take a university course, but carries a ward for the political boss. And neither the boss nor the inspector are to blame. Until our commonwealths take seriously the demand for a scientific study of safety appliances and fire escapes; conditions of sanitation and ventilation; the effects of heat, cold, glare, darkness, speed, noise and dust upon the thousands of workers subjected to one or another of these, we shall continue to make investigations and issue reports upon them which are not even worth our present niggardly appropriations.

The constructive statesmanship of the whole country must be turned upon this problem of preservation of the life, safety and health of the working people. When we are compelled to

record that the industries of our country every year claim an army of 15,000 men killed, and some half a million injured, and when we recall that wherever young children are employed in competition with adults the percentage of accidents is far higher; when we contemplate that the chief burden of this loss falls upon the injured workman or upon his already impoverished family—we find it difficult to await with patience such plans of compensation for injuries, industrial diseases, sickness and invalidity as will spread this burden upon the ledger of society where it belongs.

The year 1911 may be regarded almost as the beginning of an intelligent grappling with this problem, when ten states enacted workmen's compensation laws, in several instances providing awards fairly commensurate with the wages received.

*The Right to a Home.*

We declare that every family has the right to a decent home. This sounds like commonplace, but as a matter of fact it is revolutionary. One of my most common experiences in traveling about the country is to be taken by proud citizens to see first, the business section of their town; second, the residence section, and third the homes of the working people. If there is any class of people on the face of this earth who have a right to a home it is the people who work. No other person, unless an infant, an invalid, or one helpless by age, has any right to the luxury of a good home. But if a man gives all the labor power he has, ought he not to get that much in return? Yet we are so complacent about the housing of the people that we tolerate tenements, shacks and rookeries unfit for human habitation for large sections of our population as though they were not our brothers and sisters, and as though the childhood impressions of their babies were not an important factor in the religious, educational and industrial development of the future. A few factory and mining centers have so-called "model homes" with garden plots and sanitary conveniences. The praise we bestow upon such philanthropy is the measure of our own shame. In ninety-five per cent of our factory cities and villages, mining, cannery and construction camps, the dismal rows of uniform houses, shabbily constructed, poorly ventilated, dimly lighted, often in-

decently crowded, are unfit for housing murderers or thieves. The only mental picture we ever give to many a little child to represent the word "home" is an unpainted three or four room division of a four, six, or sixteen family house whose only distinguishing characteristic is that it stands "No. 11 third turn to the left up from the mill."

And every time the individual attempts to better these conditions—every time the struggling wage earner seeks to beautify his home by planting a shrub, or painting a door, or mending a window pane—down swoops the tax assessor, the conventional representative of that ubiquitous social parasite known as the speculator in unimproved real estate and punishes him for the deed, while the absentee investor who leaves his vacant lot to grow up to rank weeds and thistles is rewarded by tax exemption. We glory in the development of our public parks; in the construction of our public buildings; in the magnificence of our libraries which those who need them most never have time to visit, but the development of commercial enterprise, either through public or private agencies to guarantee to every honest worker a home which shall not only be respectable, but comfortable and elevating seems beyond our wildest dreams.

*Sweat Shops.*

In our large cities we have turned to the thrifty expedient of transforming our smallest and most unfit homes into factories. The twenty room palace on Fifth avenue or Euclid avenue is *kept* as a home. A large part of the year it is inhabited by housekeepers and servants, or locked up, while the family lives at the seashore, in the mountains or abroad. But the two or three room tenement downtown is captured by the manufacturer of clothing, artificial flowers, willow plumes, babys' booties, or children's toys—quick to discover that he can distribute the charges for rent, light, heat and mechanical power among the helpless dwellers in the tenements, instead of maintaining a well equipped factory. Thus far any effort to protect these victims from such industrial piracy has been successfully met by the pious objection that society has no right to invade the sanctity of a man's home. He may be sweated for a twelve hour day, his wife may bend over the machine for eighteen

hours, and his little children may struggle with their ill paid tasks far into the night, but his home is his sanctuary. We shall learn by and by that the illicit still in the fastness of the mountains does small social injury in comparison with this illicit distillation of the bloom and health of childhood in the unregulated and disreputable haunts of the helpless poor.

*Child Labor.*

We have declared against the employment of children in wage earning occupations under sixteen years of age. Evidence gathered from every available source tends to prove that the years exacted from the child in industry previous to that are wasted years; that they neither contribute to the wealth of the community nor to the equipment of the child. A recent government report on children under sixteen who left school to go to work showed that ninety per cent were in industries in which the wages of adults are less than $10 a week. Yet no state has made any adequate plan to protect its children to sixteen years from bare-handed contact with the red hot tools of our industrial competition. Nearly half the states have no effective way of protecting children even to the fourteenth birthday. Several permit their employment at twelve or even younger.

Within the natural term of the working life after sixteen years of age many problems arise which will demand patient study and courageous treatment of our citizenship. The thousands of involuntary idlers whose souls and bodies are worn to discouragement seeking work and finding none offer a problem that must be met not in the vagrancy court nor on the rock pile, but by constructive measures that will conserve the human power.

We recognize that the restrictions set forth in this platform will lead the managers of many industries to turn from their doors workers who fall below a grade of industrial efficiency which will render their work profitable. We cannot complain of this. We may justly demand that if a man is employed he must be paid a living age, but we cannot demand that any given employer shall make room for him unless he can produce. Conceivably an increased army of industrial outcasts will be thrown upon society to be cared for either in public labor colonies or

by relief agencies. We shall then be brought directly face to face with the problem whether the public shall furnish employment for those who are employed only at a disadvantage and leave the field of employing the competent only to private enterprise; whether society shall share all the losses and none of the gains; or whether some more rational adjustment is possible.

We may hope for a substantial decrease in the army of industrial misfits through proper training in our schools and industries. Attention must be given to education and to industrial training. According to a recent government report over seventy per cent of the working children in the cotton mills of one state are illiterate, and thousands of our growing youth as well as thousands of adults are unable to read and write. Illiteracy must be abolished. And industrial incompetency must be reduced to the minimum. Craftsmen must be trained to produce goods improved in quality as well as quantity. Unfortunately the present state of industry does not encourage skill. We bid for the inefficient, the incompetent, the unskilled. We criticise our schools because they do not turn out skilled workmen. We assume that if a school would produce one thousand skilled youth in place of the ignorant thousand they are turning out this month, they would immediately be inducted into one thousand desirable positions. But an examination of these one thousand jobs will discover the fact that seven hundred and fifty of them are not fit for a child under any circumstances. We plead for the training of all our workers. If we were dealing here with the superstructure of our industrial temple we should have much to say. But let us remember that in these resolutions we are trying only to lay the floor of the sub-cellar. Build as much higher as you can. But if our craftsmen need training, our crafts need more training. Too much of our work is unfit for human beings. It must be made fit. Unskilled workers must become skilled. But unskilled trades must become skilled trades.

Society must also provide a comprehensive system of industrial compensation and especially to insure against unemployment and against that most pathetic of all industrial phenomena —the bent and broken infirmity of old age suffering the privations of grinding poverty as the only visible reward for a life long service in the ranks of labor.

Many organizations have presented one or another of the standards here set forth and the data presented as supplementary to our declaration gives ample evidence we believe, of the necessity for the standard advocated, presents precedents in this and other countries and records the declarations of social service organizations. The responsibility rests upon this group of citizens representing the advance guard of those who love and labor for their fellowmen, to see that these or better standards are embodied in the laws of our country. Wherever they are not the standard of given establishments or given industries; wherever they are not provided for by legislatures; wherever efforts to establish them are balked by unenlightened courts, the community pays a heavy cost in decreased efficiency and in misery; where they are sanctioned and enforced the conservation of our human resources contributes the most substantial asset to the wealth of the future. We present the following platform of social standards:

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## Social Standards for Industry.

### The Standard of Living.

The welfare of society and the prosperity of the state require for each individual such food, clothing, housing conditions, and other necessaries and comforts of life as will secure and maintain physical, mental and moral health. These are essential elements in a normal standard of living, below which society cannot allow any of its members to live without injuring the public welfare. An increasing percentage of our population derives the means to maintain this normal standard through industry. Industry therefore must submit to such public regulation as will make it a means of life and health, not of death or inefficiency.

This regulation has to do with hours, safety, over-strain, and other conditions of the day's labor; with premature employment, unemployment, incapacity, and other factors which shorten or impair the length of the working life; with wages as the basis which work affords for a normal standard of home life; with unwise taxation and other com-

munity conditions which in our industrial centers exploit wages; with insurance against those risks of trade—death, injury, occupational disease—which break in upon the working years and wipe out earnings; and with protection against poverty in old age when productive labor is ended.

The community has a right to complete knowledge of the facts of work.

The community can cause to be formulated minimum occupational standards below which work is carried on only at a human deficit.

The community should bring such subnormal industrial conditions within the scope of governmental action and control, in the same way as subnormal sanitary conditions are subject to public regulation, and for the same reason—because they threaten general welfare.

Such minimum standards in relation to Wages, Hours, Housing, Safety and Health, Term of Working Life, and Workman's Compensation are called for if the United States is to keep abreast with the social statesmanship of other great industrial nations; they are counseled by physicians and neurologists who have studied the effect of fatigue and over-strain upon health; by economists who have analyzed the extravagance of unskilled labor, excessive hours, and low pay; and by social workers who deal with the human wastes of industry through relief societies, or through orphanages, hospitals, insane asylums, and alms houses.

Wherever they are not the standards of given establishments or given industries; are unprovided for by legislatures, or are balked by unenlightened courts, the community pays a heavy cost in lessened efficiency, and in misery. Where they are sanctioned and enforced, the conservation of our human resources contributes the most substantial asset to the wealth of the future.

## I. Wages.

1. A Living Wage. A living wage for all who devote their time and energy to industrial occupations. The monetary equivalent of a living wage varies according to local conditions, but must include enough to secure the ele-

ments of a normal standard of living; to provide for education and recreation; to care for immature members of the family; to maintain the family during periods of sickness; and to permit of reasonable saving for old age.

2. Minimum Wage Commissions. Many industrial occupations, especially where women, children, and immigrant men are employed, do not pay wages adequate to maintain a normal standard of living. Minimum wage commissions should therefore be established in each state to inquire into wages paid in various industries, and to determine the standard which the public will sanction as the minimum.

3. Wage Publicity. Properly constituted authorities should be empowered to require all employers to file with them for public purposes such wage scales, and other data as to earnings as the public element in industry demands. The movement for honest weights and measures has its counterpart in industry. All tallies, scales, and check systems should be open to public inspection and inspection of committees of the workers concerned. Changes in wage rates, systems of dockage, bonuses, and all other modifications of the wage contract should be posted, and wages should be paid in cash at least every two weeks.

## II. Hours.

1. Eight-Hour Day. The establishment of the eight-hour day for all men employed in continuous industries, and as a maximum for women and minors in all industries.

2. Six-Day Week. The work period limited to six days in each week; and a period of rest of forty consecutive hours in each week.

3. Night Work. Night work for minors entirely prohibited; an uninterrupted period of at least eight hours night rest for all women; and night work for men minimized wherever possible.

## III. Safety and Health.

1. Investigation. An investigation by the Federal Government of all industries, on the plan pursued in the present investigation of mining, with a view to establishing stand-

ards of sanitation and safety and a basis for compensation for injury. This should include a scientific study and report upon fire-escapes, safety-appliances, sanitary conditions, and the effects of ventilation, dust, poisons, heat, cold, compressed air, steam, glare, darkness, speed, and noise.

2. Prohibition of Poisons. Prohibition of manufacture or sale of poisonous articles dangerous to life of worker, whenever harmless substitutes are possible, on the principle already established by Congress in relation to poisonous phosphorus matches.

3. Regulation According to Hazard. In trades and occupations offering a menace to life, limb, or health, the employment of women and minors regulated according to the degree of hazard. No minor under 18 employed in any dangerous occupation, or in occupations which involve danger to fellow workmen or require use of explosives, poisonous gases, or other injurious ingredients. Unskilled craftsmen who do not read and understand the English language forbidden to handle dangerous machinery or processes known to be extra hazardous.

4. Standardized Inspection. Inspection of mines and work places standardized either by interstate agreement or by establishment of a Government standard. All deaths, injuries, and diseases due to industrial operations to be reported to public authorities as required in accident laws of Minnesota, and with respect to some trade diseases in New York.

## IV. Housing.

1. The Right to a Home. Social welfare demands for every family a safe and sanitary home; healthful surroundings; ample and pure running water inside the house; modern and sanitary toilet conveniences for its exclusive use, located inside the building; adequate sunlight and ventilation; reasonable fire protection; privacy; rooms of sufficient size and number to decently house the members of the family; freedom from dampness; prompt, adequate collection of all waste materials. These fundamental requirements for normal living should be obtainable by every

family, reasonably accessible from place of employment, at a rental not to exceed 20 per cent. of the family income.

2. Taxes. To protect wage earners from exorbitant rents and to secure for them that increased municipal service demanded by the massing together of people in thickly settled industrial communities, a greater share of taxes to be transferred from dwellings to land held for speculative purposes the value of which is enhanced by the very congestion of these industrial populations.

3. Home Work. Factory production to be carried on in factories. Whenever work is given out to homes, abuses are sure to creep in which cannot be controlled by any known system of inspection or supervision.

4. Tenement Manufacture. Tenement house manufacture is known to be a serious menace to the health, education, and economic independence of thousands of people in large cities. It subjects children to injurious industrial burdens and cannot be successfully regulated by inspection or other official supervision. Public welfare, therefore, demands for city tenements the entire prohibition of manufacture of articles of commerce in rooms occupied for dwelling purposes.

5. Labor Colonies. In temporary construction camps and labor colonies, definite standards to provide against overcrowding, and for ventilation, water supply, sanitation, to be written into the contract specifications, as now provided in the New York law.

### V. Term of Working Life.

Society may reasonably demand from every normal individual his self-support during a certain period of life. This period should be bounded by a minimum age, to protect against premature labor, and a maximum age beyond which the wage earner should find himself economically independent of daily labor. Adoption of the following standards will promote this end:

1. Employment of Children. Prohibition of all wage-earning occupations for children under 16 years of age.

2. Employment of Women. Prohibition of employment of women in manufacturing, commerce, or other trades where work compels standing constantly. Also prohibition for a period of at least eight weeks at time of child birth.

3. Intermittent Employment. Any industrial occupation subject to rush periods and out-of-work seasons to be considered abnormal, and subject to Government review and regulation. Official investigation of such intermittent employment and other forms of unemployment as a basis for better distribution of immigrants, for guiding seasonal laborers from trade to trade, and other methods for lessening these evils.

4. The Unemployable. The restrictions upon employers set forth in this platform will lead them to refuse to engage any who fall below a grade of industrial efficiency which renders their work profitable. An increased army of industrial outcasts will be thrown upon society to be cared for in public labor colonies or by various relief agencies. This condition will in turn necessitate a minimum standard of preparation, including at least sufficient educational opportunity to abolish illiteracy among all minors and to train every worker to some form of industrial efficiency.

## VI. Compensation or Insurance.

Compensation Demanded. Both social and individual welfare require some effective system of compensation for the heavy loss now sustained by industrial workers as a result of unavoidable accidents, industrial diseases, sickness, invalidity, involuntary unemployment, and old age.

1. Accidents. Equitable standards of compensation must be determined by extensive experience, but there is already ample precedent for immediate adoption as a minimum of the equivalent of four years' wages in compensation for accidents resulting fatally. Compensation for accidents resulting in permanent disability should not be less than 65 per cent. of the annual wage for a period of 15 years.

2. Trade Diseases. For diseases clearly caused by the nature and conditions of the industry, the same compensation as for accidents.

3. Old Age. Service pensions or old age insurance whenever instituted so protected that the person who withdraws or is discharged from the employment of a given company does not forfeit his equity in the same.

4. Unemployment. Unemployment of able-bodied adult men under 65 years of age is abnormal and wasteful, and is as proper a subject for recognition by the public authorities as contagious disease or other abnormal conditions which menace the public well being. The demand for insurance against unemployment increases with the increasing specialization in industry. The development of state, municipal, and private agencies to insure against unemployment in European countries affords ample information for the guidance of such enterprises in America.

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## STANDARDS OF LIVING AND LABOR.

Minority Report on Untaxing Buildings and Taxing Land Values:

With most of the conclusions expressed in the report we are in hearty accord.

It may be questioned whether it is the function of this committee to suggest methods by which the high standards may be attained. We believe it to be.

It is inevitable that in order to secure fair living and working conditions, unearned incomes or dividends must be reduced. Uniquely is this true of the incomes from land values. Nearly every improvement in living and working conditions tends under the present system of taxing buildings and industry at the same rate as land values, to be shifted on to the users of buildings, and the ultimate consumers of goods produced therein. The enactment of a better tenement house law tends to increase rents, but not the wages of the rent payers. The increase in wages to the Lawrence strikers was largely absorbed by the landlords. Practically the only municipal tax which cannot be shifted on to those unable to bear it, is the tax on land values

which are chiefly created, maintained and increased by community action. This is the just tax and by stimulating the construction of building will reduce rents by the natural laws of competition. We, therefore, recommend the gradual untaxing of building and the laying of the tax burden upon the land values.

BENJAMIN C. MARSH, New York.
ALICE HAMILTON, Hull House, Chicago.

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## MINIMUM WAGE BOARDS

By Mrs. Florence Kelley, General Secretary National Consumers' League.

Last night, when a speaker said that five hundred delegates were already here and a thousand on their way to confer on the problems of poverty, I felt a thrill of pride and pleasure in participating in so great a conference. But, to-day, I have been wondering why it is that this thirty-ninth annual conference needs to be larger than the original conference thirty-nine years ago, or any which has occurred meanwhile. Without some continuing, active cause of poverty growing as our nation grows, this conference surely could not be larger year after year, finding itself confronted with ever more bewildering conundrums. What is this permanent, active cause of the poverty against which we struggle?

For many centuries the poor were believed to be punished by their poverty for their faults. In the nineteenth century, however, a second stage was reached in which prosperous and philanthropic people developed a sense of participation in sin, and spent many anxious years in discussing the question how far they were, by out-door relief, by doles and by over-lapping charities, themselves increasing the very poverty which they labored to prevent and to mitigate.

We know now that there is some foundation of truth underlying both beliefs. We know that ill administered charity, public and private, aggravates the evils of poverty. We recognize, too, that we have always among us (besides the aged and the crippled) a certain ratio of people overwhelmingly afflicted, who are through some inherent, permanent, incurable fault of their make-up, mentally and, therefore, industrially, deficient. They are incapable of full self-support, and inevitably a burden upon charity throughout their lives. No change in industrial conditions could bring to them complete self-direction and self-dependence.

A generous estimate of the people so afflicted, based upon long,

careful study gives, however, a maximum of three in a hundred of our population, as it grows from decade to decade. But it is with vastly more than three in a hundred of the population, that we are concerned in this conference year after year. Upon us there is forced the slow, reluctant recognition of a third cause of poverty, which was hidden from our predecessors. We cannot longer escape the knowledge that there is no more efficient cause of wholesale destitution in the United States than industry.

It can be said with truth that poverty is the regular and inevitable by-product of our present industry, as wealth is its normal product. We carry on our industry to produce wealth, and incidentally we produce wholesale poverty. I believe that it is because we have dealt with myriads of incidental things and not with this fundamental cause of permanent and growing poverty, that we assemble in greater numbers year after year, and go home increasingly baffled by the evil, and bewildered by the myriad remedies that we discuss. Other speakers will present other aspects of this truth, as they deal with tuberculosis, industrial injuries and dependence in diverse forms. This paper is confined to the single aspect of insufficient wages and the proposed new method of dealing with it by minimum wage boards.

Insufficient wages underlie a vast proportion of the need for correctional and reformatory work. They entail upon the community child labor, tuberculosis, underfeeding, lack of refreshing sleep, and the consequent nervous breakdown. They underlie industrial employment of mothers, whose neglected children consequently fail in health and morals. The children in turn crowd the hospitals, dispensaries, juvenile courts and custodial institutions.

Insufficient wages are proof of incompetent management and of the greed of employers. They pre-suppose the existence in the community of dishonorable earnings by women employes, and of charitable supplements to honest girls and their families. Such outside aid must be permanent and continuing. In all the great cities there are department stores which base their wage rates upon the knowledge that the social evil and the wide variety of the activities of private charity will eke out the pay-rolls. Finally the whole community supplements the insufficient wage by means of clinics, dispensaries, hospitals, sanatoria, courts, reformatories and prisons.

The National Consumers' League—the organization which I serve as General Secretary—was instructed in September, 1908, at Geneva, Switzerland, by the International Conference of Consumers' Leagues in which representatives of twenty nations participated, to agitate for the creation of minimum wages boards until these should be introduced and carried to success and usefulness. Since I had the pleasure of reporting upon our efforts last year in Boston, long strides have been made. A fundamental work on the whole subject has been published by one of our French correspondents, Paul Boyaval of Roubaix, under

the title "La Lutte Contre le Sweating System," and we thus have the first comprehensive, scientific discussion of this subject. In our own country we have Josephine Goldmark's monumental work on "Fatigue and Efficiency,"* which is the foundation of all recent legislation for shortening women's working hours. Building on these two books, it behooves us now to put in practice, as rapidly as we may, some standard of payment for the weakest of the working people; some standard of payment having due relation to the expenditure of life itself, in the service of all, that is made by those who work for wages.

### The New Law in Massachusetts

Two states, Massachusetts and Ohio, have taken long steps in this direction. Massachusetts, as usual, marches conservatively at the head of industrial experimenters. The State Commission of 1911 which sat for months studied the department stores, the candy trade, the laundries and the textile industries as industrial producers of poverty. It filed a report and drafted a bill, creating a permanent Commission on Minimum Wages Boards, which has been enacted by the legislature and was signed on June 4th, 1912, by Governor Foss.

The Massachusetts law provides for a permanent state commission with power to create boards in the various branches of industry, such as now exist in Australia and in England, each board consisting of persons elected by the workers and others chosen by the employers, with persons elected by these delegates to represent the consuming public.

One American state has thus expressed its intention of compelling wages bargains within its borders to be real bargains. They are to be based upon mutual knowledge of the facts and not on ignorance on the part of the weaker side. Henceforth the principle will slowly and surely be brought into practical application that the living wage must be a first charge upon industry. It must rank with rent and interest. It must take precedence of profits and dividends, and all other considerations. Industry will, therefore, be decreasingly subsidized by charity, public and private.

Under the stimulus of the Massachusetts Commission, a leading store in Boston—Filene's—has for several months, beginning in March, 1912, maintained a minimum wage of eight dollars a week. For many years this store had employed no one who had not finished the work of the eighth grade of the public schools. It has thus set for the whole country an example of retail trade as a field in which industry can be carried on under all the difficulties entailed by unlimited competition, with profit and success, and without producing poverty as its by-product. Laws are, however, needed to compel the more greedy and less

*Published by the Russell Sage Foundation, New York, May, 1912. Price postpaid, $3.50.

enlightened to do that which a single extraordinarily efficient employer does voluntarily. For the mass of the young girls are not organized and cannot be. They have no votes. Their occupations call for little skill. Fresh young faces and eager zeal are more desired than experience and character. The number of candidates for employment is legion. Their pay inevitably gravitates below the living level.

The new law will take effect July 1st, 1913, and Massachusetts will then—twenty years after the original experiment was made in Australasia, and three years after that experiment was copied in England—introduce into our Republic the first attempt practically to apply science to wages. We have never before brought to bear the experience of the people most closely concerned. These are the employers, the workers, the consumers, not the bondholders and stockholders. The employers know, better than any other persons can possibly know, the meaning of the pay-roll in relation to their particular branch of industry. The workers know, as no one else can, what it costs to bring up a family in a particular place in a given year, and what, if anything, can be put away for the future out of a weekly wage. When, therefore, these two participants, and representatives of the consuming public, pool their knowledge and correlate the wages with the cost of living in their community, in the full light of publicity, all the available, intimate knowledge and practical experience is brought to bear upon the wage scale thus established.

This is a new extension of democracy into a field of industrial bargaining. It gives the moral and legal support of the state to its weakest economic elements, to the women and children. By thus turning on the light, it makes real, for the first time, that which has by the economists and the courts been assumed to exist, but has not yet existed, equality of the two contracting parties. It gives effect to the will of those who have in the past been mere pawns in the hands of masters who have played the game on terms laid down by themselves alone. It gives votes to women in a field in which women most sorely need them, in the determination of their wages. It tends, for the first time, to substitute justice through self-government in industry, for charity.

### There is No Equality in Making Contracts

For half a century we have been told by our courts that, when wage contracts are made, the people who make the contracts are equal before the law. But in this the courts have always been in error. No isolated working girl, seeking a job in a department store, is equal before the law, or in any other way, to the employer from whom she seeks employment. When the Massachusetts law is in force, what the courts have held to be true in law will, for the first time in our industrial history, begin to be true in fact. Then, for the first time, the weakest of the working people—women in unskilled occupations—

will be represented by persons chosen by themselves for the purpose, and clothed by the state with power of bargaining for all in that industry.

Even in advance of the creation of wages boards we see, to-day, a highly significant intervention for regulating wages by three dignitaries of the United States in behalf of several thousand of the most responsible, highly paid and perfectly organized men in this hemisphere. Chief Justice White of the Supreme Court of the United States, and the Hon. Martin Knapp, Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and the Hon. Charles P. Neill, Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor, are selecting arbitrators to decide what wages shall be paid to all engineers employed by the railroads north and east of the Ohio River. It is through the ministrations of these gentlemen that we have all been able to get to this conference and have a reasonable hope of getting away. If they were not serving as they are doing, there would in all probability be at this moment a strike, tying up every mile of railroad north and east of the Ohio River. Why do the Chief Justice of the United States and the Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor interrupt their activities to serve in this way? Surely, one reason is that the engineers are among the most responsible working people in the world. They have our lives in their hands whenever we travel. They have the traffic of the nation in their hands every hour of every day. They are perfectly organized. They all have votes. There is a presidential election coming; and they are, for all these reasons, enormously important.

Observe the contrast. In the tenement house where I live in New York there lives also an honest, well behaved young girl, the janitor's daughter, who worked for seven years in a great department store on Twenty-third Street, becoming a highly skilled clerk selling shirtwaists. She was receiving $6.00 a week at the end of seven years in the service of the same employer, and had no outlook for improvment in her wages. Fortunately, she had an acquaintance who, by interceding, succeeded in getting her transferred to a like position at $8.00 a week at Wanamaker's. The girl was frankly happy when she received this increase of $2.00 a week, $104.00 a year—she works fifty-two weeks in the year. The same thing could have happened the other way round. It would have been perfectly possible for a girl to work seven years—from her fourteenth birthday, when she began at $3.00, to her twenty-first birthday at $6.00—in the Wanamaker store and then to have been transferred to Twenty-third Street at $8.00.

There is no standard of wages in either store, or in the stores anywhere throughout the country. There is no standard of wages for women or girls in the whole great field of retail trade.

### In the Case of Women Workers

Existing wage rates are especially unbearable, because they rest on the economic error that all women wage-earners are supported—at least in part—by men; that every woman has a father, brother, husband, son or some male relative earning enough money to furnish the bulk of her maintenance, so that she need make merely a contribution. In this assemblage of social workers one need not speak in detail of the thousands of widowed mothers with children, of the faithful wives whose husbands are tubercular, or are in lunatic asylums or penitentiaries, or disabled by poisons or other industrial injuries. Yet in all these unnumbered cases the wage rate is fixed upon the unfounded assumption that these women's earnings are a mere fraction of the family budget, of which the main fund is contributed by an able-bodied man.

This flaw in the basis of women's wages is only one example of the many anomalies in the wages situation which we know about. It raises disquieting questions as to how many others there may be which we do not yet know about. What facts we do know alter nothing in the usage that women's wages rest on the hypothesis that some contribution comes from elsewhere than themselves. I believe it can be said justly that wages in the vast field of retail trade rest upon knowledge that the pay-roll is eked out by the social evil.

An ugly item in recent finance is the circular issued by the Woolworth Company (United 5 and 10 cent Stores), notifying subscribers that the investment would be profitable because of the small wages paid to clerks by reason of their youth and consequent cheapness.

I do not believe that wages are adjusted in innocent ignorance. The fact that charity, also, both public and private, ekes out what the pay-roll does not afford is another large contributing element in deciding the wage rates paid young girls in all our industries.

This paper is, therefore, an appeal to every appropriate organization represented in this Conference to co-operate in promoting the worldwide movement for minimum wages boards as a means of correcting this economic error, affording a wider knowledge of wage rates than we yet have, and lifting from charity an undue burden which it has borne too long. We, in America, have been slow to recognize the worth of the method in effect since 1893 in the Antipodes and imported into England in the present decade. In England, since January, 1910, minimum wages boards have been at work in four great sweated industries. Their introduction within the past sixty days into the coal mines of Great Britain has fixed upon this method of dealing with industrial poverty the attention of the whole world.

### The Ohio Constitution

The State Constitutional Convention of Ohio has adopted, as a section of the proposed new constitution, upon which the

men of Ohio will vote on September 3rd, the following provision: "Laws may be passed fixing and regulating the hours of labor, establishing a minimum wage, and providing for the comfort, health, safety and welfare of all employes; and no other provision of the constitution shall impair or limit this power." It is the obvious intention of this convention to forestall all difficulty on grounds of constitutionality so far as its own powers extend.

It may be asked whether there is not danger, in case this constitution should be adopted and so interpreted that minimum wages boards can be created under its terms, of driving industry out of Ohio into Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Indiana, where wages may still be forced down below the minimum level of vital efficiency without interference. That threat has been made in the Australian colonies and in the English Parliament. It is made by the textile trades in Massachusetts, and will continue to be made in our states. But no industry goes. Cut-throat competitors may go. But experience has shown that the increased efficiency that accompanies the creation of wages boards deprives competition of its power for harm. In Victoria more than half of the 91 trade boards now in existence have been asked for by employers glad to be rid of cut-throat and incompetent competitors.

When, through the acquisition by the weaker working people of proper elements of bargaining strength, a living wage is made a first charge upon industry, incompetent employers must either call in the efficiency doctors and follow their prescriptions, or themselves seek work in some occupation other than battening upon defenseless workers and keeping them in chronic destitution.

What of the workers whose work is not worth a minimum wage? The compulsory minimum compels the employer to increase in every possible way the efficiency of every worker, in order to make him worth his wage. In Victoria, for instance, it is specifically provided that the wage of an employe shall not be less than that which is paid by a reputable concern to an average employe. This spurs the employer to select carefully every person taken on. It spurs the lazy to earn the wage. There is, however, a provision under which incompetent, untrained beginners and aging workers, the deaf, the slow and persons otherwise handicapped may receive a reduced rate specifically prescribed after careful investigation by the wages boards. But all such workers must be registered, and the number allotted to one establishment is rigidly fixed. This prevents the accumulation in one place of hundreds of unskilled young girls, such as we commonly see in American paper box factories, whose sole recommendation is that they accept a low wage; who learn nothing and make no improvement either for themselves or their industry with the passage of time.

A further question arises in connection with the prices of goods in industries in which wages are determined by wages boards. Will not the increased labor cost, we are asked, so drive up the price of

goods that the workers must themselves meet an artificially increased cost of living? This has been exhaustively discussed by Boyaval, who shows that the experience in England hitherto is so brief as to shed little light upon this question. In Victoria, however, where experience goes back to 1893, the evidence is that raising wages at the bottom for women, children, and the worst paid men, involves no considerable change in the retail price of the simple necessaries of life, and it is with these goods alone that the poor are concerned. If the prices of luxuries are increased in order that the poorest workers may receive a living wage, who will object?

Even in the production of luxuries, however, it appears, according to Boyaval, that a material increase in retail prices does not follow the creation of minimum wages boards. That genius for organization which in innumerable industries produces profits, finds itself after the creation of wages boards, constrained to scrutinize afresh the efficiency of every method in use, and of every new employe, before attempting in the midst of competition to raise retail prices.

One after another the states are by law shortening the working hours of men and women in the interest of their health and the public welfare. The states must exercise their function of protecting the weak by assuring them equality in making industrial contracts. The Supreme Court of the United States has established the principle that working hours both of men and women may be shortened by statute, whenever it is shown to the court that this section is in the interest of the health of the employes or of the public. This gain must not be defeated by reductions in wages which substitute debility due to hunger for debility due to fatigue.

The same reasoning applies to child labor legislation. Slowly, gradually but certainly, the children are departing from the labor market to the schoolhouse. Either their parents or charity must henceforth maintain them. The only satisfactory assurance that the maintenance will be by the parent lies in making good the theory that the employe is an equal party to the industrial contract. The wages board is the most democratic way of accomplishing this.

Reference has already been made to Massachusetts and Ohio. Minimum wages boards bills have been introduced also into the legislatures of Minnesota and Wisconsin, but have not yet become laws. The Industrial Commission of Wisconsin is making comprehensive investigations looking toward legislation at the next session in 1913. In Washington and California the same groups who obtained the eight hours day law are campaigning for minimum wage laws to be adopted in 1913, and with a cheerful prospect of success.

Is there not, finally, a danger that, as this legislation spreads from state to state and becomes known abroad, immigration may be stimulated by the knowledge that minimum wages are established here? This may be met in divers ways. One way is by the enactment

of pending legislation of several European nations. In Europe bills are before the parliaments of France, Germany, Austria, Switzerland and Belgium.

In our own country, the promotion of all these state laws can be greatly expedited by this Conference, just in proportion as we face the facts and tell the truth that charity does not and cannot carry the burden which industry places upon it. The poor are not adequately relieved. More important, it is an intolerable thing that able-bodied people of sound mind should both work throughout the best working years of their lives and also be objects of charity. Let us take courage and make known, especially to the legislators, that from this day forth charity declines farther to attempt the impossible, to make good the social deficit created by insufficient wages. Let us insist upon justice.

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## THE EIGHT HOUR DAY IN ALL INDUSTRIES.

By Hon. George R. Lunn, Mayor of Schenectady, N. Y.

I suppose the time will never come when we shall not have to look after derelicts. The most perfect organization of society will still find a few who will need the kindly assistance of others. But when we look out into present organized society, and see the way in which consciences are salved by large contributions to charity, the beneficiaries of privilege giving back just a little bit of what they have taken away from those very people, I always feel like leaving that particular work to those to whom it brings special occupation and special pleasure.

We have in our city done away with the charity organization society —or they did away with it themselves—because we so efficiently organized our municipal charities. Our method was to insist that work be given; and we found in some cases that there was a cry against us because we did not give material relief to people. We gave them what they ought to have—work! They wanted something that they didn't get.

I ask myself every time I come before an organization like this, how fundamental are you anyhow? How determined are you to get at the real cure? How determined are you to find out who it is that is causing poverty, and get at the cause of that poverty? I believe that many of you are sincerely and earnestly trying to find out a remedy. You know well enough that it will not come in a single day. It is only by getting at the facts, not only collecting them but scientifically arranging them into an interpretation that we can get a definite result.

The first thing that strikes me as self-evident, is that a nation such as ours should consider human life as its chief asset. What is a nation without human life? That is the great essential asset of this

nation; and it is the one thing that we squander. We measure our prosperity in terms of pigs and cattle and corn and steel and a few other things, instead of measuring it in terms of the advancement of human welfare and the people's interest, the people's opportunities. But we are now seeing that mere material grandeur, mere material advancement is not that which measures permanent prosperity.

I have been taught from earliest boyhood, during my training in school, by my pastors, to give, to be benevolent. Philanthropy is so blessed! Give to the poor! That isn't my method any more. I say don't take so much away from them! Give them the work they need. It will do them more good than all the charity in the world. It is not that men are cruel, that they are organized simply to rob their kind regardless of anything. It is only that we have drifted and drifted and drifted, until we find ourselves confronted by a problem that America never expected to face, the problem of an increasing poverty.

These conditions are the logical development of our folly, because we put material prosperity first—while our supreme determination should have been to produce men and women. Personality should have been regarded of higher, infinitely higher value than mere machines, but we have our machine production developed to the highest type of efficiency. We have in our city one of the largest plants of the great General Electric Company. A friend of mine went through the other day. I said, "What was your impression?" He said, "The absolute perfection of the system that has to do with the machinery of production." But evidently no application has been made of the highest brains of the great organization to solve the human problem. That would take in the minimum wage, the question of fatigue, the question of overwork.

Now, in this simple little conservative program, that Mr. Lovejoy has outlined, he asked me to speak about the eight-hour law. I hesitate, because eight hours seems a long time to work. I feel that there are certain definite steps that are fundamentally right that we should take, and I feel that one step that would be of inestimable value to us, though it would not solve all our problems, would be the establishment throughout the nation in all industries of an eight-hour day. I would say in order to do that we have to destroy that bogie of State Rights. I believe absolutely, as has been proved in the case of Massachusetts, that a state can establish a rate of hours less than another state engaged in the same kind of industry, and still apparently prosper. Nevertheless, I believe we shall never solve the big things until we make all states come into line by Federal action. We have tried it in child labor legislation, and we find that when we have routed the enemy in one state he appears in another. We want something that will protect the children in this connection from exploitation by any man or set of men in any state or territory. That must come as Federal legislation, by the nation as a whole.

In 1874 Massachusetts adopted the ten-hour law—ten hours a day,

sixty hours a week. It was said that she could not prosper in the cotton industry because of the divergent actions of other states. At that time she had 39½ per cent. of the cotton spindles of the North American states. Four years before the passage of this law she had 39 per cent., and six years afterwards, in 1880, she had 45 per cent., and still on the ten-hour basis; while other states had eleven, twelve, sometimes thirteen hours. Then ten years later she had risen to 47½ per cent., and in 1900 Massachusetts controlled 53½ per cent. of the cotton spindles of the North American states.

Now I do not know the comparison of wages, but I do know that in 1892 they established 58 hours a week, and recently they have established 54 hours a week for women and minors, with certain definite results as to wages for women and minors. The wages were not allowed to be decreased. I do not want to see an eight-hour day by cutting off two hours of wages. I want to see the eight hours labor at the same wages that they are getting now. A manufacturer here said, "What are you talking about?" Well, it's good common sense. The average—well, not the average, but a few, it is rumored—among manufacturers, haven't got common sense. Some at Lawrence have had common sense forced into them. They have got it now.

The establishment of the eight-hour day with an attempt to gain thereby simply less hours with less wages would be of no effect. What we need the eight-hour day for is to provide more leisure for the working class, and that leisure will give them opportunities whereby new wants will be developed, a new social environment will be around them, forcing them into new social relationships that will enlarge their lives, widen their horizon, give them fresh courage, make them think, enable them to become more active and more effective citizens.

We hear much about the breaking up of homes. I am accused of it very often. I become so weary of our talk about breaking up the home. Are we not breaking up the home now just about as fast as it is possible to break it up, by our modern industry? In Pittsburg they are trying to reduce the hours per day, and they will reduce them to eight. You men of the Steel Corporation, stockholders, get ready for it. You have got to submit, one way or the other, to the great principle that human life is more important than dividends or profits. Where a man works twelve hours a day and wears himself out, comes home fatigued, of what value is he as a father?

Some one investigating this subject wrote some syndicate articles. They had a picture illustrating an article entitled "The Babe of Bethlehem." It was just about Christmas time, and I picked it up. I thought it was a queer picture for that title, thinking it referred to the Christmas message. I found it was the recital of the coming of a babe in the Bethlehem district. The father, a steel worker who worked twelve hours a day, came home and found this new arrival. He wasn't at all happy, because the coming of a new babe meant that he had to struggle that

much harder to keep the wolf from the door. He said nothing to his wife. She was decidedly broken-hearted over it. The paper went on through a very pitiful recital. Two thousands years after the One who said, "Suffer little children to come unto Me and forbid them not, for of such is the Kingdom of God," and here is a little child born, not to a welcome—no man who is laboring twelve hours a day has got anything left in him to welcome even his own child. You will say this is an extreme case. There are twelve-hour a day men in every city, and I say that twelve-hour a day men cannot give to their homes or to their city or nation any life that is worth while.

There are people who say that larger relief from industry will bring increased intemperance. Is that so with your carpenters and your masons, since they by struggle and organization have taken eight hours as their share of work? Has that increased intemperance among them? Not at all. The crying cause of drunkenness is over-fatigue and the demand of the overworked fellow for some kind of quickly stimulating recreation. Intemperance does cause an occasional lapse. There are cases of individuals where intemperance causes poverty. But, the real fact is that poverty is the fundamental cause of intemperance.

I heard a man say that every Saturday night he gave to his wife all his wages except twenty cents. I said, "What do you do with the twenty cents?" He said he always went and drank four beers and came home drunk every Saturday night. Why was he so foolish? But he doesn't consider it foolish. He says that he can look forward to that as a relief from the given hours, when he can take those four beers and feel that he is just as good and just as big as anybody in the United States. It sounded funny to me, but it is not only pathetic and tragic, it is fundamentally illuminating.

How much self-respect can there be in a man after long, trying overwork? Overwork means under-pay, and under-pay means underfeeding not only for the man but for the hard-working mother, who is probably also laboring to eke out the difference between the father's wage and the family's necessities.

The eight-hour day established would bring these definite results. Some argue that it would not solve the unemployment question. It would not. It might employ a few more men, but one result would be that a man in the eight hours as a rule would do the work that he is doing now in ten hours. I am not going to encourage speeding up. We are sped up too much now. But it will have the definite tendency to give more leisure and provide a new social environment for the man, with extra hours to create new wants. He will become a consumer in new ways. And then when we get eight hours we can commence to work and see how we can cut it down to seven and produce enough. We can produce enough when we get loyalty in production, and you will never get loyalty, you manufacturers, as things are now. You cannot get it. In individual cases, where men are known, there may be a certain loyalty,

but in the great industrial establishment it does not exist, because the men, if they are not exploited by hours, know they are exploited by wages. We have annual statements showing the tremendous number of millions in surplus and the eight per cent. dividends, and an occasional stock dividend, and the great men don't even have common sense enough to keep it out of the papers so the workers can't see it. When they begin to see this thing, and to know how hard it is for them to see their boys leave school to help the fathers eke out an existence, to have the girls going into industry, so that we have over five million women, most of them under twenty-two, two million of our children in industry and two or three million idle men all the time, some of them idle a month and some several months by casual employment—it seems to me it ought to open their eyes.

The man who writes the history of America about five hundred years from now will write, and his children will read, that in 1912 there were from two to three million able-bodied men in the United States seeking employment that could not secure it while there were two million little children at work and many anaemic girls. And the little fellow will say, "Why, isn't that funny? Why didn't they let the men work and the children play?"

When we enter into a fundamental consideration of these facts and begin to hammer individuals we find that individuals are not to blame for child labor, and individuals cannot stop it except in a little way. When men are receiving money that they have not earned and men are earning money that they do not receive, you have got a fundamental thing that will never be solved except as it is solved on the basic principle which some of our great men have laid down, like Lincoln when he told us some fundamental things about labor. He said, "Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is but the fruit of labor and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital. It deserves the higher consideration. And the seeking to give to the worker the product of his labor, or as nearly as possible, is the worthy object of any good government." When you get down to that basis and begin to work along those lines you will begin to see daylight, and not otherwise. And we can give eight hours or nine hours, but that will not solve the problem until we stop the exploitation.

The commercialization of the social evil is another thing to be considered. The exploitation of women's virtue brings to us a feeling of rebellion against it. We feel that it must be stopped at any cost. But is it not equally wrong for men to exploit the tired arms, the wearied bodies of our young sisters in industry, the girls in our department stores, with long hours and inadequate wages? Exploitation of these weaker ones is the root of the trouble that we have got to get at. Stop the exploitation of woman's virtue! Stop the exploitation of woman's strength! Stop the exploitation of children's futures! This particular plank is deserving of consideration by us all. When I think how ultra-

conservative it is, any of you men who are devoted to the present social order—which I hate—if you knew how easy it is to get off, you would be getting off. For the day will come, if you do not listen to the voices that are crying out against injustice, when the wisest of us will not be able to stem the tide of ignorance that is made thrice cruel by continued injustice.

America with all her past, America with all her future, oh, let us believe in our people! Believe that they have a right to human life and that we will not tolerate the development of great big brothers when those big brothers are riding round on the backs of women and children; that we will stop that not only in the interest of the women and the children but in the interest of the big brothers. For I don't think they are very happy either. We are living in a great family. Our brotherhood must extend to every human being. Let us see if we cannot stir up such enthusiasm as will expend itself not in mere sentimental utterance, but in hard work; with the plain facts determined, when we see what is wrong we will seek to remedy that wrong.

My theory is that if we accelerate social democracy then we can see a future for America, for America leading the world in civilizing industry, leading the world in making industry the handmaiden of our progress and not the slave-driver against all our ideals. The day will come when the little child will lead us as a nation instead of ourselves as a nation driving the little child. It was intended, according to all that is basically just, fundamentally right, that the child should lead with all the hallowed atmosphere of the child, with all the divine instruction the child should give us. So I see a day coming when the child shall listen no longer to the machine or the spindle, but will go out and listen to the birds, and inspired by the song of birds will let that little song in the heart go heavenward in its expression of joy; when our mothers will be at home with their children and not occupied outside for ten or twelve or even eight hours a day. Let us take our mothers out of industry and leave them in the family, where they belong. Let us take our children out of shops and mills and mines and let them have the beauties of God's outdoors and the inspiration of everything that it brings with it. And if eight hours will help toward it let us have that.

My parting message to you is that that which advances human life is fundamentally just, fundamentally right, fundamentally patriotic, is of fundamental necessity in the progress of this nation which we want to make that which it is not now—a government of the people, for the people, and by the people.

## THE COMMISSION ON INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS.

By Prof. Samuel McCune Lindsay, of Columbia University, Chairman of the Committee on Industrial Relations, New York City.

(Abstract)

The changing social and economic conditions in the United States make it necessary to have new, thorough-going and impartial information such as can be obtained only by the authority of government if we are to deal efficiently with the needs of wage earners, employers and consumers, or the general public. In sheer desperation many think they are fighting for principle and for social justice when they participate in atrocities such as were revealed in the McNamara confessions. The cost and suffering caused by the Lawrence strike, which ought not to have lasted longer than 24 hours, and would not if the right kind of publicity concerning the issues involved could have brought both sides to see each others contention as they did see them after the lapse of weeks; the threatened public calamity of another coal strike; together with the minor labor troubles of the past year have aroused social workers generally to organize a committee on industrial relations. This committee is made up of representative social workers, economists, clergymen and business men. It seeks to secure from the Federal Government a thorough search for facts on a scale as comprehensive as the recent inquiries of the Bureau of Labor, about women and children wage-earners, and the investigations of the immigration commission, and the monetary commission on their respective subjects. President Taft responded by sending a message to congress advocating in strong terms the establishment of a Federal Industrial Relations Commission, to make, in the language of the President. "A searching inquiry into the subject of industrial relations, which shall be official, authoritative, balanced, and well-rounded, such as only the Federal Government can successfully undertake." The Hughes-Borah bill to establish this commission, and to provide a half million dollars for a thoroughly satisfactory piece of work, to be completed in three years, with $100,000.00 of the appropriation available for the first year, is now pending before the Senate and House of Representatives, having been favorably reported by the committees of both houses. Theodore Roosevelt who sees so clearly the basic factors determining social justice or the lack of it in the working of American governmental institutions has said in an editorial comment in the "Outlook," on President Taft's message: "It is earnestly to be hoped that Republicans and Democrats, wise Progressives and wise Conservatives will all alike, back up his action." And they did, because nearly every member of congress of congress has already expressed himself as favorably inclined. The only danger that this bill may not become law now at this session, lies in the fact that in the rush of business in these closing days of Congress amidst the excitement of the political struggles in Chicago and Baltimore, it may be forgotten unless its friends are alert and active.

The personal influence of the individual members of this conference will be sufficient to insure the passage of this benificent legislation if each of you will follow the Hughes-Borah Bill for the next few weeks, and write or telegraph, this evening if possible, your own senators and representatives, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and Chairman Fitzgerald of its appropriations committee. This latter gentleman may oppose the bill from a short-sighted and false sense of economy, forgetting that the prevention of a single strike like that at Lawrence, if this Commission gave us nothing more than the facts for legislation that would extend the Erdman Act now so successful in preventing railroad strikes, or show how to adapt the Canadian Industrial Disputes Act to our conditions, would save this country many times the total cost of the commission. But these are only a few of the valuable results that we may confiidently expect from the labors of the right kind of a Federal Industrial Relations Commission. Will the members of this conference help to pass the Hughes-Borah bill, and thus make the commission a sort of mounment to our gathering of 1912, one that will mark a real step in American social progress, and a mile stone on the road to industrial peace —a harbinger of social justice.*

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## DISTRIBUTION OF INDUSTRY IN RELATION TO CONGESTION, RENT, TAXES.

By Louis F. Post, Editor of The Public.

(Condensed)

As I understand the matter, I have been invited here in consequence of this letter of a year ago:

June, 1911.

To the Members of the National Conference Charities and Correction, Boston, Mass.:

Nineteen hundred years ago a charitable man was so eager to help the poor that he openly found fault with a woman who used costly oil in a ceremony in honor of One she highly esteemed. "It would have been better," remarked this philanthropist, "to sell the oil and give the proceeds to the poor." But he was soon informed that there are better ways to use wealth than in alms-giving.

The ceremony in which this oil was used was a practical method at that time of calling attention to the principles for which the man stood to whom honor was shown. Popular education on fundamental principles of justice and on practical means of enforcing them are required to establish conditions which will make almsgiving unnecessary.

That it is better to use money to remove the causes of poverty than for alms is a truth that is no longer denied by most prominent con-

*The Act creating the Commission became law Aug. 23rd., 1912.

tributors to charity. But though the fact is conceded, action in accordance with it is not so freely taken. I have particularly in mind a remark make by a Kansas City gentleman who is prominent in the charitable circles of that city. He said that social workers admit the injustice on which the modern industrial system is based and that modern charity only aims to support helpless ones until the basic evils can be removed. If such is the case, I will be glad to co-operate with charity organizations in spite of the inexpediency of alms-giving, but I have seen too much that convinces me that it is not so.

The greater number of charitable contributors whom I know are either bitterly opposed or utterly indifferent to the reforms that will remove the fundamental wrongs which cause poverty. It will not do to plead in excuse for these that they do not know the cause, and are trying to find it. The cause is known and any one who sincerely wants to learn can easily do so in a short time. It is more than thirty years since Henry George showed in "Progress and Poverty" how land monopoly deprives the masses of mankind of opportunities for self support. He moreover proposed a simple and practical method of abolishing the evil. He proposed a tax on land values to which the name has since been given of the Singletax. There is no reason why any one sincerely interested in the welfare of the poor should not be familiar with the truth made clear in this book and should not be working for the opening of natural opportunities for employment to all the people.

If it is a fact that charity workers are anxious to learn how to remove the cause of poverty, would it be unreasonable to ask this Conference to take some action in the matter? Why not, for instance, appoint a committee to report to your next meeting, the duty of this committee to be a thorough investigation of the merits of different proposed plans to put an end to poverty? The details of this investigation must, of course, be so arranged that nothing concerning any proposed remedy may be misunderstood. The personnel of the committee must also be such that there will be no ground for lack of confidence in its fairness or intelligence on the part of those who have remedies to suggest.

Should this suggestion meet with your approval, I will be glad to do what I can to furnish the committee with information, and feel sure that other Single-taxers, as well as advocates of other reforms, will do the same. Your organization will then be in a position at your next meeting, to take definite action in the war against povery. Yours very truly,

JOSEPH FELS.

It would be very narrow to regard organized charities as having no broader functions, no deeper purpose, no more brotherly motive, no higher civic spirit than merely to deal with methods of relief. Yet it would by no means follow that the narrower functions ought to be wholly abandoned in favor of fundamental reforms, nor even neglected. Important though it be to police the Jericho road, the compassion of good

Samaritans is nevertheless not to be censured. What should be censured, as I conceive it, would be the straight-jacketing of rudimentary charities in a fixed purpose to ignore the poverty-producing conditions of a wealth-producing society. Was it because he let Lazarus eat the crumbs which fell from his table that Dives was condemned? Surely he would have been pardoned for that. Amelioration can be objectionable only in so far as it fosters or conceals the causes which, now as aforetime—essentially the same though outwardly different—evolve a privileged Dives with crumbs to spare and a famishing Lazarus to devour them. If rudimentary charities are blameworthy, it must be because they exalt generous giving above righteous getting.

My allusion is not to unrighteousness of the law-breaking kind. Neither am I blaming individual beneficiaries. Were they to renounce their advantages they could only substitute other beneficiaries, leaving the unrighteous distribution to go on; and of what benefit would that be to anybody but the substitutes? Their obligation is not to *re*nounce but to *de*nounce. It is to help eradicate industrial privileges from the social system; and if any were to foster such privileges whether by approval or by silence, in order to retain or to acquire vested rights in unearned incomes, wouldn't it be disloyal to every sound principle of truth and justice not to single him out and say: "Thou art a guilty man!"

But precisely what shall they denounce, and precisely how shall they do it? Consider the facts, those large facts of our common life which all of us observe and any of us can test for their verity.

Poverty prevails almost altogether in that part of our population which, in spite of our democratic reluctance to acknowledging that there are classes in this country, we instinctively call "the working class."

It is an amazing fact. Poverty is lack of things produced by work; yet poverty is a phenomenon distinctively of the working class! Isn't it a little like carrying coals to Newcastle—the charitable giving of products of work to workers? One might reasonably think so, but the facts would be against him. A great and growing proportion of workers, "the worthy poor" we call them, are often in dire need of charity. Industrial conditions oblige us to be our brother's keeper. Let us redeem the obligation. But let us not allow its soothing satisfactions to tempt us into tolerating distributions of industry that necessitate his having a keeper.

The characteristics of the working class, that poverty prevails especially in that class, and that in spite of continuous augmentation of working power it persists, must be accounted for as industrial disease. Dr. Walter Mendelson of New York has made the pathological figure definite. He likens mere meliorative charity to poulticing a cancer. The figure is true, but it would not be true if poverty itself were thought of as the cancer. Poverty is a cancerous effect. Some one has defined physical cancer as "a parasite of normal cells become abnormal, which take without giving." May we not paraphrase that definition by saying

that "a parasite of normal industrial interests become abnormal which take without giving" defines the industrial cancer. (I mean giving in the sense of exchange, not almsgiving.) There is thus involved in either kind of cancer, the physical or the industrial, a destructive conflict with the law of life; for no getting without giving is possible in any direction unless there be giving without getting in another. When the abnormality occurs in the physical system, the cancerous parasite impoverishes the physical body; when in the social system, it impoverishes the industrial body. Is not some such cancerous growth in our social system fairly indicated by the prevalence of poverty in the working class?

Occasionally an individual's industry may secure him economic prizes, but wealth is not as a rule associated with the work of producing it. If we wish for wealth, which do we hustle the harder to do—to produce it or to command opportunities for its production for us by others? Are we more eager, for instance, to help dig coal than to help monopolize natural deposits of coal?—to produce oil or "to strike oil?" The questions are answered in the asking. We all try to lay up our treasures in the economic heaven of monopoly; and we all acknowledge by our conduct that work is hell. We may not know the cause, but we know the fact that industry is forced to give without getting. If there were no other evidence, that fact alone would suggest the presence in the social body of some parasitical growth which gets without giving. But there is other evidence. Vast interests which do not thrive upon the industry of those that own them, nevertheless do thrive. Along, then, with producing interests that languish, we have non-producing interests that prosper.

Either fact by itself might be difficult to account for, but considered together they account for each other. If in social life, lack of products of work is characteristic of productive workers, and superabundance of products of work is characteristic of aristocratic leisure, there is but one inference and that inference is irresistible. It won't do to say that aristocratic leisure is purchased with products thriftily saved or fortunately inherited. The magical secret can not be in saved-up products which in fact won't save; it must be in unrighteously lawful power over producers as they produce.

But what is the cause of it? Let me emphasize *what*, for I do not accuse any person or any class.

One of the most common explanations is monopolization of machinery by capitalists. If we think of machinery as an intricate organization of the world's industry into one great mechanism, the monopolized-machinery explanation would put before us a serious fact. Little more may be necessary here than to suggest to the imagination such a unified machine, such a universal factory, all under one roof and all upon one foundation, a vast complex of interlaced parts and processes. Those who work would be workers there, their several functions minutely specialized; and upon access to this industrial equipment they would depend for opportunity to make a civilized living. Unless you own a proprietary

interest in that world factory you must find a place at one of its work benches or fall helplessly into one of its scrap heaps. Exclude yourself from it or be excluded, and you are an economic outlaw as forlorn as the masterless man of feudal times or a homeless dog in a modern city. Outside of this comprehensive organization of industry, you might find spots of earth suitable for an independent but primitive life,—more primitive than Crusoe's; but if to make it less primitive you co-operated with others, thereupon you would of necessity become a cog in the machine. Every mere worker would be helplessly appurtenant to that mechanism.

Consider, then, that this monopolized workshop is no figure of speech.

Our whole industrial system is in very truth a comprehensive, intricately adjusted and monopolized machine—a vast complex of factories, stores, offices, farms, mines, ranches, railroads, steamships, docks, mills, telegraphs and what not, organized and equipped and unified for enabling the modern world to get its work done day by day. And workers underbid one another for admission into this world factory, for access to this machinery, as for their lives.

In those circumstances the tendencies of working hours to the limit of endurance and of wages to the starvation point, necessitating short-hour laws and minimum wage-laws, call for no further explanation. The grim eagerness of workers to earn incomes pitifully low, at risks to life and limb and health so inhumanly unnecessary as to require labor-hazard laws, is no puzzle. The reason for persistence of poverty among the working class, in spite of augmentation of their working power, begins to clarify, and the necessity for perpetual and increasing charity relief for workers has its convincing apology.

Does not this explain our problem? It would if the process of monopolization were explained. But the question rises: Why is it that this universal and intricate and artificial industrial mechanism, which must be constantly repaired and renewed by the working class, continually slips out of their own proprietorship?

There may be many reasons. In a mechanism so vast and intricate it would be strange if there were not a puzzling complexity of reasons. But the primary reason, as I see it, is suggested in the description of that world-wide mechanism which I have already given: The mechanism is "*all under one roof and all upon one foundation.*"

That universal and indispensable machine is not wholly produced nor wholly repaired nor wholly renewed by workers, either in the sense of a personal class or of economic interests. Nor yet by its owners. Its roof to the zenith, its foundations to the center of the planet, and all the forces of nature that play between, are supplied continually from sources independent of human initiative and energy.

This is no news of course; but I am not trying to bring you news. I am here to urge intelligent reflection upon familiar facts. If the work-

ers of the world have to bid for a place in the world's workship, bid in cut-throat competition against one another, then the primary reason must be that the *natural* foundation and walls of the workshop and its equipment of *natural* forces, are monopolized. The master key to present problems of industrial distribution is recognition of the supreme industrial power of planet monopoly.

Those for whom I may speak with some measure of authority believe that there is a righteous and practicable and peaceable way of abolishing monopoly of the planet with reasonable rapidity. They believe it can be done without substantial injury to anyone, without prejudice to any conventional right that is not a continuing and blighting wrong, without attempting the hazardous experiment of arbitrarily readjusting intricate industrial relationships, and in strict conformity to the historical trend of social evolution. In the way they propose, they believe that the interlaced industrial mechanism of the world would progressively and speedily become a closed shop against monopoly, and for industry an open and fair one—and this altogether without class conflicts either political or "direct," but through normal development of enlightened self-interest and the expansion of higher ideals of industrial life.

Reflect upon the facts. Differential advantages of location possess in the market differential commercial values. They vary from zero where work is hard and its results scanty, to high figures where the results relatively to the work are abundant. And these commercial values of location, already enormous, rise as improvements enhance the productivity of work and the possible comforts of life. Not uncommonly they rise in mere expectation of improvement. If I do not make this clear, any real estate dealer will, if you put the point to him, not as a moral question but as a question of investment.

Those differential commercial values of planetary locations are alluded to by the word "rent," in the title of this discussion. Not house rent, for houses being products of work there is necessarily a categorical difference between what is paid for them and what is paid for the use of the planet. Planet rent includes rent for the site of an office building, for instance; royalties on mineral deposits; excessive rates for monopolized transportation; premiums for location on the earth, in the earth, or over the earth. Every form of income that is for the monopoly in any degree of natural resources is planetary "rent"—on matter what its other name may be. Incomes from railway stocks are seldom thought of as planetary "rent," yet that is what for the most part they really are. The fact that they are represented on the market by stock certificates instead of title deeds makes no difference. In the world's workshop industry proceeds under varying advantages of planetary opportunity socialized. The differential values of those opportunities constitute a social surplus. This surplus—though it be called "rent," or whatever other name it may take—represents the advantages of social opportunities *for* industry in contradistinction to individual services *in* industry.

But the social surplus is not now distributed socially. It is distributed among monopolists of the world's workshop in proportion to the industrial desirability and scarcity of their respective monopoly holdings. In other words, it goes as planetary rent to planet owners. Consequently, with frequent fluctuations as to time and place, but on the whole constantly, investment flows heavily toward monopoly of location, and thereby the industrial future is mortgaged. Not only are needed localities monopolized as needed, but they are monopolized in advance and held out of use for exorbitant prices.

Such a tendency can have but one effect on the working classes of the world—its working interests, if you prefer "interests" to "classes" as I do. It is a tendency that must make access to the world's workshop increasingly difficult, that must make the volume of disemployed labor increasingly great, and that must therefore make underbidding for work increasingly keen, and the necessity for charitable relief more and ever more pressing. Incidentally, the same investment tendency causes those harrowing congestions of population which, like the poverty and the crime that fester there, are characteristic of working life. We cannot have wholesome distributions of population any more than we can have righteous distributions of industry and its products, so long as the natural foundations and the natural equipment of the world's intricate mechanism of labor and life are monopolized for the social surplus they may yield to the monopolizers.

By distributing this common fund unfairly, and so as to encourage monopolization of the planet and gambling in its social values, we feed that "parasite of normal industrial interests become abnormal which takes without giving." Thus we breed poverty and all its concomitants. Reverse that process. Recognize the rent fund as the social surplus it is, and use it accordingly for social purposes, leaving the work fund to workers as they earn it and free of all exactions. Do that, and instead of starving industry as we do now, we shall starve our industrial parasite.

To begin doing this involves no difficulties whatever, except such as the righteous but slow of thought and the unrighteous but alert, may thrust in the way. In itself it is a simple matter. We have only to continue levying taxes as now on land according to its commercial value (regardless of whether used or not, and regardless of how well or how poorly used), but at the same time to begin a policy of exempting all industry from taxation. The governmental machinery for this exists now and is in operation everywhere. Nothing is necessary but to begin exempting what ought not to be taxed. The rest will then be automatic—a mere matter of keeping on.

While taxation has at first the sound of a far cry, it is in fact related closely to our whole subject. The time is ripening for advances in the direction of lifting the burdens of taxation from industrial processes and placing them on planet values; and one of the advantages of the Singletax method is that every advance in it is a distinct improvement,

not only in the readjustment of the distributions of industry but also in taxation simply as taxation.

For that assertion we have the testimony of experience—the Germans in China, nearly 100 taxing localities in New Zealand, several of the states of Australia, Germany, Great Britain, Vancouver and the Canadian middle west. Although not yet adopted anywhere in the United States, agitation for the Singletax here meets with favorable and growing responses in many places. In its most radical form it polled in Seattle 13,000 votes out of 40,000 last March, though Seattle is a city that worships at the shrine of land speculation and all the land speculators were against it. In Missouri and in Oregon, with the support of public-spirited citizens there who are impressed with its value simply as a method of abolishing the exasperating policies of taxation that now prevail, constitutional amendments providing for it are to be voted on next fall. Whether these experiments and proposals, or any like them yet to come, shall go further in the direction of abrogating planet monopoly and its concomitant industrial evils, will depend no doubt upon whether they commend themselves in practice to public approval.

It has been objected that this method of taxation is an entering wedge for the abolition of planet monopoly, but planet monopoly ought to be abolished. To what good end or by what moral right shall monopoly of the planet be perpetuated?

Let me ask your special heed to these words from Henry George, of whose teachings this address throughout has been but an echo. "The poverty which in the midst of abundance pinches and imbrutes men, and all the manifold evils which flow from it, spring from a denial of justice. In permitting the monopolization of the opportunities which nature freely offers to all, we have ignored the fundamental law." Speaking for yourselves and to yourselves, my fellow citizens of this fair but monopolized land, of this wealth-producing but poverty-breeding world, what say *you?* Shall you keep on ignoring that fundamental law?

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## UNTAXING HOUSING TO PREVENT CONGESTION AND ROOM OVERCROWDING.

By Benjamin C. Marsh, Executive Secretary, the New York Congestion Committee.

Mr. Post's illuminating paper treats more tenderly than I conceive to be just, the failure of charitable agencies to deal with a fundamental cause of poverty. He correctly states that what should be censured "would be a straight-jacketing of rudimentary charities in a fixed purpose to ignore the poverty-producing conditions of a wealth producing society." Altogether too many charitable societies in this country are dominated by exploiters of the poor masquerading as philanthropists. I base this statement upon their record.

Mr. Post has shown that there are only two sources of revenue—taxation of land values, and taxation of labor.

The question of which one we shall tax is simply, in its last analysis, a moral question. The effects upon debt limits, etc., of revoking the privilege now granted the indolent to tax the industrious, by untaxing buildings is adventitious.

That untaxing buildings will reduce unearned incomes from land values is as evident as is the necessity for such reduction of unearned incomes for the extermination of poverty.

Taxing buildings prevents their construction and keeps up rents. This practice of keeping up rents, the late very able Chairman of the Committee on the Prevention of Tuberculosis of the New York Charity Organization Society, Mr. Edgar J. Levey, attempted to defend in the following charitable statement:

"Yet even a protective tariff, crammed full of inconsistencies though it may be, is not apt to sin greatly on the score of method because, as the incidence of its taxation can be and is shifted upon the shoulders of the whole consuming community, its tribute is not exacted from any limited class.

"The Sullivan-Brooks bill (which provided for halving the tax rate on buildings in New York City), however, proposes to discriminate against a certain class of taxpayers, small in numbers, and by oppressive taxation, which cannot be shifted, to take away their property and distribute the proceeds in minute driblets among all the other members of the community in the shape of reduced rents."

Mr. Levey might have put his views: "Small robberies are justified because they help the undeserving beneficiaries and if we must choose between congestion due to high rents and reducing unearned incomes—we choose congestion."

This statement was not repudiated by the New York Charity Organization Society. On the contrary, the Tenement House Committee of that Society opposed the moderate proposal to reduce the tax rate on buildings in New York City. It had been amply proven, and was admitted by most opponents of this measure, that it would reduce rents, by at least one-twelfth, and probably much more, in that city, and that it would encourage home ownership. Dr. Edward T. Devine, speaking of this measure and one still further to restrict the size of buildings in New York City, stated editorially in The Survey, about a year ago:

"They represent a policy which sooner or later we shall have to adopt. It will be better for the present generation and that of the immediate future if it is adopted now."

Not a single charity in New York City advocated officially partially untaxing buildings to reduce rents though their pathetic appeals for funds to help the poor resound with plaints of high rents. Some members of the boards of the different societies tried to get action by them on this measure favoring justice instead of charity, but the fear

of losing some contributions thereby—a well-founded fear, I admit—was too much for them.

Boston charities do not seem to have taken any aggressive action in this essential, but not sole method of exterminating poverty—untaxing buildings and taxing land values.

With regret, I confess that I see but little hope that the charities of this country will dare to come out in this fight to exterminate poverty. Privilege is too entrenched in most of their directorates, and the basis of the fortunes of too many of their "Benevolent contributors!" It is only fair that the public should know that they must stop looking to these organizations for leadership in fundamental measures to improve living conditions. We must cease looking for material improvement of livng conditions through charitable societies, and recognize that such improvement can be achieved only through governmental action, that is by the enactment of just laws and the repeal of unjust laws, such as the taxation of labor. For this we must hold our elective representatives responsible.

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## THE MASSACHUSETTS HOMESTEAD COMMISSION.

By Warren Dunham Foster, Boston.

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts is committed to the general policy of state aid to workingmen in acquiring homes of their own adjacent to the cities or towns in which they work. No legislature, however, has been able to agree upon any one definite plan. Just as this year's Great and General Court seemed about to approve the bill that the Massachusetts Homestead Commission had offered, there came an unexpected decision of the Supreme Court which made our proposal, as it then stood, clearly out of the question. Consequently the legislature ordered us to report to the next session a project that would not conflict with the prohibition of the constitution and would accomplish the desired end. So we have gone cheerfully back to work with the hope that to the next legislature we may recommend measures that will pass muster.

The history of homestead legislation and sentiment in Massachusetts is brief, but, I believe, unusual. Following several years of quiet but effective agitation led by the late James H. Mellen, a labor member of the legislature from Worcester, the General Court of 1909 created a temporary Homestead Commission charged with the duty of passing upon the expediency of the state's granting loans or other assistance to workmen who wished to remove "from congested tenement districts" and settle in the open country. This, then, was not primarily a housing project, but rather a "back to the farm" plan—a proposal to attempt immediately to make farmers out of artisans and laborers. As was to

have been expected, the majority of the Homestead Commission reported negatively. In his dissenting report, Mr. Freeman M. Saltus of Worcester, recommended that the state buy land adjacent to the cities in which congestion was the worst, and provide some means whereby workmen might acquire homes with the assistance of the Commonwealth. The legislature of 1910 did nothing, but that of 1911 endorsed the ideas of Mr. Saltus. As far as I know, this was the first admission by an American State that the Commonwealth had the responsibility directly to provide for its citizens who could not properly house themselves. With the information at hand, however, it was unable to agree upon the specific details for establishing the enterprises. To work out these details and, presumably from the language of the act, to administer the undertaking when launched, the legislature created the present Homestead Commission, a permanent body.

We were then charged, not with investigating housing in Massachusetts, not with studying foreign relief measures, not with passing upon the wisdom of the fundamental idea, but with reporting to the General Court of 1912, "a bill or bills embodying a plan and a method of carrying it out, whereby, with the assistance of the Commonwealth, homesteads or small houses and plots of ground may be acquired by mechanics, factory employes, laborers and others in the cities and towns." Notwithstanding the limitations tacitly imposed by the statute and by the smallness of the appropriation, the Commission, aided by the Bureau of Statistics, whose director is its chairman, made a fairly thorough, but necessarily second-hand survey of the whole field. The result, published as Labor Bulletin No. 88, by the Bureau of Statistics, was reported to the legislature in the form of a simple bill.

Before its submission to the legislature, however, the bill was placed under state-wide scrutiny. What was practically the final draft was published from one end of the state to the other; oral discussion was equally wide. The commission recorded itself as open-minded and welcomed then—as it welcomes now—the fullest and frankest suggestions—constructive or otherwise. As we expected, comment flowed in, but, much to our surprise, the adverse criticism was almost negligible. We knew that the measure was one that had the warmest popular support, but we did not realize that it was one which would meet so little open opposition.

This bill gave the Commission authority to purchase and manage a tract or tracts of land, thereupon to build dwellings which would be sold or rented to workmen, and to make whatever regulations might be necessary to carry out the spirit of the plan. Through ownership of stock and membership in an association, the owners and occupiers of the houses were to have a share in the profits of the undertaking, as well as a voice in its management. In financing the plan, the Commission was authorized to borrow not to exceed three hundred thousand dollars from the fund created by the reversion to the State of all

savings bank deposits unclaimed for thirty years or more. This provision, we felt, was a most happy one, since by it the product of the thrift of the workmen of a generation ago would make possible the betterment of the condition of those of this generation. Moreover, lawyers agreed with us in thinking that this clause escaped constitutional objections. We were all mistaken, however, for the Supreme Court—whose opinion of the constitutionality of a pending bill can be asked by the legislature—pronounced our project unconstitutional, according to all indications, just when it seemed about to become law. This decision was all the more surprising, because the Massachusetts Supreme Court, always justly held in the highest respect, has given abundant evidence of liberal-mindedness. Moreover, the decision was remarkable because the Court was good enough to make a part of its decision a statement regarding what the legislature could do as well as what it could not do under the organic law of Massachusetts.

Just what this decision means remains to be seen. Legislation hurriedly enacted, however, makes sure that the Homestead Commission can round out its investigations and can more thoroughly relate the particular problem of housing to other social and economic questions. Even though direct state loans under any conditions may prove to be impossible without constitutional amendment—a particularly long and difficult process in Massachusetts, there are other measures that give promise of relief from the present well nigh intolerable congestion. Until a few days ago, the Commission was forced by law to confine itself to the development of a plan constructed after a pattern that was given it. Now we have not only legislative permission but the official duty of viewing the problem from all angles and recommending not necessarily one method of relief but any and all that may seem to us practicable. The Commission hopes that in doing its work it may have the help of the socially minded persons of the nation. The problem that we are attacking knows no state boundaries. Moreover, because Massachusetts has already given proof of a willingness to try to see things as they really are and to apply strong remedies when needed there is reason to hope that precedents may be established which will be of great help in campaigns in other states.

Whatever the future may show, it is pertinent to ask, "Why did Massachusetts commit itself to the idea that workmen's suburban houses should be built by means of state loans?"

The answer is two-fold.

Housing conditions in Massachusetts have long been the shame of the State. No doubt, the outlines are familiar to you. As to Boston, one conclusion of the Housing Committee of Boston, 1915, reads, "The investigations that we have made (in the West and North ends) indicate that more than 20,000 of these people live under conditions where they have in bedrooms less than 400 cubic feet of air per capita. That is to say, these 20,000 people are actually living below the lowest

standard fixed as the minimum by any city, in the United States or Europe, which has undertaken to establish a minimum, so far as we know. We believe the above to be a fair statement of the conditions of congestion of people within the buildings.'' That report, the 1905 state census, and the Federal report concerning immigrants in cities, make it clear that ''Congestion in the North and West ends is as great as anywhere. The density per acre here is not much less than in the most crowded part of New York, and is greater than anywhere else in this country. Crowding within the rooms is greatest in Boston.'' Unfortunately there is abundant evidence—although sometimes a bit intangible—that of the cities of the State, Boston is not unique. And worse yet because of the utter needlessness of it all, are conditions in many of the towns. In a few manufacturing villages, I have seen congestion with its attendant evils that far exceeds anything that I have ever observed in Boston or Worcester, Lawrence or Lowell.

These facts, and more like them, the citizens of the State know, or at least are beginning to know. And they have counted the cost. They have counted the cost in terms of dollars and cents, of inefficiency of citizenship, of preventable disease and death, of lack of the joy of living, of immorality and crime. They have come or are coming to regard congestion as a social disease and a preventable disease at that. They have tired of treating symptoms of the disease, and have tried to attack the disease itself. The way to attack the disease itself, the argument runs, is for the State to take families from the congested districts, plant them in small houses, detached or otherwise, but with a garden plot, and give them a real chance in the fresh air and sunshine, with dirt to dig in and to grow things in, and with outdoors for the children to play in, and with a stake in the world. And, be it noted, according to the most careful calculation—paper calculation to be sure—the ''homestead'' could be purchased by the workman over a twenty year period in instalments that would be less than the rental for his share of the squalor of a North End.

But why not legislate the squalor out of existence; why not regulate tenements and tenement districts? The answer—which I hope is not conclusive—is painfully simple. Massachusetts has tried hard to regulate, and, speaking by and large, has failed and failed completely. Will this failure continue? That is one of the questions, by the way, that the Homestead Commission now may at least help to answer and answer negatively.

But why should the State finance these homes; why should the work not be done by private capital? Again the answer given is painfully simple. Private capital has had a century and more to provide cheap but good suburban homes to be purchased on instalments, or even rented, but—with a few exceptions important in themselves but too slight in the aggregate to prove anything—private capital has done nothing. Perhaps capital can be encouraged to do what it yet has not done for the

workman; the legislature can make certain concessions in return for the construction of the right houses to be sold on the right terms under state supervision. A canvas of the possibilities in this direction will probably be undertaken by the Commission.

The second reason why Massachusetts inclines to the policy of state subsidy for workmen's homes is experience abroad. How Germany and Great Britain have used the resources of the state to provide homes for the workmen is well known. It is not so generally understood, however, that the same principle has been given wide and successful expression in Belgium, Austria, Hungary, The Netherlands, Denmark, Norway and New Zealand, and that France, Italy, Sweden, Brazil and Chile also have legislation of the same character.

From experience abroad, three particularly encouraging conclusions applying to Massachusetts conditions have been drawn. Garden cities can be made to pay their own way. Undertakings similar to the one that the Homestead Commission was created to perfect have been almost without exception successful in doing the thing they set out to do—making the workman and his family live longer, happier, fuller, better lives. Wherever the State, in any of its forms, has embarked upon this undertaking, private capital, formerly supine, has awakened and has done as well or better than the state. My hope for Massachusetts was—and still is—that the State will blaze a trail that capitalists will follow. When the Homestead Commission by actual accomplishment proves that workmen can be housed in model suburban communities with advantage to them and to the state, and without in any way making them objects of charity, I feel sure that the private initiative, now lacking, will carry the work far beyond the point that the State could hope to reach.

Just how the State can and will act is now hard to predict, considering the recentness of the Supreme Court decision. Perhaps negative regulation and passive encouragement are not only the proper limits of state activity, but the measure by which the desired end will be reached. Perhaps the aid that the State will advance to the workman to help him to a suburban home of his own will have to take an indirect form. With a wider vision than before and with a mind as receptive as ever, the Homestead Commission is now trying to attack congestion in as constructive a way as possible. I have no prophecies to make as to details, but, seeing what I have of the present spirit of the people of the whole State, I am sure that somehow and soon the workman will have his suburban home.

## THE INDUSTRIAL DISEASE PROBLEM.

By John B. Andrews, Secretary American Association for Labor Legislation.

There has been a remarkable development of interest in the subject of industrial diseases since the meeting of this Conference in St. Louis two years ago. At the St. Louis meeting in 1910, it was possible only to note the completion of an investigation of the effects of one poison in one industry; to mention the appointment of the first state commission on occupational diseases; and to announce that the first American conference on industrial diseases would be held during the following month. That practically marked the extent of serious public interest in the problem at that time.

But the last two years have been educational ones in this field. Magazine writers, for example, who but eighteen months ago scoffed at the existence of special diseases due to various employments have during the last nine months written elaborate articles on occupational diseases. In addition to the scientific journals, such popular magazines as the **Outlook, Everybody's** and the **North American Review,** have opened their pages and have joined in the campaign.

The first national conference on industrial diseases in June 1910, attracted attention to this as to a new problem. A Memorial On Occupational Diseases,* prepared by a committee of that conference, laid a foundation for national investigation of the subject, and one after another eight states enacted laws requiring physicians to report all cases of certain diseases of occupation. The work of the one state commission led to the enactment of a special occupational disease law requiring monthly medical examinations of the workers in a few hazardous employments.

The United States Congress has now agreed to abolish the disease due to the one industrial poison which has been thoroughly studied. New reports have been printed on mercury and lead poisoning in some of the industries. Medical inspection of factories, too, has increased in importance. During the present month, the Second National Conference on Industrial Diseases has led to the public discussion of industrial hygiene by physicians, physiologists, statisticians, factory inspectors, manufacturers, efficiency engineers, trade unionists, economists, and social workers. Through the medium of a joint session of the American Association for Labor Legislation and the American Medical Association, the latter organization has given a place to the industrial disease problem on its annual program for the first time in the sixty-six years of its existence. The Medical Association and the Chemical Society have recently appointed committees for further work. Three federal bureaus are now conducting investigations in their own respective fields, and several state commissions, bureaus of factory inspection and boards of health are at work upon the problem. There is now scarcely a public

*Publication No. 12, American Association for Labor Legislation.

meeting of importance for the discussion of any phase of the labor problem that does not include at least some mention of occupational diseases. If further evidence of public interest were needed, it could be found in the recent platforms of political partis.

The extent of occupational diseases in America is a problem for endless study. We know now in a general way that such diseases occur in practically every industry. A long list of the most common work diseases are familiar to those engaged in the respective employments. Such popular terms as lead colic, miner's asthma, the hatter's "shakes," the potter's "rot," boiler-makers' deafness, brass-workers' chills, and the compressed air workers "bends," are merely suggestive. The Memorial on Occupational Diseases, already referred to, indicates problems for investigation for some time to come.

This careful memorial, prepared by conscientious American authorities, counts our industrially employed in the United States as 33,500,000 and estimates that from sickness alone our mere money loss each year is nearly three-quarters of a billion dollars, and further declares on the basis of German experience—"we have no corresponding data for this country"—that one-fourth of this annual economic loss (approximately $200,000,000) might be prevented.

Diseases which come upon us owing to peculiar conditions of employment, may be grouped roughly into several principal classes. Dr. Thomas Oliver treats the subject under the following general heads: (1) Diseases due to gases, vapors, and high temperatures; (2) Diseases due to increased or decreased atmospheric pressure; (3) Diseases due to metallic poisons, dusts and fumes; (4) Diseases due to organic or inorganic dust and heated atmospheres, and, (5) Diseases due to fatigue.

Probably the most baffling problem that faces us here is the ventilation question. And perhaps no greater contribution could be made at present than the creation of a commission of experts charged with the duty of making a thorough study of ventilation.

The prevention of occupational diseases is no easy task. It is not difficult to show the existence of these maladies and to awaken a desire to abolish them. Finding remedies that are practicable and effective is quite a different thing.

The list of clearly recognized industrial poisons, including such common ones as lead, mercury, arsenic and wood alcohol, is a long one.* There are also such clearly defined occupational maladies as compressed air illness which should be prevented or minimized without further delay.

Lead poisoning is the most prevalent of these industrial injuries. Lead is so widely used in modern industry that it numbers its victims in more than one hundred trades. Painters are the chief sufferers and results of this poisoning may be found in every community. In a study which I made last year for the United States Bureau of Labor (Bulletin 95) I found that among sixty fatal cases of industrial lead poisoning

*See Bulletin 100, U. S. Bureau of Labor for list prepared by the International Association for Labor Legislation.

actually reported by physicians in New York during 1909-1910, exactly 75 per cent. were painters or worked where paint was manufactured or used. The remaining one-fourth worked in lead smelters, tin shops, storage battery works, printing establishments, etc.

The process particularly dangerous to painters is the dry sand-papering of paint on account of the lead dust that is inhaled. France, by a law which goes into effect in 1914, prohibits the use of white lead in house painting. Dry sand-papering of paint is prohibited in Germany and Belgium, and several countries prohibit the use of lead paints for interior decoration. Both of these especially hazardous processes are unnecessary in the United States and should be prohibited by law. Cans and barrels in which dry white lead is stored and sold should be labeled with appropriate warnings and warnings should be posted in factories. The use of automatic machinery should be encouraged. There should be periodical medical examination of all workers in the principal processes where lead is used. All cases of lead poisoning should be reported promptly to the state authorities. Educational leaflets should be distributed to the workmen, to the employers and to the physicians. It may seem like an ungracious thing to say about the medical profession, but it is nevertheless true, and the best informed among them readily admit it, that not the least of the difficulties encountered in this field is the fact that most physicians do not yet recognize the occupational cause of some of the most clearly defined industrial diseases.

Wood alcohol poisoning is much more common than is generally supposed. Wood alcohol is produced as a by-product in the manufacture of charcoal. It is more expensive to produce than grain alcohol and did not come into use until during the Civil War when a high internal revenue tax was placed on the spirit made from grain. It is used in the preparation of varnish, lacquer, polish and perfumes, for the production of coal-tar colors and pharmaceutical preparations; a solvent for aniline dyes in cotton print manufacture; used in combination with shellac for coating the interior of casks, particularly the inside of brewery vats; in cabinet-making and furniture polishing; and for the denaturing of spirits. Absorption is through the digestive organs, also through the skin; and in the form of vapor, through the respiration.

In advanced cases the retina and optic nerve are affected, resulting in blindness. Ten drops of wood alcohol have been known to cause total blindness. Death is not uncommon by paralysis of the respiratory apparatus.

The remedy is the substitution of harmless substances for wood alcohol in the denaturing of spirits. And this brings us to an interesting bit of recent history. You will remember that six years ago there was a great public clamor for the denaturing of alcohol. It was suggested that the federal government might well forego that portion of its revenue raised by a tax on grain alcohol used in industrial processes. Particularly it was urged that untaxed grain alcohol would provide a cheap

fuel for farmers. As a matter of fact, those who most vigorously urged legislation on this subject, by means of a New York press bureau, were representatives of furniture and hat manufacturers who wished to use something cheaper than wood alcohol, and of course to their pleas were added those of the manufacturers of grain alcohol.

The opposition, as might be expected, came from the manufacturers of wood alcohol. As already stated, wood alcohol is a by-product in the manufacture of charcoal. Most of the charcoal in this country is used in the manufacture of a certain kind of iron which is used particularly in the manufacture of wheels for railway trains. The manufacturers of this iron, who were on that account the manufacturers of charcoal and of wood alcohol, protested to Congress that they would be driven out of business if the sale of this one little by-product, wood alcohol, should be cut off by free competition with grain alcohol which, when untaxed, is much cheaper.

But in denaturing grain alcohol is was to be mixed with something that would make it undrinkable because disagreeable to the taste or else unsafe. Our wise representatives in Congress asked many questions until they suddenly discovered that the total production of wood alcohol was about 10 per cent of what was then estimated would be the total production of denatured grain alcohol. Wood alcohol is notably unsafe as a beverage. What was more simple then, than to denature the grain alcohol by mixing with it 10 per cent. of wood alcohol? Congress acted accordingly. Opposition to denatured alcohol ceased. Consequently we have denatured alcohol, 10 per cent. of which is a deadly poison. Instead of making it disagreeable to the taste by adding some harmless liquid, they made it unsafe to drink because the denaturing agent is a deadly poison.

Without dwelling upon the disastrous results among those so benighted as to have a reckless thirst for anything under the name of alcohol, we may pass over those who have suffered by mistaking denatured grain alcohol for the officially authorized beverage, and state that one of the common recognized industrial diseases today is wood alcohol poisoning.

In the New York courts at the present time, I know of at least two suits pending where widows are trying to get damages because their husbands died while varnishing the interior of brewery vats with a mixture containing wood alcohol. I have a list of more than one hundred cases of industrial wood alcohol poisoning from only three states, several resulting in total blindness or death. And I have only commenced to study the problem.

Compressed air illness among those who work in caissons and tunnels beneath the water level, is one of the most clearly defined diseases resulting from peculiar conditions of employment. Sudden release from high atmospheric pressure is the chief cause of this sickness. It can be prevented by regulating the rate of decompression by a rule almost as simple as a mathematical table. And yet a member of the faculty at

Cornell Medical College reported 3,692 cases of this compressed air illness, twenty of which were immediately fatal, among the workmen who dug the Pennsylvania East River tunnel in New York City. Only one state in this country has a law regulating this work. That one law is not enforced. The most frequent explanation by the employers is that the workmen are unwilling to take the time to undergo decompression in an air lock at the end of each shift. I asked a representative of the leading company employing men in compressed air, if it would not solve the difficulty if they were to pay the men for the time spent while undergoing decompression. He replied instantly that that would not be fair to the employer. It would be expensive. A few minutes later, however, he boasted that his firm "cleaned up" $750,000 in the business during ten years.

It is very popular just now to argue for protection for the workers solely upon the ground that "it pays" the employer to protect them. Let us congratulate ourselves that those in danger of losing their health and their lives in their daily toil have that incidental advantage in some instances at least. But let us have less of this everlasting dinning in our ears that we must first demonstrate that each advance toward health and safety will actually put additional dollars into the pockets of the employers, before we ask for decent protection for the workers. Let no one forget, meanwhile, that the philosophy of mercenary profit when carried to its logical conclusion in some instances may result in less than decent protection when it is not clear that profits will respond immediately to the expense of safety. No man in this Republic should be permitted for a moment to forget that no matter how urgent is the duty of the state to protect the property of its citizens, the state has a much higher responsibility and that is the protection of human life.

I have referred to wood alcohol poisoning somewhat in detail, because I wish to illustrate the complex conditions which must be faced in dealing with industrial diseases. I am not among those who think we cannot prevent industrial diseases. But I believe in approaching the problem carefully because I do know something about the peculiar obstacles to be overcome.

In conclusion, I believe we should accept nothing less than this declaration: (1) all preventable occupational diseases must be prevented; (2) those occupational diseases which we do not yet know how to prevent absolutely, must be reduced to the minimum; and (3) the victims of occupational disease must be compensated for their injuries by some just system of insurance.

All kinds of objections will be raised against this work, of course. Four years ago the same kind of objectors were saying that workmen's compensation for industrial accidents was impossible in America. They declared federal labor legislation was a foolish dream and that Congress would wait an eternity before passing any phosphorus match legislation, and somewhat longer before it would consent to use the federal taxing power for anything but raising revenue. But Congress did act. Work-

men's compensation or insurance against accidents is also replacing the disgraceful and now thoroughly discredited employers' liability system about as rapidly as the legislatures convene.

There is no greater problem before us in this country today than the promotion of the comfort, health and safety of those who labor in factory, workshop and mine. For many years it has been our shame in this field that we have lagged far behind some of the countries of Europe. Our scandalous disregard for the safety and health of the workers is widely known. But in this country reform waits not so much upon sentiment as upon facts. We are just beginning to utilize the materials at hand, and our machinery for intelligent co-operation in promoting industrial hygiene, is but fairly set in motion. We move rapidly when once under way. Another generation in this work may see America leading the nations of the world.

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## CONTROL OF SANITARY STANDARDS.

By Julius Henry Cohen, New York.

Assuming that the minimum of standards of sanitary conditions are determined, the practical question presented to all persons interested in the problem is, How Can Such Standards Be Enforced? The method usually has been, and, in the main, still is, the formulation of legislation and enforcement by the Government, State or National. This method has been on the whole satisfactory, and has undoubtedly made for progress, but its efficiency is far below that standard to which we subscribe. Civil service reform has not rid inspectorial staffs of the influence of politics and bribery. In almost every city, criticism is made of the inspections conducted by building departments, fire prevention bureaus and the like. So long as government officials permit politics to enter into the appointment of officers charged with the enforcement of standards of sanitation, we shall have this weakness in the system. Every piece of constructive legislation in the way of improved standards of housing and fire protection only serves to bring with it an increased number of employes, and, consequently, an increased opportunity for strengthening political organizations.

In addition, the difficulty of securing a staff adequate in numbers to make efficient inspection is one that is almost insurmountable. The recently enacted legislation in New York imposing higher standards of fire protection, brought into existence the Bureau of Fire Prevention. In spite of efforts made by the head of the department to secure an adequate staff, the number of men allotted to him is wholly inadequate to cover the entire city; yet he is already being criticized for making appointments at the suggestion of political leaders. Every time a public official is charged with the duty of inspection and maintenance of

standards, there must be organized another public body, outside of the official bureaus, wholly unofficial in character, to watch the officials charged with enforcing the standards.

In the recently issued bulletin of the Department of Labor (No. 98), there is contained a detailed review of the work of the Joint Board of Sanitary Control in the Cloak Industry. This board owes its existence to the suggestion of the employers as an institution to make effective the "Protocol of Peace" entered into between the unions and the employers settling the strike of 1910. It took into account *three* parties to the controversy—the employers, the workers and the public. Seven members were selected by counsel for both sides, two representing the employers' association, two representing the unions and three representing the public. The unions and the employers bear the entire expense of the maintenance of the inspectorial and administrative staff of this Board, and each by virtue of the terms of the Protocol is obliged to enforce the standards established by the Board to the full extent of its power. For the first time in the history of the industry a complete inspection of every shop was actually made and the results tabulated. This inspection has been and is to be repeated semi-annually. The standards set up by the Board of Sanitary Control have been enforced to such an extent that already 51 per cent. of the workers (25,336 persons), are employed in shops having the sanitary certificate issued by the board. The Board now has a sanitary survey of 1884 shops. The result of its three semi-annual inspections shows that the number of shops with no drop ladders from fire-escapes has been reduced from 236 to 50, or from 13 per cent. to 2 per cent., the "doors opening in" were reduced from 97 per cent. in the first inspection to 79 per cent. in the second, and to 48 per cent. in the last inspection. The increase in the number of dressing rooms is indicated by a reduction from 79 per cent. of shops with no dressing rooms in the first inspection to 58 per cent. in the second and 34 per cent. in the third. In protecting the workers from eye-strain, the number of shops unprotected from glare was reduced from 83 per cent. in the first inspection to 72 per cent. in the second and to 51 per cent. in the third. Only about two per cent. of the shops owned and operated by members of the Manufacturers' Association are without certificates, and the failure to secure certificates in these cases is due to the delay in making structural changes in the buildings in which the manufacturers are located, this duty resting upon the owners of the buildings.

This splendid result has been accomplished in less than eighteen months of actual work at an expense of less than $7,000 per annum. At the present time a physical examination of the workers in the industry. under the auspices of the Board, by competent physicians with the aid of well known specialists, is well under way. The Board has demonstrated in a practical way the utility of sanitary control in an industry through the combined collective effort of workers, employers and public.

Not an unimportant part of the work consists in the education of the workers themselves respecting the value of sanitary control. Upon this point the statement of Rose Schneiderman in the last Bulletin of the Board, is enlightening:

> "Now, just a word concerning the workers. In the struggle for existence, the workers have come to look upon the workshops as a place which must of necessity be dirty, without air and unsafe. Also some manufacturers think that dirt is essential to good business. This indifference is well marked among cloakmakers. In my shop talks I often hear, 'Never mind sanitation; what we want is bread,' and it takes a good many arguments to convince them that the body is nourished by fresh air, cleanliness and sunlight as well as food."

To meet this need for education, the board secured the co-operation of the Board of Education and four lectures were held in Public School No. 62 during the month of April. The subjects included "Factory Legislation," "Factory Education," "Industrial Poisons" and "Factory Sanitation." Articles have been written for the official journals of the workers, shop sanitary committees have been organized in 301 shops and a general educational campaign is being conducted by the unions. This is not work done in the spirit of "welfare work." The employer is not doing the work alone. He is doing it in *co-operation* with his employes and *in co-operation* with the public. Why should this method not be extended to other industries? The first difficulty in the way is that it involves a permanent collective agreement between the unions and the employers and this *ex necessitate* involves a strong union and a strong employers' association. By this is meant not merely strength of numbers, but strength of *character*. The employers' organization must be led by enlightened men who have a deep sense of responsibility and a broad outlook upon life generally. For exactly the same reasons, the union must be led by men who recognize that industrial statesmanship involves thought, study, reflection, careful planning and slow upbuilding, and that the largest returns come through education. As rapidly as working people and employers are organized with such sound leadership on both sides, the method here outlined and adopted in the cloak industry, may be applied to other industries.

But even this method is not as efficient as it might be.

The responsibility for the existence of conditions that are unsafe for the worker is a responsibility resting upon the entire community. It should be shifted neither to the shoulders of the employers nor to the workers, nor to both combined. The public itself is responsible. If women's wear is manufactured under such conditions as to make for unsound men and women, society as a whole is responsible. It seems to the writer that before we get right standards of living for the community, the whole basis of purchase by the consumer must be changed, and he believes that the time is almost at hand when this would seem practicable. The present basis of purchase is, as it has been for centuries, almost wholly a matter of price and adaptability to use. The

question that the buyer asks is, how cheap is the garment and does it fit. The result of this is a demand on the part of the public for "bargains" and inevitably leads to an attitude on the part of the retailer of entire indifference to the conditions or surroundings under which the garment is made. The most scrupulous buyer of a department store must shut his eyes to the environment under which the garment is made. He concerns himself solely with the question of price and the style, texture and work in the product. Whether it contain germs of disease, or has injured the operative in the making, must concern him not at all. The result is pressure upon the manufacturer from the consumer's end—to manufacture as cheaply as possible, regardless of the conditions under which the worker operates, and from the same consuming public preasure from another direction—higher wages and shorter hours for the worker. There is justice in the plea of the enlightened manufacturer that he is being squeezed between these two opposing forces and that he is penalized whenever he attempts to raise conditions. The remedy would seem to be at hand if all of the parties would agree to it, that is, the employer, the employe and the public. It is this. Whenever complete and regular inspection of an industry is under way by all three parties, as in the cloak industry, and certificates are issued to shops maintaining adequate standards, the chain of evidence should be carried one link farther—the *garment itself* should be certified by the Board, so that the consumer will know what garment is made under "Protocol" conditions and what is not. An extensive advertising campaign, conducted by both parties, would inevitably educate the public to a realization of its responsibility for the maintenance of unsanitary conditions. The responsibility from consumer to producer would be made direct and real and could not be evaded. A label on each garment would furnish the purchaser with unmistakable evidence of its conformance or non-conformance with the standards of living maintained by the best in the industry. Already in the cloak industry, the union is making a campaign throughout the country for the exclusion from the industry of what is called "Non-Protocol" cloaks; that is to say, for the exclusion of garments made in factories that have not come under the Protocol. This work is ineffective now because there is no way of furnishing the consumer with prompt and satisfactory evidence of the facts concerning each garment. The retailer today is not called upon to distinguish between "Protocol" cloaks and "Non-Protocol" cloaks. Looking at the situation critically, it would seem that the work of controlling the *label* is no more difficult than the work of controlling the shop. It is a mere extension of the principle of certification. It is perhaps a little unfortunate that the suggestion came first from a lawyer, and worse still, from a lawyer representing employers. It will doubtless take a very considerable time before the feeling of suspicion and distrust on the part of working people is eliminated to such an extent as to make the plan acceptable to them. But I am confident that it would have the support

of enlightened employers and likewise the vigorous indirect opposition of some retailers. The latter will resent this interference with the liberty of buying upon the lowest possible plane. It is true that it ensures the permanence of a relation between an employers' organization and the union, and is therefore the strongest possible "recognition of the union" and of its value in the modern organization of industry. If it be said that it ties the union to a peaceable solution of problems in the industry, it must also be said that it ties the employers likewise. But if in all other respects the collective agreement is fair and above board and makes for no monopoly on either side, why should either reject it? So far as the public is concerned, ought it not to insist that methods more enlightening should be adopted in the permanent uplift of industry than those of warfare and heat? If there is to be a reorganization of industry in which workers, employers and public participate, and legislation is enacted by the workers themselves in counsel with their employers, and not by State legislatures, is it not high time that the consuming public should have fixed upon it its fair share of responsibility for the creation and maintenance of sanitary standards?

The next steps in the control of sanitary standards seems to the writer to be two, (a) the fixing of responsibility, and (b) the completion of the chain of evidence. The value of the work of the National Consumers' League in preparing the way for a more complete system, cannot be over-estimated. With a system of tri-partite control of an industry and a complete chain of evidence fixing the identity of the garment and the manner of its production, the fundamental idea underlying the work of the National Consumers' League will live and develop. If it prove workable in the Women's Wear industry, it will be extended to other industries as rapidly as statesmanship takes the place of warfare between the two great industrial bodies.

The need for such control is obvious. Dynamite hardly makes for permanent sanitary conditions, nor does sabotage. Order and law are essential. If not by State legislation and inspection, then the results must come through industrial legislation by the parties themselves. In joint session, both employers and workers should, as *they* best can, determine both the needs and the remedy. Certainly the twin principles of collective agreement and arbitration receive new vigor from this modern demonstration of the necessity for methods of control in industry. The enlightened employer needs his organization. The worker needs his union. The public needs both and each needs the other. If we can substitute rational methods for physical warfare and contests of reason for contests of physical endurance, we may get somewhat farther on in an American Democracy and realize a higher standard of living for its people.

## UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE.

By Harry D. Thomas, President of the Ohio Federation of Labor.

Unemployment insurance saves from the necessity of receiving public charity during temporary need, persons who under ordinary circumstances are able to care for themselves, and is considered by the organized workers of Europe and Great Britian, and also by the few International Unions who have adopted it in this country, as one of the most effective agents for mitigating the evils of unemployment.

The existing institutions for providing this insurance in the majority of the European countries may be divided into four classes. Systems of employment relief subsidized by the municipalities or other departments of government; Second, unemployment benefit paid by the Trade Unions; Third, institutions created by employers for their own establishments, and voluntary associations of employees organized on occupational lines.

In Great Britain nearly all of the Trade Unions make this form of insurance a special feature of their beneficial system and the Amalgamated Society of Engineers one of the largest of their organizations, paid to its members in unemployed benefits in 1910, over half a million dollars, and the year previous nearly a million dollars, while some of the other unions have paid from two hundred to four hundred thousand dollars yearly. Lloyd-George included it for a few selected industries as a part of his national insurance relief bill that parliament enacted into law last year. The unemployment relief granted by this measure is to go to those occupations where the workmen are helping themselves by paying for unemployment insurance in trade organizations, and the evident purpose of this feature of the law is to encourage workers in other trades to provide against unemployment in the same manner.

In Europe as in Great Britian the Trade Unions have taken the initiative in providing this form of insurance for unemployed workmen, and it has been largely through their efforts that Germany, France, Belgium, Denmark, Norway and Sweden have passed both national and municipal laws granting state and municipal aid in the form of subsidies to unemployment insurance associations, or unions, equal to about one-third and in some cases one-half of the amounts paid out by these respective organizations. The following is a section of one of the many European municipal laws creating a special fund to encourage workmen to make provisions for themselves and their families against unemployment.

"To each unemployed workmen who is a member of the out of work fund of one of the local unions or associations of workmen shall be granted a subsidy in addition to the out of work benefit which he receives from his local union."

The 24th annual report of the United States Commissioner of Labor, 1909, entitled Workmen's Insurance in Europe, Volumes 1 and 2, gives a

complete report of the operation of all these unemployment insurance funds and organizations in these countries. These reports can be obtained by writing to the Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

Despite the fact that in this country more than in any other, because of the severity of our winters, many industries such as the building trades, quarrying, inland waterway transportation, and general public work, like paving, sewers, etc., practically suspend operation for about three months of the year, whilst the clothing and textile trade have only season em ployment, the American workmen have given but little thought to securing unemployment insurance for protection during these dull periods, and where he is given the opportunity as he is in some of our unions to select for himself as to whether he will become a trade member, that is a member who from a beneficial standpoint is entitled to financial help only when strikes are necessary to enforce better conditions of employment; or becoming a beneficial member which includes unemployment, sickness, accident and old age insurance he invariably elects to become a trade member, because it costs less than the payments required for the benefits above mentioned. President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, as well as other International officers have recommended this form of insurance to the membership a number of times, but so far only a few of the National and International Trade Unions of this country have seen fit to adopt it. Among the most successful of them is the Cigarmakers International Union who adopted it in 1890. The amount paid by them for unemployed benefits last year amounted to $36,942.50; the highest paid by them for any one year was in 1896 when they paid out $175,767.25 at a cost of $6.43 per member. The lowest was in 1903 when they paid $15,558.00 at a cost of 39c per member. The total amount paid by them to date amounts to $1,343,724.86. Their weekly dues are 30c and a member having paid said dues for a period of two years is entitled to $3.00 per week and 50c for each additional day. No benefit is paid for the first week and a member receiving benefit for 6 weeks is not entitled to any benefit for seven weeks thereafter and no member shall receive more than $54.00 during any 12 months.

Other International Unions of this locality who make provision for this form of insurance are the German Typographia, a branch of the International Typographical Union and the Amalgamated Society of Engineers and the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners. Personally both as a member and officer of the carpenters' organization for a period of more than 26 years I have had an opportunity of observing the advantages that workmen enjoy when out of work from these unemployed benefits, as it provided both for myself and the other unemployed members and our families at least the necessities of life and prevented us from going into debt or applying for public aid during the long period of unemployment in the panic in '93 and '94 and again in 1907 as well as during the dull winter month period of each year. Discussing this subject with Mr. Cannon the secretary of the local Cigar-

makers union and one of the oldest officials in the Cleveland Labor Movement, he said that he considered the unemployed insurance feature of their International Union as the best of all the benefits paid by that body, and my personal experience fully bears out all he has to say for it. First, because it affords an opportunity for a workman whilst he is at work to contribute a very small payment each week from his earnings to insure himself a steady income that he can be sure of getting when there is no work to be had, and while the amount is not large it is more than he could get from public charity, and because it is his own, it makes him self dependent and better able to maintain the standard of wages and working conditions established by his union. Mr. Cannon pointed out the fact that in the 1873 panic the Cigarmakers International Union disbanded because it had made no provision for unemployment. In the '93 and '94 panic they not only maintained their membership but they also maintained their standard of wages and working hours something that but very few of the Trade Unions succeeded in doing. A number of our International Unions, like the Moulders and Machinists have remitted the dues of their members during periods of unemployment, for the purpose of holding their membership, and a few of them loan from their funds a small amount to relieve distress.

The labor members of the Constitutional convention endeavored to secure the adoption of an amendment to Ohio's constitution permitting the State to engage in all forms of insurance relief but it failed of passage. Unemployment insurance will not abolish poverty or cure all of the evils due to lack of work but it will greatly aid in making men more self-reliant, more self dependent, and will maintain a higher standard of living for those who adopt it. The state and municipal governments of this country can well afford to encourage workmen as they do in Europe to contribute to unemployment insurance funds from their earnings whilst at work, so that they may help themselves, rather than be dependent on public charity to sustain them and their families when out of work.

# Joint Section Meetings

THE COMMITTEE ON

PUBLIC SUPERVISION AND ADMINISTRATION WITH THE ASSOCIATION OF PUBLIC RELIEF OFFICIALS

## INFIRMARY MANAGEMENT

### THE ORGANIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF OUR CITY INFIRMARY OR COLONY FARM.

By Harris H. Cooley, Cleveland.

The most vital element in the organization and care of a City Infirmary is attitude, the real feeling toward the unfortunate in the hearts of those directing the institution. The officials must realize that they are expressing the social feeling of their city toward those who are in the Infirmary. Among the unfortunates are some who have been wasteful, intemperate and vicious. Some are undeserving, some have done wrong, but these things are true of some of the children of luxury. The bent backs, the swollen joints, the wrinkled faces of these unprivileged ones tell the story of toil, hardship and suffering. Most of them have done their fair share of the world's work. The Almshouse is the last gathering-place of the wreckage of a great city, of the abandoned derelicts of our social and industrial life, but each one has made the human voyage.

The only fair method of the citizens of a municipality in dealing with unfortunates is that of the Golden Rule. What would I desire if the misfortune should come to me, or worse still, to mine? Society can well afford to be generous and merciful, for the fullness of the blessing comes more to him who gives than to him who receives. The social feeling for justice and kindness grows broader and deeper. In the long run the community reaps the greater reward because of its generous beneficent service. The old poorhouse was not the best which a prosperous city could do for its children of adversity.

In order to provide freer opportunities for life and happiness we purchased for the city of Cleveland a great tract of nearly two thousand acres of rolling land, of meadow, cultivated field, forest and pasture. It absorbed twenty-five farms, and is located on an electric line ten miles from the business center. On this three square miles of land, named by the City Council the Cooley Farms, four broad estates of five hundred acres each were set apart for different purposes: the Colony Farm, for the Almshouse people; the Overlook Farm, for the Tuberculosis patients;

the Correction Farm, for the House of Correction prisoners and vagrants, and the Highland Park Farm, for the development of an extensive park cemetery. They are so distinct that the entrance from the public highway to the Colony Farm is nearly three miles from that of the Correction Farm, and there is opportunity for the absolute control for all time of a great, free, open environment.

The Colony Farm is high and has a magnificent outlook over the surrounding country. The gardens, fields, orchards, pastures, poultry yards, and barns invite to useful, helpful tasks. In the city the speed and output of the shop and factory must be maintained and the inefficient are crowded out, but Mother Earth still has a place for men past their prime, for the weak and the crippled and the aged if they only do according to their ability, she has ample room and welcome and reward for them. They can all be given some needed, useful work, and are happier for the doing of it for the common life of the colony. Their own labor brings from the orchards, fields and gardens, better and more nourishing food. The normal environment of the country restores normal hopes. feelings and interests. To most of them nature is as much of a delight in their second childhood as it was in their first childhood.

Four of the permanent buildings were completed, and in April, 1909, six hundred people, crippled, defective and infirm, were moved to their new home and the inmates of the Poorhouse in the city became the residents of the Colony Farm. The change from the crowded, humiliating life of the traditional institution to the freer and more open life under the whole sky immediately expressed itself in the bearing and attitude of the residents.

The new buildings, which are a part of the plan for a complete group, are of marble dust plaster finish with red tile roofs, and in the setting of green fields and forests present a fine architectural appearance. Political opponents gave them the name of the "Moorish Palaces." They are simple, but practical and beautiful. The use of re-inforced concrete has enabled us to say that "strength and beauty are in the sanctuary" even of the poor and unfortunate.

The main building, the Service Quadrangle, is two stories in height and covers an acre of ground. In the center is a large open court entirely surrounded by a covered archway or cloister. It includes the service rooms, and forms the center of the life and industry of the village. It is an adaption of the monastic mission architecture to present uses. The monks were wise builders, and they built with the accumulated wisdom of their order. They lived the communal life, as do our old people in the Colony. The cloister is very attractive, and affords protection from the heat and storm and gives opportunity for outdoor life. Under its archways in summer is abundant room for carrying on the old hand crafts.

A separate building was erected as a home for aged couples. Their rooms on the ground floor have French windows opening out onto the lawn and flower beds, giving the effect in summer of a cozy cottage by

itself. This is to be their humble home together as long as both shall live. Suggested by the tender devotion of an old man to his sick wife at the time of their moving into their new cottage, we inscribed over the doorway the motto: "To lose money is better than to lose love." Above the great fireplace in their common living-room are the lines of Browning's "Rabbi Ben Ezra:"

> "Grow old along with me,
> The best is yet to be,
> The last of life, for which the first was made;
> Grow old, . . . . nor be afraid."

The environment and atmosphere of the Colony suggest, not a retreat in which to die, but rather a community in which to live the declining years in some comfort and enjoyment. Some are too badly wrecked in body and mind to be influenced by the new life, but with most of the residents there is responsiveness and appreciation. A crippled woman in a wheel-chair was on one of the wide verandas looking out over the fields and forests. A visitor said to her, "This is fine here." "Yes," replied the cripple; "sometimes when I look out over the hills, it is so beautiful, I just cry"

Two years ago the Japanese Government sent a delegation of some of her ablest men to study our American industries and institutions. When they came to Cleveland, Baron Shibusawa, the head of the delegation, asked to see the Colony Farm. He was much interested in the trip about the farm and through the buildings. He could not speak English, but if our old people had been kings and queens he could not have treated them with more courtesy. On leaving him at his hotel he took my hand, and through his interpreter said: "Since coming to America, they have shown us wonderful mills and factories, beautiful banks and business places, but the most interesting thing which I have seen is the Colony out on the hill." The next day he sent me a letter of appreciation of the work, and inclosed were two fifty-dollar bills, sent that the old folks at the Colony might have a happier time at Christmas.

The governments of the countries of Europe are giving increasing attention to old age pensions, to accident, sickness, unemployment, and infirmity insurance. The soldiers of industry are to be cared for as generously as the soldiers of war. The rising movement for Conservation is an effort to realize justice for the unprivileged. The growing social heart or feeling toward the unfortunate is to express itself in larger brotherly services and unconscious kindnesses, of which the old individual conscience has been hesitating and afraid.

## PROBLEMS IN COMMON OF THE CITY INFIRMARY AND THE SMALL ALMSHOUSE.

By H. H. Shirer, Secretary of Board of State Charities, Ohio.

The infirmaries of Ohio can be classified as city and county. Each of the eighty-eight counties, except Cuyahoga, has a county infirmary. Cleveland and Cincinnati maintain city infirmaries. With the exception of the city infirmaries and about a dozen county infirmaries, they may be classified as small infirmaries having a population of from twenty to fifty. Perhaps it might be well to modify the subject for the purpose of the brief discussion so as to read, "common problems of large and small infirmaries."

The first problem in any infirmary is to secure the right kind of a resident managing officer, commonly known as a superintendent. His duties are so manifold that it is indeed difficult to secure a person who is competent in all branches of the work demanded of him. He must be a farmer, a business man, a disciplinarian, possessed of great tact in handling inmates and their friends, and above all completely filled with an abundance of "sanctified gumption." The mistake too often made is trying to see how little in financial compensation will be paid to a superintendent. The persons having such institutions in charge should decide upon the best man available and pay him wages sufficient to compensate him for the burdensome life which he accepts in such a capacity. At all events, the superintendent should be given supreme power in employing and discharging all other employes, whether there be one or twenty. It is the only way that efficiency can be expected.

The position of matron of an infirmary should not be an honorary one. In most instances she should be the wife of the superintendent, and it should be her duty to be absolutely responsible for the household details of the entire institution. Too often we find in infirmaries that the matron pays very little attention to the quarters occupied by the male inmates. Her constant inspection of this portion of the institution is not a pleasant duty, but it is absolutely necessary to secure and maintain the best care and sanitary condition.

Another common problem is the admission of inmates. The practice in different states naturally varies. In some, the superintendent has absolute power to determine who shall be admitted; in others some board or other official warrants the inmates to the institution and the superintendent must accept them. Whoever has this responsibility, extreme care and wisdom must be exercised to see that those who should not receive public care in this manner shall be excluded. In this class should be included those who have relatives who are abundantly able to care for them, and every effort should be made to secure such care before admission to an infirmary is granted. In many instances churches and other organizations, with which the applicant has a relationship, can be appealed to to grant the necessary temporary relief and thus save him

from becoming a public pauper. At the same time scrupulous regard must be had for the timely discharge of inmates whose condition no longer requires their care at the infirmary. In this class would be those who have been brought to such an institution through accident, sickness or other temporary troubles. As soon as the condition which brought them to the institution no longer exists, they should be given to understand that they must go elsewhere. Public officials could render an excellent service in this respect by securing employment and making other arrangements for the re-establishment of such persons in a normal social status.

To often we find the records of infirmaries to be very incomplete. Some years ago one of the infirmaries in Ohio showed by its books that there should be nearly five hundred inmates in the institution on a certain day, but an actual count revealed the presence of less than two hundred. It is as important to keep an accurate record of the inmates as it is of the financial transactions of the institutions, and each state should have a law holding the proper official responsible for such records, and upon proof of his failure to keep them in proper form, he should be removed from office and subjected to other penalties for neglect of duty.

One of the most difficult duties of the superintendent is to devise employment suited to the physical strength and mental capacity of the inmates of an infirmary. All who are able should have some definite task, although it may not be worth five cents a day in real accomplishment, but such forms of employment have a very helpful effect in maintaining discipline, good order and contentment. In the matter of employment as much harm can be done in requiring too much of a certain individual as is done in permitting an able-bodied man to loaf about the institution. It is a well-known fact that whenever a work test is faithfully employed in an infirmary, the winter rounders are considerably reduced in numbers. In the matter of employment the real test of the resourcefulness of a superintendent is most conspicuous. Many of our superintendents have very little trouble with their inmates because they have the happy faculty of getting the inmates into an attitude of mind where they accept employment as a necessity and not an imposed hardship. The hard-and-fast, driving, brutal "boss" has no place in an infirmary; yet while he is kind, he must be firm.

Another difficult problem in an infirmary is that of classification. The sexes must be kept separate, and this is best accomplished in separate buildings, although a properly constructed one-building institution can be made to afford reasonable separation. By sex separation we do not mean a hard-and-fast rule which has no deviation for the old couple. It seems well-nigh criminal to separate an aged man and his wife who will live happily together, but when they are taken to an infirmary the rigid rules require that they should no longer live together and be a comfort to each other but must abide in separate apartments and not even be per-

mitted to speak to each other. On the other hand, an absolute rule that all aged couples shall have the privilege of sharing a room will need exception, as all superintendents know that at some time such an arrangement would bring chaos into the management of the institution. The aged couple must be dealt with according to their temperament.

In the states where infirmaries care for children they should be kept as far as possible from the quarters of the adults. In Ohio children are not permitted to be kept in infirmaries, unless the mother is an inmate, and then only until the child becomes one year of age. Occasionally this law is violated, but the exceptions are rare. In some states the insane, especially those of a chronic type, are cared for in the infirmaries. To remove a constant source of worry and vexation it should be the aim in all of the states that the insane be cared for by the state and not be left to the haphazard attention of local institutions.

In all infirmaries the problem of sickness presents itself and it is often difficult to make suitable arrangements for the proper care of sick inmates. Even in the small institutions a room should be provided which is so situated in the building that it will have plenty of sunlight and ventilation. At one time we found in an infirmary in Ohio about twelve men, several of whom were bedridden, cared for in a long room with only one window, the ventilators nailed shut, the atmosphere indescribable and the sanitary conditions very poor; while a large well-lighted, sunlight exposed room which the architect had purposely designed as a hospital was standing empty.

It hardly seems necessary to refer to the matter of cleanliness, to an abundant water supply properly distributed through the infirmaries, to a good system of ventilation, safe heating and lighting and other generally accepted essentials, in any infirmary whether it be large or small. Yet it must be said, if we may judge from reports of inspectors of such institutions, that some of these essentials are very often lacking.

In the matter of cooking too much care can not be taken, not so much in providing an extensive and elaborate bill-of-fare, but that what is given be prepared carefully and served in an appetizing manner. The inmates of such institutions should be subject to as much surprise in the matter of variety of bill-of-fare as other people.

It is often thought the most important responsibility in an infirmary is the buying of supplies. True, it is important and too often is the object of political favoritism and even political grafting. Most of the articles can be listed and described in such a way that all firms dealing in such articles will have an opportunity to present bids, and the persons responsible for the purchase award the contract to the lowest responsible bidder. Whether the superintendent has the responsibility of making the purchase or not, he must know what was bought and see that the articles delivered meet the specifications, whether bought by direct purchase or competitive bidding. Unfortunately the public often looks with a great deal of suspicion upon the purchasing done by officials con-

nected with public institutions, and for this reason extreme care must be taken to avoid even the appearance of evil.

In conferences of this sort we often hear the request of some person who has recently taken up the superintendency of an institution for a set of rules that will run the institution with very little trouble. Rules, as such, are almost worthless. There must be a superintendent big enough to meet conditions as they arise. Of course there must be certain routine regulations to govern an institution, but the fewer rules, as such, the better. The one safe rule that might be inclusive of all other rules is that one enunciated by a superintendent of a state institution of Ohio several decades ago, who, when asked to furnish a set of rules to another superintendent, said, "Let everything be done decently and in order."

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## ALMSHOUSE PROPERTY; THE IDEAL IN AMOUNT AND UPKEEP.

By C. A. Root, Superintendent County Infirmary, Warren, Ohio.

Under the subject head "Alm's house property—the ideal in amount and up-keep" I will necessarily speak to you from the standpoint of the smaller infirmary, alms, county or poor house—the one supporting and caring for a daily average of from 75 to 125 inmates.

The first and most requisite property for such an institution, to my mind, would be a farm, or sufficiently large tract of land, as would afford ample ground for the growing of *most* if not *all* of the fruits and vegetables to be consumed by its inmates, located high enough to be of natural beauty and to afford good facilities for drainage and sewerage disposal, near to, but not within a so-called walking distance of the seat of government of such county. Large enough to maintain a dairy of cows of sufficient number to provide its inmates and employes with milk, cream and butter, large enough to produce at least the greater part of its own beef, pork, mutton, poultry, and eggs. A dairy of one of the beef breeds of cattle is preferable for this purpose. By keeping a few more of them you can get the required amount of milk and butter and each animal and all of its off-spring are available for a good quality of wholesome beef.

The up-keep of such a farm requires an equipment of modern labor saving farm tools and machinery in the hands of experienced employes and under the management of one familiar with agriculture in its present day scientific sense. Such an institution when builded should be as nearly fire-proof as is possible and then provided with the most efficient fire fighting apparatus available, for even under such very favorable conditions, there is no class of building or institution more subject to the loss of life and property by fire than the present day alms or county house, with its ever changing population from all nations and climes. Such apparatus should consist of both a liberal supply of hand chemical extinguishers and a system of water under pressure. For this size in-

stitution, I think the tank-with-air pressure system preferable to the elevated tower tank. It is more economical in construction and in up-keep and in case of fire the pressure can be more easily maintained or increased by the use of gasoline or steam driven pumps. The up-keep of all fire fighting apparatus should be very diligently looked after, chemicals should be renewed, and old hose replaced with new as often as there might be any possible question of inefficiency.

Such an Infirmary or alms-house should be equipped with a good heating and lighting plant. I think steam or hot water heat ideal for an alms-house. Either is more clean and more healthful than hot air. I think electric light ideal for our county homes. It is always clean and is, when properly installed, safe from fire. You may by a simple system of storage batteries have it during dark days or during late hours of the night, though you keep no night fireman or engineer. It is no longer a rich man's light. The up-keep of such a plant should always be in the hands of a competent state licensed stationary and electrical engineer, such as provided for by the state laws of Ohio.

A necessity of all infirmaries is a modern steam laundry with modern equipment. The advent of the steam laundry, fourteen years ago, and that of the electric light a few years later, in the county home I represent, were indeed epochs in the history of our little institution. The one made us comparatively safe from fire and the other made us clean.

If such an infirmary is to be indeed ideal it should have a small but well-equipped hospital under direction of its physician and in charge of competent nurses. A great many of our smaller infirmaries, I am sure could not afford this, but I am speaking only of the ideal and without the hospital and nurses we are not ideal. Within the ideal institution of this size I would mention a few of the necessaries found in our modern city and larger county institutions, also needed in our country homes:

In the kitchen and bake room—Modern ranges, tea and coffee urns, dish washing machines, bread cutting machine, power meat choppers, power vegetable parers, dough mixers.

In the dormitories—Bed steads of hospital type, mattresses of hospital type, mattress covers hospital type, woolen blanket, cotton spreads.

In the sitting rooms—Reclining and various types of easy chairs, with an occasional divan or couch. In the chapel, a good piano.

In the amusement, loafing, smoking or reading rooms, phonograph, records, books, periodicals, magazines, games.

The aforesaid, although "ideal," is all within reason and should be found together with so many other necessaries in the property line in each and every county's so-called almshouse.

## ALMSHOUSE RECORDS.

By Miss S. Ethel Clark, Inspector, Board of State Charities, Indianapolis.

The almshouse records in the early days of the institutions in Indiana were very meagre.

The original law, which provided for the establishment and administration of county poor asylums (which is the name used in Indiana), made no reference to records, except that it required the superintendent to make to the Board of County Commissioners semi-annually "a detailed report in writing of time and manner of the admission of paupers, their health, their fitness to labor, and the expenses incurred." While it was necessary for him to keep some kind of a record in order to make his report, there was no uniformity, and too little attention was given to the family history, which is of great importance.

It was after the creation of the Board of State Charities in 1889 that an effort was made to establish a uniform system of records in the institutions, also a central registration. The plan was instituted under the general law of the Board of State Charities, which reads that "the officers in charge of the public institutions shall furnish to the Board of State Charities, on their request, such information and statistics as they may require; and to secure accuracy, uniformity and completeness in such statistics, the Board may prescribe such forms of reports and registration as it may deem essential."

The system of requiring the superintendent of each poor asylum to make a quarterly report to the Board of State Charities was designed and commenced in 1890 by Alexander Johnson, and later was extended and enlarged by Ernest P. Bicknell and Amos W. Butler. These reports include a list of all inmates who have been received or discharged or who have died during the quarter. On the report blanks, which are provided by the Board of State Charities, is given the full name, whether white or colored, age, sex, civil condition, place of birth and date of admission, whether able-bodied, feeble through old age, sickly, crippled, paralytic, blind, deaf, insane, idiotic, feeble-minded, epileptic, and illegitimate; name of father and mother, and whether they are feeble-minded, insane or epileptic. Under the head of discharges a report is required of all departures from the institution. On the same blank is given the number of inmates present on the first day of the quarter; number admitted, number of discharges and deaths and number present on last day of quarter.

In accordance with the recommendation of the Board of State Charities, many of the poor asylums keep a similar record in book form, but a few of the institutions, we regret to say, use their old, inadequate forms. Marion county, in which Indianapolis is located, uses the card system, but we do not recommend it for the average poor asylum that does not have clerical help, as there is danger of the cards being lost.

When the plan of quarterly reports was first started, there was some difficulty in getting the reports regularly, but now the superin-

tendents consider this work one of their regular duties. Each of the ninety-two superintendents reports promptly each quarter.

The information from these reports and from those of other public institutions, all of which make similar reports, is transferred to a card registration. Two cards are made for each person. One is filed under the name of the institution from which the admission is reported, and the other is placed in the permanent registration, which includes the name of every person, who, since the report system was established, has been an inmate of any public institution in the state, except the county jail. A monthly report is made by the sheriff of each county, the statistics of which are compiled but the names are not included in the general registration.

The permanent registration now contains about 100,000 names. These cards are filed alphabetically and phonetically, therefore when an admission to a poor asylum or any public institution is reported, it can be learned by referring to the registration, whether he or any of the family has ever been an inmate of other public institutions in the state. In addition to the name and register number of relatives recorded on the history card, there are cross references which are of value.

These records are not mere pieces of bookkeeping, but they are of vital importance. One of the great values is the opportunity for research. By this means the public is given some knowledge of the class and condition of the inmates of the various institutions. The information obtained in this way has been instrumental in securing much needed legislation. By means of these records the Board of State Charities is able to assist the township trustees and other officials in determining the legal settlements of dependents. When a poor asylum superintendent made inquiry concerning a new inmate in his institution, it was learned from the records of the Board of State Charities that the man had been in twenty-four other counties in the state.

By having the names of inmates it is possible to verify the statistical report made by the superintendent. As a rule the reports of the poor asylum superintendent are verified every six months.

The superintendents often have difficulty in securing the information that is desired because the township trustee, who makes the admission order, fails to do his duty along this line.

Some of the superintendents have provided special blanks for the trustee. Sometime ago the Board of State Charities recommended to each Board of County Commissioners that a uniform blank, as prescribed by the Board of State Charities for the use of the trustees, be adopted, but we do not know just how many carried out the recommendation.

While much time and expenses are involved in securing and compiling the reports from the various institutions, we believe that they are worth while. The following are two illustrations showing the kind of social knowledge secured by the central registration.

One pauper family on our records is represented by five generations, including 110 members, all but a half dozen of whom are feeble-minded.

In the School for Feeble Minded Youth there are four children of one family and three of another back of whom are two generations of feeble-mindedness and pauperism. The children are first cousins and their parents and their grandparents were feeble-minded poor asylum inmates. Different members of this family, eighteen in all, have been reported variously from the poor asylum, the orphans' home, the school for feeble-minded and Indiana Girls' School.

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## PROBLEMS OF SANITATION IN COUNTY INFIRMARIES.

By Dr. John R. Haynes, of Los Angeles, Cal.

The problems of sanitation in county hospitals involve, on the positive side, the means for securing sunshine, fresh air and the control of temperature, and, on the negative side, the means for securing freedom from smoke and dust, especially animal, germ-laden dust. Hospitals should as far as possible meet the following requirements: 1. An abundance of sunlight. 2. Absence of noise. 3. Absence of dust. 4. Absence of smoke. 5. Proper ventilation. 6. Proper sewage disposal. 7. Safety from fire. 8. Possibility of expansion. 9. Accessibility for patients, their friends and the medical staff.

In the solution of these problems the most important single factor to be considered is, perhaps, that of location. As between city and country location, the hospital in the country has all the advantages in the way of freedom from smoke and dust, and the relative cheapness of ground area permits the much freer development of the cottage or pavilion system with its great superiority in the abundance of sunshine and air. In chronic cases or cases requiring extended treatment, country location affords most decisive advantages. Difficulties in the way of accessibility to patients, their friends and the members of the medical staff, are becoming less troublesome with the rapid development of trolley and motor cars. City located hospitals, however, for the treatment of acute and surgical cases must, of course, always remain a necessity, and in the choice of locations in a given city there is the widest opportunity afforded for wise or foolish action. Dr. Ochsner, to whose authoritative volume on "The Organization, Construction and Management of Hospitals," I wish to acknowledge my great indebtedness, declares that 90 per cent. of the hospitals in cities are unsatisfactorily located.

In the discussion of these questions time permits me merely to touch upon matters which should receive from those upon whom the responsibility of hospital management is laid the most detailed and painstaking study.

Even in the city located hospital, space can not safely be cramped. Sufficient ground should be kept free of buildings on either side to per-

mit the free entrance into the hospital both morning and afternoon of the sun's rays. In a rectangular building thus situated, facing north and south, with a central hall through the middle lengthwise and a single row of rooms or wards on each side, every patient will have the benefit of half day of sunshine. No trees should be permitted so close to the building as to shade the patient's rooms. Further away and particularly near the street line, trees and shrubs are often of very great value as they serve as a filter to gather the street dust and are thus a great protection to the hospital. For the same reason, of course, an ample area permitting a considerable space between the building and the street, affords efficient protection against the street dust. The dangers residing in this material are thus described by Woodbridge: "City air, as shown by reports from tests, has been found to contain as many as 450,000 germs to the cubic foot. The dust gathered from collecting places within rooms of buildings has furnished 2,000 colonies to the milligram of dust. The street dust in the cities having macadamized roads has been found to contain from 30 per cent. to 50 per cent. of horse droppings, and dust from hospitals has been found to contain from 35 to 45 per cent. of animal matter. It has been found that country air contains far less dust, especially of organic character, than city air.

In securing freedom from dust, elevation is of great importance. Wherever possible the infirmary should be placed on a knoll or hill. Even in a flat city, however, the upper stories of a hospital are usually pretty well protected. It has been found by experience that relatively little dust rises above the second story. For this reason, as well as for the great cost of ground space, the pavilion system, using tents, or small open cottages, is not suited to city conditions; though perhaps the best of all systems for the country or small village.

In avoiding smoke, the matter of elevation is also of great importance. In selecting a hospital site, the study of wind currents and of the prevailing smoke lines should be carefully made, for the present, at least, and until such time as public opinion becomes sufficiently educated to do away with the smoke nuisance entirely.

Although every one agrees that noise greatly hampers the recovery of patients, it remains a fact that the great majority of city hospitals are located on streets carrying street car and other heavy and noisy traffic. Quiet streets with little traffic, yet within one or two squares of tramways, should be chosen. On such streets, moreover, the dust evil is not usually so serious.

Fireproof construction is nowhere more essential than in hospital buildings, where large numbers of persons are gathered together in a state of practical helplessness. It is necessary not only to protect these patients against the actual danger of fire; but, in view of the nervous condition of a large proportion of them it is necessary that the construction shall be so fireproof, that they shall be protected against even the fear of fire. In the city there is no excuse for any but absolute fireproof construction of clay or concrete materials. In the country where

hazards may be reduced by isolated construction, and the high cost of fireproof materials is a greater obstacle than in the city, more concession must be permitted to the use of wooden building materials. If the pavilion system is used—and the cheapness of land and the freedom from organic dust makes the adoption of that system in the country very easy—the use of wood is immaterial as the danger to patients in isolated "shacks" or tents is very slight. Where large buildings are constructed of wood in the country, they should not exceed a single story in height and even at that they should be discouraged.

Walls, ceilings and floors of all hospitals whether wooden or fire-proof, in city or in country, should be hard-plastered, or otherwise finished so as to permit the ready use of the hose in flushing out from time to time with streams of water. All angles between walls and ceilings, floors and other walls should, of course, be eliminated; curved surfaces taking the place everywhere of the dirt harboring angles and corners.

Details of plumbing, heating and ventilating system cannot be discussed within the limits of this paper. Those desiring a comprehensive treatment of these subjects are referred to Dr. Ochsner's great work already mentioned.

Questions of plumbing in the city hospital usually offer slight difficulties; in the country hospital the lack of community sewerage systems often renders the problem of sewage disposal a very serious one. It is the one instance in which the country hospital is placed at a disadvantage with the city institution. In these cases the only wise course for the rural infirmary to pursue is to secure the best expert advice available among sanitary engineers to devise a sewage disposal system meeting its particular conditions.

Ventilation, in the country infirmary, especially where the pavilion system is used, is a comparatively simple matter. In the cities, on the other hand, many hospitals find it advisable to wash or filter all air before its entrance into the sick wards. This, of course, involves large expenditure for the installation and maintenance of the required apparatus.

In choosing a site for a hospital, room for future expansion should always be borne in mind. Neglect to consider this feature has often proved very costly.

In this paper, aside from the limitations of time, I have felt the less need of discussing the technical questions of plumbing, heating, etc., because in these matters laymen, as a rule, recognize their incapacity and place them in charge of experts. In the case of equally important questions, on the other hand, such as location, ground area, elevation, relation to the sun's rays and the prevailing winds, the presence of dust, smoke and noise, the character of building materials—in all these vastly important questions—laymen usually feel competent to decide themselves, with a consequent woeful loss in efficiency. They are decided sometimes by coniderations of an evil sort, selfishness, low politics and graft; more often by mere thoughtlessness and ignorance of the needs of

the institution. "On this account some of the largest and most famous hospitals in the world are deprived of sunshine by surrounding buildings, located in low, damp districts, facing dusty, smoky and noisy streets, constructed in a manner and of materials difficult to keep clean and easily subject to risk from fire." (Patton.) For these reasons it is important that the average citizen should become informed upon these elementary principles of hospital requirements.

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THE COMMITTEE ON

## CHILDREN WITH THE NATIONAL PROBATION ASSOCIATION

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### THE JUVENILE COURT AS IT IS TODAY.

By Professor Willard E. Hotchkiss, Chairman, Citizens' Committee to Investigate the Juvenile Court of Cook County, Chicago.

My remarks will be predicated upon the assumption that the Juvenile Court and the machinery built up around it represent perhaps the greatest single advance in child welfare which the present century has to offer. Sufficient time has elapsed since juvenile courts have become a recognized part of social equipment so that it is possible to bring their principal achievements in review, and likewise to recognize some of their imperfections.

The juvenile court movement, like practically all betterment activities, may be assumed to start from the premise that the family is the most fundamental agency for education and training, and that social welfare demands the removal of obstacles which hinder the family's successful operation. This being true, it is the first function of the court, in co-operation with other social activities, to reinforce the family and to help emancipate it from the conditions which cause it to fail. A further inference is not far to seek, namely, that when the family does fail, or becomes dismembered, the court, still in co-operation with other social agencies, should seek to provide for the children who are victims of the breakdown the nearest approach to the care of a natural home which circumstances permit.

Starting from this viewpoint there are a few principles which may be laid down as the foundation upon which to base a discussion of the juvenile court as it operates from day to day in practical experience. I shall try to state those which appear to me the most fundamental, and it is with the development of these principles rather than with the exposition of detailed features of the juvenile court that I am most concerned.

In the first place, it seems to me clear that the work of the court should follow an educational as distinguished from a judicial or cor-

rectional analogy. Second, and as a corollary to the first, the court must not be concerned exclusively, nor perhaps even primarily, with the facts brought to its attention concerning the conduct of individuals, but it must look to the circumstances and to the social influences from which these facts have arisen. Third, after the court has recognized its educational function and has exercised its utmost powers to modify the environment in which a child is found, so that the educational process may be advanced—and failing in this, it must use its further influence to insure that the new environment in which the child is placed offers opportunity for a wholesome normal life. As a final proposition, following from those already stated, the model for any artificial home provided in the absence of a suitable natural or foster home should be the normal conditions and the normal influences which a natural home supplies.

Returning in their order to the principles just set forth, we may inquire what is involved in considering the juvenile court from the educational as distinguished from the correctional analogy. From this viewpoint a court represents only a partial emancipation from the old idea of criminal justice. The very term "court" has in it so much of the correctional idea that we shall continue to have difficulty in squaring the juvenile court movement with the most advanced educational ideals as long as the judicial form has anything of substance behind it.

In this connection it is unfortunate that our constitutions, our traditions, and our administrative practice place such formidable obstacles in the way of incorporating the work which is being undertaken by juvenile courts and probation departments in the educational systems of the different states. We have committed ourselves in this country to the theory of compulsory education. We have laid down arbitrary educational requirements to which every child is supposed to conform. We have said that every child between the ages of seven and fourteen must be in regular attendance at school during a certain portion of each year. In the case of children who habitually fail to live up to this requirement, special institutions have been established for detention under the control of educational authorities. Even with respect to the failure to comply with this definite educational requirement, the administration of the law, in so far as it concerns the commitment of children to the parental school, rests in Illinois with the Juvenile Court.

There are, however, other circumstances than the persistent absence of the child which make it impossible to administer the principle of compulsory instruction. Some of these obstacles have to do with the physical unfitness of the child to absorb that which the school has to give; in some instances the educational authorities are trying to meet this situation by providing medical inspection, school nurses, and even suitable diet for the children who come under their ministrations.

These are individual instances of situations which restrict the carrying out of the compulsory education principle. The physical absence of the child or his lack of adequate vigor to accomplish the work which school attendance implies, are only two of a great multitude of cir-

cumstances which limit a realization of the ideal back of compulsory education. Home conditions, even though they do not involve immediate physical or moral dangers to the child, constitute a circumstance with which all our efforts at training for citizenship must constantly be concerned. The presence in a community of a so-called dependent or neglected child is an essential factor in formulating and administering educational policy. From this viewpoint, it is unfortunate that the status of dependency should be established by an authority which may proceed without reference to educational policy in general. Juvenile dependency and neglect are apparently inevitable accompaniments of our present-day civilization, and to permit our school system to unload the problem which they entail upon a branch of the government occupied with crimes and civil wrongs, is to leave our educational equipment with one of its fundamental requirements unmet.

Delinquency, by legal definition, falls in a different category, but in large measure it is by legal definition only. A delinquent in general is a child who, being of an age at which the law recognizes accountability, has transgressed the law. In the great mass of cases we all know that delinquency arises out of the same environmental conditions as dependency and neglect. If these are to be recognized as problems in education, transgression of the law, together with other consequences which neglect inevitably entails, must be accepted as a part of the problem. If adequate machinery could be devised for incorporating into the educational systems of our states the work which now falls upon the juvenile court (and the present parental school would seem to furnish the nucleus for such machinery) such measures would inevitably force upon the schools a greater emphasis than is now laid upon the moral aspects of education, and for this reason alone might be worth while, quite aside from the benefits in enhanced unity of educational and child policy.

The suggestion of incorporating the work of the juvenile court within the school system is not put forth with the thought that this policy is likely to be immediately adopted in any large number of states. If, however, failing this, the people who are dealing with child problems in connection with juvenile courts can keep their minds and their souls focussed on the educational as distinct from the correctional aspects of the problem—in other words, if they can hold before them the analogy of the school and forget the analogy of the jail—they will be in a better position to achieve good results in the administration of juvenile courts.

Accepting the system of juvenile courts as they are, there are still some matters in relation to compulsory education which require attention. I shall speak particularly of the situation in Illinois. In that state the compulsory education law provides for school attendance up to the age of fourteen and thereafter up to sixteen unless a child is gainfully employed. There is at present no adequate way to insure that every child between fourteen and sixteen is either at school or at work. The com-

mittee investigating the juvenile court has recommended the adoption of a provision whereby an unemployed child between fourteen and sixteen might be sent to the parental school. In addition thereto it has suggested an amendment to the compulsory education law, making relief from school attendance between fourteen and sixteen depend not only upon employment but on the attainment of a prescribed minimum of educational fitness. The idea of preparation for citizenship which is back of our whole compulsory education practice, certainly requires that some approach should be made to a test based on accomplishment rather than upon formally completing a period of attendance. Such a requirement would involve at least moral responsibility to provide suitable vocational training for children of the ages to which it applied—a problem too large for discussion at this time.

In considering the relation of juvenile courts to conditions which cause the family to fail, we are brought face to face with the most difficult aspect of the whole child problem. Specific measures such as endowing courts with adequate jurisdiction, facilities for calling in cooperation the different social agencies, provision for public or private relief, will be considered in their proper place. The thought which I wish to enforce here is that the authority which attempts to deal with those cases in which the family fails should be the center of a militant force making for conditions which will help the family to succeed. It is not enough that the court have power to discipline a drunken father or a dissolute mother. The problem cannot be met by providing hospital care for a defective child or relief for cases of financial distress. Such measures are all involved in the successful performance of the court's daily work. But beyond and above these, it is essential that the unwholesome civic conditions which we all know are responsible for the multiplication of cases like those enumerated, should concern directly this most important agency for dealing with the maladjustment which civic backwardness entails. It would seem to be an indispensable condition of permanent progress in meeting these problems that the fund of information which develops naturally from the activity of the court and the probation department should be formulated and brought to bear toward the realization of a program of social advance. The first approach to the situation presented by the failure of the family to do its work should be a searching inquiry concerning community responsibility for this failure.

With only slight recognition of the juvenile court as an agency for securing information along these lines, the study already given to juvenile court cases shows how closely breakdown of the family is related to such facts as immigration, family income, congestion, bad housing and unregulated public amusements. Until playgrounds and other means of recreation have developed in proportion to need; until we are able to make the fullest social use of schools and other public buildings; until those responsible for educational and recreational policy have made every effort to minimize the social alienation between immi-

grant parents and their children; until the social work of the government is honestly and efficiently conducted—and, finally, until adequate use is made of available experience in dealing with such problems as housing, congestion and industrial hazards like accidents and occupational disease, the juvenile court or probation department which contents itself with hearing and investigating individual cases and sending to institutions children whom civic backwardness is throwing in increasing numbers upon the public care, will scarcely be living up to its fullest opportunities. Any ideal of public efficiency should place the juvenile court in the fore-front of institutions working for fundamental and permanent civic betterment.

The other principles laid down at the beginning have to do with the disposition of those children who must be removed from the environment in which they are found. It goes without saying that the nearest substitute for the natural home is a suitable foster home and that the facilities for supplying such homes to normal children should keep pace with the need. Finally, in dealing with the residue of children for whom neither natural nor foster homes can be provided, the prime conditions of progress is escape from the idea of abnormality. This idea which has so largely permeated the care given in institutions in the past is still a serious handicap to progress.

Turning from the ideals upon which the operation of the juvenile court is based, the practical problems connected with its administration naturally group themselves under three headings: (1) The Court, its Jurisdiction, and its Work; (2) The Probation Department, and (3) The Disposition of Children who must be removed from their environment.

Under the first heading the situation in Illinois presents serious difficulties, arising out of the limitation upon the court's power. The juvenile court law of Illinois is supplementary to earlier child legislation. The Industrial and Training School acts passed respectively in 1879 and 1883 provide for the organization of private schools to care for dependent children. These schools may have children committed to them by a court of competent jurisdiction up to the age of eighteen in the case of girls and of twenty-one in the case of boys, unless they are earlier discharged as provided in the acts. The schools are given jurisdiction to place children in family homes and they may discharge them at any time when, in the judgment of the officers and trustees of the school, such discharge is to the best interests of the child. The court also has the power to discharge, after proper representations have been made that the child should be restored to its parents, but in the case of girls this power obtains only as long as the girl is in the school, thus bringing girls placed in family homes outside the continued jurisdiction of the court.

The power of the schools to discharge without court sanction, and the limitations upon the power of the court, have been responsible for very serious shortcomings in the past. While the schools habitually

recognize the continued interest of the court in a child committed, there have been an unfortunately large number of cases in which children have passed completely outside the jurisdiction of the court and have returned, without the court's sanction, into the very surroundings from which they have been taken. Cases have been found in which the return occurred almost immediately after commitment. There seems to reside in the court no remedy in case the school to which the child has been committed releases that child without court consent. In the words of the committee's report: "The law should be so amended as to make each institution responsible to the court at least for the continued custody of every child committed to its care. The return of the child without court consent, to the environment which the court has just found to be unfit is an humiliating travesty upon judicial procedure and is in no way necessary to uphold the autonomy of institutions."

A further limitation upon the court in dealing with the situation out of which its cases come arises from the fact that jurisdiction over parents is lodged with the Court of Domestic Relations. There seem to be such serious political obstacles to correcting this difficulty that the committee did not feel warranted in making a definite recommendation except to the effect that the Juvenile Court and the Court of Domestic Relations should be brought together in a single building apart from the other judicial machinery.

Power to deal with the difficulties of environment which arise out of financial distress has recently been granted in an amendment to the juvenile court law known as the Funds to Parents act. Under this amendment the juvenile court is empowered to enter an order finding the parent or guardian unable properly to care for a child, and thereupon it becomes the duty of the county board to pay the parents the amount designated by the court. It is obvious that such a law, without far reaching restrictions, is open to serious abuse. As this feature of the juvenile court is the subject of discussion in another meeting of the conference, I shall not go into its details here, except to say that the judge of the juvenile court has adopted what appear to be comprehensive measures for safe-guarding its administration.

The question of court procedure and the time required for hearings has featured largely in the criticism of the Illinois court. It would seem that the real question in this connection is—Does the court avail itself of all information which would enable it better to safeguard the welfare of the child and are there adequate facilities for securing information? The question is not essentially whether a case is disposed of in five minutes or in one hour, provided the subsequent history of cases shows that they were properly and adequately cared for.

The charge that consideration of cases is hurried has been made the basis of a recommendation for creating new courts in order that each individual case might receive more adequate attention. While the committee recognized the feasibility of branch courts, it held emphatically the view that consideration of branch courts in Chicago should be

postponed until comprehensive efforts have been made to reduce the number of cases which come to court. I believe this view represents a general principle which may safely be adhered to in connection with juvenile court work. Until the probation department has been developed in such a way as to keep the largest possible proportion of cases out of court, no steps should be taken to multiply juvenile court judges.

In connection with the probation department, the chief problem is to secure an adequately qualified force and to keep the force properly keyed up to the ideals upon which probation work is based. Considering the compensation, the conditions of appointment, and the circumstances under which probation officers do their work, the governing principle of keeping families intact has been surprisingly well enforced.

Again speaking of the situation in Illinois, there is great need that the provisions for recruiting the service, for providing specialized services for particular kind of work, and for laying down avenues of promotion should be carefully worked out. The recent decision of the circuit court which denies the constitutionality of the provision of the juvenile court law placing the probation staff in the classified service of the county, leaves the whole matter of recruiting in an uncertain if not chaotic condition. If it is decided that the service is exclusively under the jurisdiction of the court, it will be necessary for the court, in order to maintain and advance the standards of service, to provide some regular system other than personal or political preference for admission, retention, and promotion in the service.

One of the recommendations of the Cook County Committee has raised considerable doubt in the minds of persons interested in the Juvenile Court. That is the suggestion of a probation cabinet with power to hold what may be called "preliminary hearings." This was not one of the major recommendations of the committee. Its thought in making the suggestion was that not only should there be the ideal of keeping cases out of court, but that machinery should be provided to insure the most thorough investigation possible before permitting a case to come to court. In order that such an investigation may be thorough it must be gone over by someone other than the person who has made the preliminary investigation. It matters not whether this procedure of review be called a hearing or whether it be labelled as a semi-judicial process, something of the sort regularly organized would seem to be a proper feature of probation machinery. Aside from this question of preliminary hearing, the probation cabinet is simply an administrative detail frequently employed in business houses and in public bodies for the purpose of bringing about a more definite consideration of questions of policy.

The detention home, as an adjunct of the juvenile court and of the probation department represents perhaps as notable an advance as the court itself. The chief danger of general interest which our committee observed in connection with the detention home was that probation officers and others might come to regard the home as a temporary

correctional institution. It was the unanimous feeling of the committee that the custodial feature of the home should be preserved. Even from this point of view it is obvious that physical surroundings and moral atmosphere should be upon the highest plane, with every safeguard against disease or moral contamination. Certainly a body of this kind will not question the necessity of a thorough physical examination as an indispensable provision for safe-guarding the health of children brought into a place of this sort.

The Chicago investigation revealed perhaps the most serious shortcomings of our present juvenile court equipment in connection with the disposition of children. Some of these have already been referred to in speaking of the jurisdiction of the court. The fact that institutions for dependents have been subject to but slight oversight has meant that each institution has developed its own standards and has discharged its stewardship in its own way. The most notable feature of institution development is the absence of any adequate standards for judging the efficiency of work done, and in most cases the absence of records which really show what has been done. Until institutions can be placed on some definitely recognized standard not only with respect to their equipment but with respect to their results, their contribution to the problem of child care cannot well receive unqualified recognition. There is too much indication that the children exist for the institution rather than the institution for the child. This has shown itself in ways which have already been noted in the public press, such as the permission of a child to return to its environment without any attempt to apprehend him simply because it was felt that the child did not improve the morale of the institution. The idea of abnormality permeates the whole atmosphere of institution life to such an extent that there seems to be little educational or psychological basis for the assumption that any large number of children whose natural home conditions are unwholesome can be adequately prepared for citizenship by the institution method.

For normal children the Illinois law recognizes definitely that placing is the most obvious substitute for the natural home. In developing placing activities it is indispensable that there should be ample opportunity left for the restoration of children to natural parents in all cases where such restoration may be safely contemplated. This means that placing rather than adoption will have to be employed with all children excepting orphans and those whose parents are permanently disqualified.

What has just been said referred obviously to the normal child who is dependent. The same idea of regarding the child as a normal individual and of attempting to preserve the normality of his environment applies to delinquent children, except that in this case the problem is perhaps more difficult. Some progress is being made towards placing the institutions for delinquents upon a more rational and more human basis. One of the most serious shortcomings of the institutions in Illi-

nois is that proper precautions have not been taken to bring about the segregation of children whose offenses have been slight from the more hardened offenders. This, it will be recognized, is an indispensable principle of correction. Whether this can be adequately done even with the cottage system in institutions where large numbers of children are cared for under one administration, seems to be a matter of doubt. If all except the most hardened offenders—and the number of those of the age to which the juvenile court applies is much smaller than we sometimes think—could be cared for in small groups not greatly larger than the size of the natural family, the closest approach to normal environment would thus be brought about. Any such plan is obviously fraught with difficulties and requires a most thorough-going supervision.

Illinois has not begun to recognize the obligation under which it rests with reference to the whole supervision problem. It has at present three state visitors doing the work for which, to do adequately, thirty would be required. One of the first things needed, therefore, is a propaganda for an adequate supervising force. Fortunately a feature of our juvenile court law providing for county boards of visitors, which has remained a dead letter until last year, now bids fair to give us in Cook County a satisfactory performance of one of the duties of supervision. Under the able administration of Mr. Reynolds, who has come to us from Indiana, and with the firm support of Judge Owens, it seems likely that the Cook County Board of Visitors will be able to work out standards of institution care and of child-placing. The work of this board, supplemented by such reinforcement of the state supervision as may be expected should enable us to bring the child work in Illinois up to a standard comparable to that done in such states as Massachusetts. We already have at work in the state a placing organization which, under the administration of Mr. Thurston, has been dominated by a high ideal of accomplishment. Adequate financial support may be expected to bring satisfactory results in this field.

In conclusion let me emphasize again the need of considering the work of the juvenile court from the viewpoint of the social conditions which are placing such heavy burdens upon it. Supervision and financial support for philanthropic agencies will not solve the whole problem. We are embarrassed in our provision for disposition of children by the fact that the number of children who have to be removed from natural homes is a challenge to our present-day urban civilization. We may recognize the child problem as a problem in education; we may obliterate the distinction between delinquent and dependent; we may provide the rewards and the machinery for bringing the probation staff up to the highest standard of efficiency; we may observe the most advanced and the most humane principles in dealing with children who are ministered to by our child-caring agencies; we may work out the best possible standards for judging the efficiency of institutions; we may provide for the most advanced care of mentally and physically defective children, but until we shall have ascertained the social responsibility for

bringing such a large number of children before the court, we shall be dealing with symptoms rather than with causes.

In spite of the great pressure upon the juvenile court, the Illinois committee declined to make any recommendations looking necessarily toward public provision for a larger number of physically and mentally normal children. It demanded, as a first step in dealing with the failure of the family to do its work, a searching inquiry concerning the community's responsibility for this failure. Quoting from the report of the committee, in pursuance of this fact it was recommended that "the State Charities Commission should be equipped with funds adequate to make a thorough inquiry into the conditions which should cause children to be brought into court and to develop therefrom a comprehensive and systematic program of ameliorative legislation and administrative reform."

While the suggestion of such a program may seem unduly ambitious, those who are engaged in dealing from day to day with problems which the failure of the family develop, can have very little foundation for an optimistic view of our present civilization except such as is based upon a belief in reforms so fundamental that the city shall cease to be the danger spot of our civilization and become, as so ably heralded by one of Cleveland's foremost citizens, "The Hope of Democracy."

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## THE COMMITTEE ON COURTS AND PRISONS WITH THE NATIONAL PROBATION ASSOCIATION

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### DOMESTIC RELATIONS COURTS AND NON-SUPPORT CASES.

By Edwin J. Cooley, County Probation Officer, Buffalo.

Domestic relations courts in which judges especially interested in the subject are dealing in a comprehensive, consistent and intelligent manner with cases of non-support, with the definite purposes, not so much of punishing the offender as of preserving or restoring the normal conditions of the family and securing, without punishment, results which indiscriminate, punitive treatment, no matter how severe, could not possibly attain, furnish the strongest evidences of a growing realization not only of the great importance of this subject but also of the particular difficulties connected with it.

The situation in connection with the non-support problem is a peculiar one. While one may in righteous indignation feel in behalf of the innocent women, and especially the children, a desire to see the defendant committed, nevertheless careful reflection shows the futility of punishing the man upon whom the welfare of the wife and children depends. While it may bring satisfaction to society in that it has done a righteous

act in imposing a just punishment, however, it brings no joy to the wife left alone with her children. Nothing more illogical can be conceived than the commitment of a man for non-support of his family except, of course, in extreme cases where the character of the man seems to demand such punishment. While he is in confinement his family may be said to be in a condition of enforced desertion. It is parallel with the old custom of jailing for debt. If, however, the defendant is intractable or after a chance on probation refuses to perform his duty towards his family, then society must resort to commitment in order to enforce its laws and as a deterrent to others. This confinement, should be, preferably, at hard labor, and there should be some reasonable compensation for the labor, which could be turned over to the family or a public relief fund, from which the family could be pensioned. With laws of this character it is apparent that we would have a complete piece of legal machinery which could be regulated by the court in dealing with these delinquents.

In Erie County abandonment or desertion is a felony. It constitutes 16 per cent. of the total number of cases that are arraigned before the courts. About 94 per cent. of these are handled through probation. Statistics covering a period of 3 years show that 77 per cent of these cases have been treated successfully by probationary methods; either that the family has been reunited or that the father is contributing regularly in a satisfactory manner for their support. More striking still is the fact that over $34,000.00 has been collected by the probation officer and turned over for the support of the families of these delinquents. This fact alone would seem to be conclusive proof of the efficacy of probation in these cases.

Alcoholism enters largely into non-support matters. In a large percentage of the cases it is the direct cause of the failure to provide for the family and in many others it is a contributing cause. The drink habit must be reckoned with and often when this problem has been solved it means reclamation for the man and his family. That the habit in its advanced stages requires medical treatment is undoubtedly true but where it is not confirmed the influence of the probation officer is a potent factor in combating it successfully.

Frequent visits to the home affording an opportunity for studying the characteristics and environment of the family is necessary. In this way much can be done to remove the cause of the delinquency by bettering the probationer's conditions and environment. This constructive work in the home adapting remedial treatment to the individual needs of the probationer is the real and most effective work of the probation officer. By this close supervision he can induce the family to take better care of their health and to practice cleanliness, both personally and in the home; have the wife give more attention to her household duties; see to it that the children attend the playgrounds and secure the cooperation of the pastor or minister or other such persons or charitable or social agencies as may be helpful to the family's welfare. A friendly visitor from the Charity Organization Society or having the district

visitor assume a general supervision over the family will be found advantageous.

In these domestic relation problems, while the delinquency is on the part of the husband, nevertheless, the wife and the home conditions are frequently a contributing cause. The assistance of a woman probation officer in these cases would be most valuable. Such an officer with tact and diplomacy could enter into these homes and by improving conditions do much to straighten out the domestic difficulties. By exercising a friendly supervision over the wife, inducing her to take better care of her home, possibly seeing to it that she take instruction in some branch of domestic science; correcting any bad habits she might have formed; by caring for the children, and, in general, performing those other services in the home that belong peculiarly to her sex, a woman probation officer would render a service that would be practically impossible for a male officer to perform.

Where it is impossible for the probation officer to induce the family to resume living together, he must see to it that the husband pays a specified amount regularly at the probation office for the maintenance of the family. In order to secure the best results there must be a systematic method of making payments. That this can be done best through the constructive and redemptive workings of the probation office, where a record of the court's orders can be kept, where proper receipts can be given, and where the case will be closely followed up, must be apparent. There should be no divided responsibility such as would ensue if the money was paid through other sources. It has been argued that it might be well to have these payments made directly to the family; that in this way no outside influence is brought in between the husband and wife. Experience has shown, however, that this system leads to jangling and uncertainty and is defective in that the court has no dependable way of knowing that the payments are being made. In the choice of two evils —of official contact with the family or of allowing the court's order to be disobeyed through lack of supervision, it would seem that it would be well to err on the side of enforcing the court's decree, with the expectation, of course, that as soon as the necessity ceases the family will be relieved of the burden of supervision.

Throughout the probationary period the probation officer must be constantly on the alert to bring about a reunion of the family. This result must not be lost sight of and every possible means must be utilized towards its consummation, as it is quite difficult to hold a man under proper discipline when he is removed from home influences. While the collection of money is important and a satisfying result at the moment, nevertheless, a correction of the delinquent's tendencies and a re-establishment of the home should be the ultimate aim and ambition of the probation officer.

It is impossible in a short time to enumerate the various agencies with which the courts, dealing with domestic relations, upon their own initiative and through the probation office, must get in close touch,

if they would do the work which lies before them. If it be true that these non-support and desertion problems involve the happiness of the family and the future welfare of the children, both morally and materially, as well as the economic interests of the community, then nothing which makes for constructive, preventive work should be overlooked by the court and the probation office in reaching out for help. If the problem is to be solved, if the new day towards which we are striving for these unfortunates is to come, a persistent effort must be made to utilize to the full, the church, the charity organizations, public agencies caring for dependent children, playground associations, settlements, the library and every agency in the community that can help. A sane conservative use of these forces under careful direction and supervision will hasten the time when courts involving domestic relations will take a justifiable pride in the number of families they have kept out of court rather than the number of cases on their dockets.

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## JUDICIAL AND PROBATIONARY TREATMENT OF CASES OF NON-SUPPORT OF FAMILY.

By John J. Gascoyne, Chief Probation Officer, Newark, N. J.

A husband who, though able, neglects or refuses to support the family dependent upon him, commits a most serious offense against the public, because of its ill effects upon the family and the community. While such cases apparently show less disregard of natural obligations than those in which the man actually abandons his family in destitute circumstances, they are sometimes even more aggravated by reason of the constant reminder of the husband's neglect of duty, or perhaps by the share the idle or vicious husband is sometimes able to get of the support obtained by the slender earnings of wife or children or by the kindness of friends or charitable agencies.

In this class are many men who drink, but it is on economic, rather than on moral grounds, that non-support laws are enforced. The law should compel a man to support his wife and children before he spends his money in saloons. A further economic reason for such laws is that the moral effect of non-support by a father who is able to furnish it, is mortifying to the children and gives them a bad start. Children who are properly nourished and have their normal growth become better citizens than those whose powers are stunted by neglect.

In dealing with such cases, where possible the complaint should be made by some person other than the wife, as the arrest of the husband on the complaint of his wife tends to widen the breach in the family; whereas, if the complaint is made by some other interested person, the responsibility for the ordeal can be placed on his shoulders and the subsequent re-uniting of the family is a much easier proposition.

Whenever practicable, such cases should be brought to court for the first time in an informal manner and the more privacy that is given such a hearing in court, the better the results. I have known of many instances where a simple notice from the magistrate, bringing the husband and wife to his chambers, has been efficacious in ending the trouble.

Where a complaint is necessary, before the disposition of the case is made by the judge, a thorough investigation should be made of the family conditions—the recreant husband's habits, character, income, etc., and the records of the local charitable associations, relief agencies and children's aid societies should also be consulted. Without the aid of this information, it is impossible for a judge to dispose of the case in a practical manner.

Where it is found that the trouble with the husband is due to excessive drinking, every possible effort should be used to help him overcome this habit.

All cases of domestic relations should be heard by a judge in a court of domestic relations or by a judge of the juvenile court, who, wherever possible, should be one and the same person. In many cases the method of furnishing a bond by the husband guilty of non-support has proven to be very unsatisfactory, for as long as that husband pays the amount ordered by the court, the conditions of the bond are complied with, but if probationary treatment is given in non-support cases, it requires not alone that the man should pay a reasonable amount towards the support and maintenance of his family, but it further requires that his conduct during a stated period must be such as will satisfy the committing judge and the probation officer. A commitment to prison in cases of non-support should only be made after every other available means of dealing with the case had failed, and such commitment should be for an indeterminate period so that when it would be found advisable the offender, instead of being discharged and thrown on his own resources, would be given a chance under the supervision of a parole or probation officer. Then, if he should again fail, he should be returned to prison by the officer having him in charge, instead of having the wife make a new complaint.

With the probation officer tactfully dealing with such an individual, the family gradually learns that they have found an official yet friendly arbitrator, who may be called upon at any time to settle family difficulties. In dealing with the probationer, the probation officer must also endeavor to create a new spirit by bringing the delinquent husband to realize his responsibilities towards his family.

In assuming the care of the family, if the probation officer learns that the wife goes out to work by the day, his first effort should be to gradually put a stop to the same. Where the mother becomes the breadwinner, she must necessarily neglect her children and they in turn find their way to the juvenile court. The greatest care should be exercised to prevent that.

Juvenile court statistics will prove that a large majority of the cases that reach there are from families where the children have been left alone from early morning until late at night without care or guidance. Better far that the state or municipality should provide relief for such families than have the children neglected and finally become candidates for our correctional institutions.

Cases have come to my attention where while the man was without money, his conduct was satisfactory, but just as soon as he came into possession of some, he found himself unable to resist the temptation to enter the saloon. In such cases, I have found that it was a very wholesome plan for a short period to collect through the probation office or through the wife the man's earnings directly from his employer. After experimenting a while with this plan, I have often found it practicable to show the husband that he had gained the confidence of the probation officer, giving him a chance to collect his own money and bring to the probation office weekly a receipt signed by his wife, showing the amount which he had turned over to her.

The fewer persons or associations dealing with any case the better. If the probation officer has the time to follow up such cases closely, he alone should be the agency through whom all payments should be made.

In dealing with such cases, a woman probation officer may be of considerable help, especially where it is found (and frequently it is so) that men become careless as to their responsibility toward their families by not having a clean, wholesome place in which to enjoy their evenings. A tactful woman may bring about an improvement in home conditions, by suggestions and advice to the wife and mother. Lessons in cooking I find are most valuable and then, too, the matter of having the home clean and the children neatly attired, when the husband is about to return from a hard day's labor is important. Such suggestions might come more gracefully to the wife and mother from one of her own sex.

During the past year I have personally dealt with thirty-nine cases of non-support and desertion and through my office during that period, over $5,000 has been collected and turned over to the families concerned. Thus we have given these men a chance to make good to their families and to society and have saved not alone the man, but the family, from a stigma; the former from being a convict and the latter from becoming either dependents or delinquents.

In conclusion, let me say, that probationary treatment of non-support cases can be of more value toward stimulating the offender, cementing the family ties, and be of more economical value to the public, and private agencies, than any other method which the courts have had the privilege of resorting to.

The case of a non-support offender should be given more thought, more care, and more consideration that that of any other offender brought before the Bar of Justice, because of its unlimited effect upon society in general.

## CO-OPERATION BETWEEN COURTS AND VOLUNTARY PUBLIC AGENCIES.

By Miss Minnie F. Low, Superintendent of the Bureau of Personal Service, Chicago.

(Abstract)

The Domestic Relations Court of Chicago celebrated its first anniversary in April of this year. It has had a very successful period of work, as may be shown among other things, by the fact that collections from defaulting husbands during the year amounted to $36,678.60.

It has a number of officers, among whom the most notable, perhaps, is the Social Secretary. Her services were originally made possible by the support for a period, of the Juvenile Protective Association. She interviews all complainants at first hand and refers hopeful cases to co-operating philanthropic, relief and law enforcement agencies. Out of a total of 5,994 cases, 2,896 were settled outside of court through the medium of such agencies. Preventing litigation by means of friendly personal interest has been the greatest triumph of this Domestic Relations Court.

It must be remembered that part of the success of the Domestic Relations Court is owing to the fact that a number of organizations maintained through private charity, had made their influence felt in the courts at large before it was established. Another point in its favor was that many of the judges of the municipal court of Chicago, led by Chief Justice Harry Olson, had become socialized. Judge Olson at one time said that "men who were not big enough nor broad enough to appreciate that social workers were part and parcel of the court system of today, were not big enough nor broad enough to sit upon the bench."

The court system of Illinois is not yet perfected, since there are three different courts in Chicago to which juvenile cases and domestic cases may possibly come, but fortunately the judges of the Juvenile Court, of the Domestic Relations Court and of the County Court, are heartily in accord on all questions of social welfare, and their influence reinforces each other. These good judges have lengthened their hours of service, doubled their work, and have, with dignified humanity, inaugurated a unique standard. They have shown a real attachment to the true interest of humanity and have, in conjunction with the other co-operating forces, created an ideal alliance for uplift. The spirit rather than the letter of the law prevails in Chicago.

In closing, it might be well to again emphasize the fact that thousands of potential litigants are persuaded from carrying their grievances beyond the ears of sympathetic listeners because of the machinery of the law enforcement organizations, the Juvenile Protective Association, the Bureau of Personal Service and the Legal Aid Society. These organizations refer only about ten per cent. of all cases registered with them to the courts, arbitrating or settling ninety per cent. without court procedure. Working in perfect accord with them, the Social Secretary of

the Domestic Relations Court turns over into their watchful care, thousands of disheartened individuals who are in trouble. It would take more than three Domestic Relations Courts to carry on all the work of the kind in Chicago were it not for these co-operating agencies with their ramifying outlets for personal service in behalf of unfortunate humanity.

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## JUDICIAL AND PROBATIONARY TREATMENT OF CASES OF NON-SUPPORT OF FAMILY.

By Hon. Howard P. Nash, City Magistrate, Brooklyn.

Of the 1884 cases of abandonment and non-support finally determined in the Domestic Relations Court in Brooklyn during the year 1911, only 553, or twenty-nine per cent., resulted in convictions. The New York court, during the same period, made a slightly better showing with thirty-one per cent. of convictions.

Obviously something is wrong, for as "judicial" treatment must always remain the last desperate means to be employed in the effort to correct the evil of family desertion and non-support, nothing can be clearer than that the percentage of convictions in the Domestic Relations Court should be one hundred.

How comes it, then, that such a percentage of failure is possible? The answer is not far to seek. There is no preliminary investigation of the complaint other than a few perfunctory questions put to the complaining wife by one of the court clerks.

In some of these cases, little harm flows from the defendant's acquittal, but in the vast majority of them the wife and family are left in a much worse position than they occupied before.

That a thorough preliminary investigation of every case would eliminate these failures seems plain. Such investigation would have the further advantage that, in many instances, the court proceedings might be instituted by the investigator, a course often highly desirable.

Wherever it is possible this work should not be done by a probation officer or by any officer of the court. The great majority of men convicted should be placed on probation. To make the probation successful, there must exist from the earliest possible moment, a feeling, on the part of the probationer, of absolute confidence in the friendly and helpful attitude of the probation officer. Such feeling must develope slowly if at all, where the probationer can trace his prosecution and conviction to the probation officer, but may exist from the outset where all the preliminary steps were taken by agents not directly connected with the court.

Beyond doubt, an adequate number of suitably trained investigators could be gotten together in the public service, but until they have been gotten together, this work might better be done by private agencies, par-

ticularly as the whole family desertion problem already forms an appreciable part of the work of every Charity Organization Society.

With such preliminary investigations regularly made, not only would the court be relieved of much worse than futile labor, but it would also be advised at the moment of conviction whether the defendant was one to whom probationary treatment might properly be applied.

Commitment, particularly where no provision is made by law for compensation to the family, is woefully inadequate. Requiring a bond for the payment of a specified sum is generally requiring the impossible and even where the bond is furnished, it affords no opportunity for the restoration of normal family relations, an object of prime importance.

There remains the probationary treatment, which should be applied in every case where there is any reasonable promise of success. Indeed, as the report of the Committee on Adult Probation of the National Probation Association puts it: "The Domestic Relations Court like the Children's Court is essentially a probation institution."

The particular terms of probation must vary greatly in different cases. Of first importance is the order for the payment of money. Generally, at least for some time, this should not be paid directly to the family, for fear of further brutality not infrequently leads the wife to say that she is being paid, when such is not the fact, and even where she does not hesitate to complain, backbiting and bickering are apt to ensue. It should be paid through the probation officer, where possible, rather than through the police or charity officials, as this affords the probation officer regular opportunities for meeting the probationer and his family. Far from interfering with the normal family life, such regular intercourse furnishes the probation officer with exceptional opportunities to restore normal conditions.

Ordinarily, too, the order for support and hence the probationary period should cover the longest possible period of time. Shortening the probationary period will always prove an encouraging reward to the faithful probationer, while extending it in the case of one who has improved, but who has not yet proved himself worthy to be trusted without any oversight, is correspondingly discouraging.

But whatever terms are imposed, disobedience of them should be followed by prompt revocation of the probation and commitment of the offender. This may work hardship in some individual cases but will prove distinctly beneficial to the great majority that will remain. Certainty in the whole proceeding is an element of the last importance and certainty that disobedience will be followed by almost instantaneous punishment will do more to reform many culprits than all the moral suasion that can be exercised.

In all this work, women probation officers can play an enormously helpful part. In many cases the offending husband has all too much provocation for his conduct and in a very real sense he and the complaining wife are equally on probation. In such cases, a woman probation

officer can be of invaluable service, correcting the faults and defects of the husband by first correcting those of the wife.

Notwithstanding the fact that my discussion started with a confession of failure the total progress made in the handling of non-support cases under probation is really remarkable and the possibilities of this course of treatment are as yet but faintly realized. On the whole, it seems to me to be of comparatively little importance whether the cases are all disposed of in a single court called the Domestic Relations Court or whether they are merely segregated in some other court having jurisdiction of one or more classes of cases. Wherever they are segregated, there will be a Domestic Relations Court with unbounded possibilities for social and economic usefulness.

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## THE COMMITTEE ON FAMILIES AND NEIGHBORHOODS WITH THE COMMITTEE ON CHILDREN.

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### PUBLIC PENSIONS TO WIDOWS.

Introduction by Sherman C. Kingsley.

There is a wide-spread and deep-seated interest in the woman who wants to be matron of her own children. That is a reasonable ambition. But many mothers cannot do this because they cannot buy food, and rent, and clothes. There is an increase both in numbers and in the variety of people who want to lend a hand. They range all the way from those with a genuine desire to help, and who have an abiding conviction that large numbers of children will bear in their bodies the effects of under-nourishment, neglect, and of the things a mother can give if she has a chance—those with a sincere and unselfish interest—to the unscrupulous, the self-seeking who want to make personal or social or political capital out of their friendship and good deeds to the poor and unfortunate.

The fact that four states have enacted laws and created some kind of pensions for such families, is one expression of that interest. At least four other states are actively agitating the question, and there is an increasing interest along similar lines in still other states. It was on account of this widespread activity, and because the question of proper relief in families has always been an important question, that both the Children's Committee and the committee on Needy Families, of the National Conference of Charities and Correction planned for a session where this question might be discussed at the Cleveland Conference, and which finally led to the joint meeting of the two committees.

The Illinois law, and the work under that law connected with the Juvenile Court in Chicago, is the most far reaching of any at present in effect, and while this discussion was on the general principles relating to the administration of relief, its adequacy and supervision, and whether

it may best be accomplished by public or private expression, there was a desire to know about the working of the law in Chicago which went into effect July 1, 1911. This law was passed late in a protracted session of the legislature. There had been no public discussion of its provisions or of its plan or administration. The question of its administration was immediately embarrassed by stimulated applications to the Fund. The situation relating to the Juvenile Court, already involved beyond compare because of the political and peculiar local situation, became even more complicated on this account. One person felt it necessary to boom the mothers' pensions. This was done by sending out postcards, by speaking in churches, before women's club, or wherever opportunity offered. There was also a great deal of publicity, using the names and pictures of families. This publicity was in utter disregard of the real situation in the families portrayed. Hundreds of applications for the Fund were thus ignorantly and selfishly stimulated.

In order to meet the desire for information about the Chicago situation an effort was made to make an entirely impartial and comprehensive study of a considerable number of families who had been in receipt of the pension over the longest period. It was hoped that fifty or one hundred families might be covered, and that anything which the experience of dealing with these families might teach other communities who were contemplating similar effort, could be offered.

### Twenty-eight Broken Homes.

From the material which we gathered, the following facts appear:

The average age of the man at death or disability in these twenty-eight families was thirty-five years. The average number of people in the twenty-eight families is at the present moment five plus, so that when the man was alive there were six plus. As careful a study as possible was made of the incomes in these families. The average for each family was $12.74 per week. This was the economic standing of this group of people, the basis on which they were rearing their children, and represented in a cash way their possibilities of getting food, and clothing, medical attention, and what a family of six persons living in a great American city ought to have.

Here were the causes of the breakdown:

Seven of the twenty-eight men died of pneumonia; five of tuberculosis; four of accidents; three of rheumatism; two of paralysis; one syphilis and paresis, and one of dropsy, one of Bright's disease, one intestinal disorder. Permanent disablement; one to the insane asylum; one to the tuberculosis hospital, and one deserted.

The women in these families who at the time of this study (an average of two and one-half years after the breakdown of the breadwinner) average thirty-six years of age, did the best they could to establish a new economic situation. They went to work washing, scrubbing, sewing pants, doing work in their own homes, anything they could get to do,

and had the children help wherever possible. They succeeded in earning an average income of $3.84 per week for the twenty-eight families. Relief in the home in cash and in kind afforded by public and private charity amounted to about $3.91 per week and made a total average income of $7.75. At this point, five of the women had no earnings, one of the five families was entirely cared for in institutions and two were with relatives.

It was impossible to capitalize the services of visiting nurses, tuberculosis societies, Infant Welfare work, doctors, hospitals, day nurses, dental work, and numerous other forms of aid, which like a multitude of shock absorbers helped to break the fall and also to confuse the situation. Relatives helped some, but this was not fixed, and came for the most part in doles, and thus the families went on from day to day neither they or any one in the community knowing how things were really going. The estimate also does not capitalize second hand and other clothing and bedding and other materials given.

The present condition of these women as to health shows that eleven are well; seventeen are ailing. Of the eleven who are well, eight may be classified as strong, and three fairly well. Of the seventeen who are ailing, seven are undergoing change of life, which on account of general hardships, lack of care at childbirth (most of them being attended only by a midwife) is unusually severe, three are suffering with female difficulties and extreme nervousness, one has broken down, one has floating kidney and weak eyes, and is worked out, one has kidney trouble and a bad goitre and is breaking down, one has blood poisoning, a result of childbirth, one syphilis, two tuberculosis, and one is weak and nervous.

**One Hundred and Thirteen Children.**

There are 113 children in these twenty-eight families. The following data as to their physical condition was taken from medical reports in the records of different societies where the families were known, from observation of the children by the person making this study, by consultation with mothers, the family doctors, visiting and tuberculosis nurses, and others. The health altogether is as follows:

Good health, 10; fair, 54; under-nourished, 17; under-nourished and ailing, 17; sub-normal, 1; epileptic and crippled, 2; badly cross-eyed, 2; chronic bronchitis, 1; suspected syphilis, 1; kidney trouble, 1; chronic appendicitis, 1; pulm. tuberculosis, 4; tubercular glands, 1; tubercular eye, 1; total, 113.

The average period of receipt of pensions under the new law is five and one-half months. We have seen that when the family was normal and the bread winner present the income was $12.74. After the breakdown the woman and children succeeded in earning $3.84 per week, and charitable grants raised this to $7.75. The earning situation in the family since the pension shows that the average income by work of the mother and children is $3.49 per week. The average weekly grant from the Funds to Parents Act $4.84, making a weekly income of $8.33. This

is on the purely income side Many additional facts of great interest developed in the study. Of the twenty-eight families under consideration not one can provide clothing out of the present income. It is an interesting fact that these people have had second-hand clothing, or clothing through donations, almost exclusively, and seem to have ceased to reckon it as a part of the budget. The income likewise does not allow anything for medicine, hospitals, or dentistry.

There are many interesting sidelight on the present situation. Granting that an income sufficient to meet real needs is a good thing, it would seem that whatever gave a feeling of certainty and permanence might be of advantage, and that regularity and definiteness might give a feeling of dignity and security. This is doubtless true if other factors can be safe-guarded. A regular income seems to have made it possible for these people to get credit in their communities. They do not trade in one store, but in many places, and like children, this lump sum in their hands has seemed inexhaustible in its purchasing possibilities. The families studied are running behind, with three or four exceptions, anywhere from $2.00 to $24.00 a month. The fact that they can establish accounts is one seductive element. They are constantly paying bills somewhere, and have the sense that they are paying all. On the part of most of these women there have been desires which they were not able to gratify for their children or themselves. When this money came into their hands some of them yielded to the temptation of getting things that they had wanted and wanted for a long time, and they proceeded to get some of the kinds of things which they have observed that people who teach thrift also possess. Increased expenditure for clothing and extras were most in evidence, and the clothing bought for the children was likely to be the Sunday clothing first, and the more serviceable things later or not at all. Increased expenditures for food were likewise in need of better judgment—one woman paid 30 cents per pound for tea, another 50 cents to get a premium; $29.83 out of the total $574 goes for insurance on fairly healthy children, one buys butter at 36 cents, another butterine for 19 cents, one uses lard, one gets 3 quarts of milk a day and another none. All this is easy to understand, and while one does not find it in one's heart to be too critical, yet it must be recognized that it is an important factor in this situation. It shows a need of supervision which must be satisfied if this experiment is to last. The ability to spend money is in general chastened by the effort to get money. But as everyone knows, expenditures are not necessarily hallowed even by the effort which one must put forth to get a job and hold it, and to keep wages coming in. The difficulties are much greater when money comes in from some extraneous source. The need of supervision shows not only in these smaller ways, but in bigger and more obvious things as well. One mother moved from an unwholesome flat to another equally so; an eighteen-year-old boy was allowed to remain practically idle for months without question; a child with a bad case of cross-eyes

going without glasses while the mother held the prescription in her pocket; a tubercular mother going without treatment or sufficient diet; a fourteen-year-old girl, also tubercular, sent to work at small wages when her earnings were not essential to the family; bad school attendance not discovered or followed up.

Such supervision as there is, is likely to be of a critical and technical nature rather than watchful and discerning of the larger elements and possibilities of helpfulness. There is an evident disposition merely to trace and account for the given monthly allowance rather than to reckon with the children, their possibilities, their physical conditions, what may be done for the mother, what is to happen in two or five years, and of projecting the family into that larger and more hopeful future which present utilization and plan might assure.

There is in the plan also a certain inflexibility due to a fixed grant. If sickness or emergency comes the family must either suffer the consequences or appeal to outside agencies.

These workers are handicapped in addition by what might be termed the inelasticity of the law and its workings. In one family where the little girl has been very sick with pneumonia, the mother has had to to stay home from work and to buy medicine, etc. There is no provision now for contingencies of this sort, and the only alternative when they do appear, is to go hopelessly in debt or apply to the Charities. In this same family, the mother is tubercular and really unable to do much work. Under the law the most she can get is $20 a month, $10 for each of the two children, which is far from enough to support them. Difficulty arises also from the inaccessibility of the workers and of the court. The women live too far away from the court to go there readily with their troubles, and probably would not go anyway, as the organization of the court is not such yet as to make the giving of confidences easy. Few will resort to the expedient of sending a postal to the court-visitor when they need her, which is the present plan. Instead they consult with neighbors or make their decisions, unadvised, with results that are often disastrous. It is hard for either the woman or the court-worker to establish a close relationship under these circumstances.

So far as I know a closer study of all of these points has been made than of any other twenty-eight families. The average period, as we have said before, over which the pension has been received, is only five and one-half months and the situation during that time has been very complicated. The observations about lack of supervision, lack of adequacy of relief, lack of standardization, do not bear alone on this particular effort, they throw almost as much light on the operation of private charity. The attitude of Chicago workers has been that they would do all they could to help administer this law, to co-operate with the court, and with public bodies to the fullest possible extent. In doing this we have at least learned a lot ourselves, and sincerely hope that we may have been of some assistance.

## PUBLIC PENSIONS TO WIDOWS.

### EXPERIENCES AND OBSERVATIONS WHICH LEAD ME TO FAVOR SUCH A LAW.

By Hon. Merritt W. Pinckney, Judge Chicago Juvenile Court.

(Condensed)

When the law makers of Illinois enacted the Funds to Parents Act on July 1st, 1911, they took a decided step forward. This law, unique in its brevity and unlimited in its scope, stands alone. The motherhood it honors, the child it protects, the home it preserves, are worthy objects of a people's solicitude and of a state's benefactions. These things we favor, we stand for, we defend. Admitting that the law is faulty in its terms and should be limited by carefully prepared amendments, I am now and always have been of the belief that the act is fundamentally right, and if properly administered will prove to be the best law in aid of our dependent poor ever placed upon our statute books.

The act which is an amendment to Section seven (7) of the juvenile law reads as follows:

"If the parent or parents of such dependent or neglected child are poor and unable to properly care for the said child, but are otherwise proper guardians and it is for the welfare of such child to remain at home, the court may enter an order finding such facts and fixing the amount of money necessary to enable the parent or parents to properly care for such child, and thereupon it shall be the duty of the County Board, through its County Agent or otherwise, to pay such parent or parents at such times as said order may designate the amount so specified for the care of such dependent or neglected child until further order of the Court."

No state funds are provided by the law. It provides for financial assistance to be paid by the County Board out of the County funds upon the order of the Juvenile Court based upon certain facts previously established and found by the Court, such as the poverty of the parent or parents, their fitness in other respects to act as guardians, and that it is for the welfare of the child to remain at home.

#### The Need of the Law.

During my term of service in the Juvenile Court my chief endeavor has been to keep the home intact and when this was impossible through the death of the mother, or through her conceded unfitness, I have sought to substitute another family fireside and the maternal love and care of some other good woman. Unfortunately for this plan the state gave no financial assistance to children so placed. It was for children sent to institutions only for whom the law made provision. And this, notwithstanding the fact that a less amount of money than that paid to an institution for the care and training of a dependent child would defray

the expense of the child's care and nurture at home. I do not seek to belittle in the slightest degree the great and good work done by the institutions which are looking after dependent children. I do insist, however, that the plan of keeping a child in its own home with father and mother is preferable to giving that child institutional care, be it ever so excellent. The status of our dependent institutions in Illinois is determined by legislative enactment antedating by thirty years the Funds to Parents Act. The fear expressed by some that the relief granted under this new law will retard the increase of appropriations now needed to afford proper and adequate care of those children who are or should be in public institutions, is therefore without foundation so far as Illinois is concerned.

For four years past I have sat in the Juvenile Court of Chicago and watched with ever increasing interest the steady endless stream of city youth come and go—numbering in that time approximately 15,000 boys and girls, two-fifths of whom were dependents. Naturally in searching for remedies I have come to study and recognize causes and to appreciate the value of preventive measures. You can no more eliminate the dependency and delinquency of children by placing them on probation and by institutional care than you can cure crime by imprisonment and death. And yet, while studying the dependency of children and searching for measures to eradicate the cause and prevent its recurrence, we must not forget the patient nor neglect the curative. Poverty is a cause of dependency and will be until social justice shall prevail throughout the world and the dawn of the millennium breaks upon us. Motherhood, widowhood and poverty combined challenge universal compassion.

### The Administration of the Law.

The Act is either the best law for our dependent poor ever enacted, or else it is the worst, depending upon its administration. So far as I am advised, the operation of the law has been confined almost entirely to Cook County, which includes Chicago. On July 1st, 1911, when the law became operative, no funds were available, and from that time until November 30th, 1911, the end of the County's fiscal year, the total funds provided were $2,000. While the sum of one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars was asked for to provide relief for the ensuing year, beginning December 1st, 1911, the County Board appropriated only $75,000.

The administration of this law by the Juvenile Court was from the very beginning attended with difficulties. The real intent of the law, which was to keep children at home with their parents, who, because of poverty alone, would otherwise be sent to institutions, was apparently lost sight of. A wide-spread publicity fostered by those who either did not understand the real purpose of the legislation, or else, from selfish reasons, did not want to understand, soon flooded the Juvenile Court with applications for relief. Between 600 and 700 of these were filed

during the first few months, averaging four children to the application. This sudden flood of applications threatened to overwhelm the administrative powers of the Juvenile Court. The Probation Department, upon which the burden fell, was already taxed to its utmost capacity to handle the regular juvenile work. Had the applications for relief under the new law come naturally through the daily work of the court itself, the task would not have been so great. The absence of adequate help requested of the County Board to meet these new conditions added materially to the work of the Court. Indeed all the evils found by experience to be inherent in any plan for public outdoor relief, together with many unfavorable local conditions seemed to beset at the beginning the successful administration of the Act.

In the absence of willing co-operation by the county officials and their failure to furnish adequate and competent help, it was but natural to turn for assistance to those great charitable, social and civic welfare societies and associations in Chicago which are most active in relief-giving and in advancing the cause of good citizenship and a purer body politic.

The United Charities, the United Roman Catholic Charities, the St. Vincent de Paul Society, the United Hebrew Charities and some fifteen other social and civic welfare organizations came together at the request of the Judge of the Juvenile Court to aid as advisors in the administration of the new law. After several conferences these societies organized and furnished a committee consisting of five experienced workers to examine and pass upon the applications for relief. Each member of this committee, known as the Conference Group, was given a commission by the Court as a voluntary probation officer, and thereby became an officer of the Court. The members of this Conference Group, have at their command all the records of the private and public charities of the city as well as of all the social and civic welfare organizations constituting the Advisory Board. The right of access to these records covering years of investigations and research is a very valuable asset. In order that the Court may act fairly, accurate and complete information must be gotten regarding each applicant. This information gained by actual field work in the neighborhood where the applicant lives and by a careful examination of records, is considered and analyzed by the Conference Group sitting with the Chief Probation Officer of the Court and the head of the relief department, and a report and recommendation comprise the record from which the court enters the order granting or refusing the relief sought. No order for relief is entered by the Court save on the recommendation of the Group. With the Group are certain court clerks and probation officers all of whom are busily working to bring the business of passing upon applications up to date.

The County Board through the County Agent, pays out the money under order of court. The records of the County Agent's Office are placed at the disposal of the Juvenile Court. From the inception of this

work the County Agent, personally, and the employes of his office have actively and honestly co-operated with the Conference Group and the Court.

During the eleven months beginning July 1st, 1911, 1,156 applications have been made and investigated; 306 of these, including 1,054 children, have been favorably reported upon by the Conference Group and relief has been granted to them by order of court. Stay orders have been entered since July 1st, 1911, in 17 cases, thus removing 17 families and 64 children from the payroll. These stay orders were entered for various reasons, such as the death of the mother, or her conceded unfitness from causes and conditions arising subsequent to the order for relief. There were then on the pay-roll on June 1st, 1912, 289 families of 990 children, receiving an approximate average compensation per child of $6.33 per month.

Under our policy of administration the existence of a husband and father is sufficient reason to refuse relief unless the husband has been incapacitated for work by accident or chronic ailments, or unless the husband has deserted his wife and children for so long a time as to warrant the conclusion that he has permanently abandoned them. Of the 306 families who were granted relief, there were 256 cases of widows, 34 cases where the father was either mentally or physically incapacitated, 15 cases where the husband had abandoned the family, and one case where the mother was separated from the husband by divorce. You will, therefore, see that the present administration of the law practically limits the relief granted to those families where the mother is either the sole surviving parent, through the death of the father, or is the only reliable existing head of the family, through his abandonment.

Of the 1,156 applications investigated and considered by the Conference Group 850 were not recommended for relief. This was about two out of every three cases. The importance of having trained, experienced and intelligent workers to investigate and consider in conference these applications has been clearly demonstrated. The careful, painstaking and efficient work done by the Conference Group is largely responsible for the apparently satisfactory administration of the law to date. The Conference Group chosen by the Advisory Board from the corps of workers in Chicago's great charitable, social and civic welfare societies and associations, represents the best thought of the community on this subject. It would appear to be an ideal co-operation of society and the state in administering a worthy law.

The work of the Juvenile Court and of the Probation Department does not end with the entry of the order for relief, indeed it has only just begun. The Court must be kept constantly advised as to the continued fitness of the parent to whom relief has been granted and as to the wise and proper use of the money paid. Under our present plan the Judge, at the time of granting the relief introduces the mother to the probation officer in the district where the mother resides, and in-

forms her that she will be subject to visitation by the officer and that she will be required to furnish the officer an accurate account of what she does with the money. Up to the present time there has been no opposition to this plan by the recipients of the relief. We hope by a careful and systematic supervision not only to prevent the unwise and wasteful use of the money provided, but also to collect data from which we can eventually determine an adequate standard of relief.

**Adequacy of the Relief Granted.**

It will be difficult to standardize the relief. Certainly there can be no rigid and inflexible standard fixed. The circumstances, conditions, needs and resources of every family will, of necessity, differ and must be ascertained by patient and discriminating observation and inquiry. For years, "proper parental care" of the child has been interpreted in the Juvenile Court of Chicago to mean something more than a roof over the head, sufficient food for the stomach and clothes for the back. While avoiding the purely theoretical and ideal we must of necessity consider in administering the relief many conditions of family life other than those of health and physical comfort.

The average relief of $6.33 per month, granted for each child is undoubtedly too low. This low general average per child is in part due to the difficulties besetting the Court when the Act became a law. You will recall that there was available for the first six months the meagre sum of $2,000. We were in the experimental stage of the law's administration. Not a few men and women were prophesying either the early bankruptcy of the County or the repeal of the law. These conditions to a certain extent controlled our early action. As we gain in experience and as the public begins to see the possibility of a successful administration of the law, we shall be able to approach more nearly to a just and adequate standard of relief. In granting the relief, the earning capacity of the family is considered. We seek to supplement the family income with sufficient public funds to meet the family needs, whenever such income is earned without neglect of home and children or the sacrifice of health and strength. The spirit of self-dependence must not be broken down, nor should the effort to accomplish partial self-support be discouraged. We, who believe in the law, believe that, administered along these lines, it can help the dignified self-help of the families which it seeks to benefit and that the children who are brought up under these influences will become American citizens worthy of the name.

**Present and Future Economy of the Law.**

The Act is economical. The economy of its present practice in Illinois has been clearly demonstrated. Take a widowed mother and her group of six little ones—three girls and three boys. Even after you eliminate the mother and her future welfare from your consideration, you will find that the amount of money demanded by institutions for their care

and custody is nearly double that required to rear these children in their own homes. The expense of maintaining this family group of six in institutions is $75 per month. It must be conceded that these children including the mother can be supported at home at a much smaller monthly expenditure.

Then, again, our experience teaches us that many mothers can almost support themselves and their children. When some supplementary relief, fixed and regular, is added to the family income, the problem of support is solved. Why then destroy the home and dismember the family and incur a larger expense when a little relief—a smaller expense—will keep the family together?

The total number of dependent children handled in the institutions of Illinois in 1900 was 7,519. There were 3,290 dependent children present at the close of the fiscal year in all our institutions subject to the supervision of our Board of Administration of State Charities. In the State of New York 46,298 dependent children were similarly cared for during the year 1911. On Sept. 30th, 1911, the close of the fiscal year, there were present 33,702 dependent children in institutions of New York State. At the close of the fiscal year 1910 this number was 34,530. It appears then, that New York at the close of the fiscal year 1910, was giving institutional care to more than ten times as many dependent children as was Illinois. Considering that New York's population is less than double that of Illinois it is difficult to account for this. The cost to the state, not considering interest on the money invested in the plants, must be enormous. In view of this showing we are not surprised to read on page 39 of the Annual Report of the State Board of Charities that "It is questionable, however, whether many of these children could not under a proper system, have been placed directly in other family homes and allowed to grow up under desirable conditions of normal life. In many other cases, doubtless more careful investigations and re-investigations by the local poor-law officers would have resulted in restoring children to the care of their lawful parents or guardians. Also, there is probably every reason to believe that many family homes should be kept together. * * * "

Again on page 40 of the report we read: "There is reason to believe that the use of public moneys in the City of New York in order to prevent the breaking up of desirable homes and the commitment of children to institutions, would in many instances prove to be more economical as well as the more humane plan of work."

We concede, say the critics, that the relief administered under the Funds to Parents Act and similar laws, costs less than institutional relief. That, they reply, is not the issue. The question arises between so-called public and private outdoor relief. It is impossible, they contend, to honestly, efficiently and economically administer public outdoor relief on account of abuses which necessarily attend the administration. We admit the abuses. Equal

candor will compel the critics to admit that the abuses resulting from private charity have often been quite as serious as from public relief. In the final analysis, both private and public relief, when administered without proper inquiry and investigation are harmful and demoralizing. The success of either method is chiefly a matter of administration.

There is a future as well as a present economy of the law. Institutional care has never been adequate. The institutions are too few. Mothers, however worthy, toiling for the bare necessities of life from early morn till late at night are poor guardians of the mental, moral and physical welfare of their offspring. Many of these unfortunate children who never had a decent chance grow up into a depraved manhood and womanhood and drift naturally into that great and ever increasing army of criminals who are a menace to society and to care for and control whom the state spends annually millions of dollars.

We like to think of the state as the **parens patriae**—the utimate parent of all children. Upon this basic principle the state has fashioned a law and a Court for the child. The state must not stop here. Its duty is to enact and enforce such laws as will raise the standard of its citizenship. When bad conditions over which the individual has no control, stand in the way of this result, it is the duty of the state to remove them. The Funds to Parents Act is the next step forward. Its proper enforcement means normal, healthy, well-trained, properly-clothed and comfortably housed children guarded and protected at home by a mother's care and love, to the end that they become intelligent, industrious and respectable citizens and add to the industrial prosperity of the community.

The concensus of opinion of all those engaged in this work is, that the relief should not be granted in desertion cases. Our early experience in administering the law convinced us of this. Immediately upon the passage of the law the desertion microbe became active among indifferent husbands. A migratory epidemic was threatened. This was checked by the attitude of the Court in passing on such applications. Of the first 160 desertion cases considered, only three of this number were found, upon careful investigation to be entitled to relief.

Amending the law so that deserted wives will not be eligible for relief will necessarily work a hardship to a few worthy cases. The good of the few must, however, be sacrificed for the good of the many. The experience of a few months seems to have made clear what our future attitude and recommendation as to desertion cases should be.

It is conceded that "The administration of relief within the homes of the poor is a delicate ministry and requires deep, abiding personal and sympathetic interest." It is not conceded, however, that private philanthropic and charitable societies are the only medium through which the relief can be successfully administered. This deep, abiding personal and sympathetic interest, necessary to properly administer relief, is, after all, a personal equation which is more likely to distinguish individuals

than organizations and societies as such. Given the power to appoint and adequately compensate it surely would be possible for the court to secure competent and even talented service. Then again, we are told that public relief "dries up the springs of personal charity; that private initiative will not enter the field of such undertaking, or if in the field, rapidly abandons it." This argument is familiar, though heretofore used against rather than in support of our great charity and philanthropic organizations. It may be interesting in this connection to give some local history from which we of the West are warranted in drawing lessons.

The Illinois Juvenile Court Law of 1899 was very incomplete. The first judges to preside over the Juvenile Court found that while the law empowered the Court to designate one or more discreet persons to act as probation officers it also provided that they should receive no compensation. It was soon discovered that the successful administration of the Juvenile law depended as much, if not more, upon an intelligent and efficient Probation Department as it did upon an efficient judge. Adequate and competent service of this kind is entitled to pay. The County Board when appealed to, retired behind the plea of no authority to pay and no money to pay with. Private philanthropy represented by a group of Chicago's progressive women, employed and paid first five and later twenty-two competent persons, also women, who worked under the direction of the court as probation officers. In time the public became educated. The law was amended and the financial burden of a probation department was assumed as a public duty. The history of our probation department is the history of our Detention Home and of our medical clinic. In each case private philanthropy blazed the trail, demonstrated the need, educated the public and then willingly and gracefully retired when the County Board entered the field and assumed the responsibility of discharging its manifest duties and obligations. Instead of drying up the "springs of personal charity," they have since become deeper and more extensive. First one and then another civic and social need or reform has been brought to the attention of the public by private initiative. The people, thus enlightened, willingly assume and discharge these legal obligations and private philanthropy, encouraged and strengthened by its successive achievements passes gladly on to new and broader fields of human endeavor.

## PUBLIC PENSIONS TO WIDOWS.

### EXPERIENCES AND OBSERVATIONS WHICH LEAD ME TO OPPOSE SUCH A LAW.

By Frederic Almy, Secretary Buffalo Charity Organization Society.

This paper will not discuss the recent laws giving pensions to widows in Illinois, Missouri, California, Michigan and Oklahoma, or the bills now pending in New York and Ohio, or the State Commission studying this subject in Massachusetts, or the efforts in Colorado, but will discuss general principles. I find I am scheduled to oppose such laws, though for over a year in the SURVEY and elsewhere I am on record as well disposed towards them, though of the opinion that private charity is, for the present, safer.

Widowhood is a most innocent cause of poverty, especially pitiful because of its pain and waste, and very costly to society because the poverty is apt to increase in geometrical progression, two-fold, four-fold, or even more in each generation, as the neglected children mature. Sickness is also usually an innocent cause of poverty, though there are sexual diseases of appetite. The poverty of a family is still greater when the husband is not dead but is a living cost and danger. In such cases, the children have a father's counsel but less food than if they had none.

Neglected childhood is, in all the world, the very most innocent, appealing and frequent cause of poverty and crime. Poverty is often chosen, but the pauper child never chooses his poverty and his curses punish the society which has so foolishly neglected him. The cry of the children has been heard; street children are gone, factory children are going and the institution child must go. Home made children give the best results and even the foster home must go, unless the parents of the child are unfit.

A stupid fear of spending on the part of the Philistines of charity, who do not comprehend it, and a fear of pauperizing on the part of the Pharisees of charity, who have made a creed of it has made us penny wise and pound foolish. Neglect is the great pauperizer, not relief. The devil of pauperizing has been made a bogy of. That devil had his claws cut long ago by organized charity; but organized charity hates to give, and in some cities gives only in secret. When organized charity learns to be generous, without blushing, it will come into its own, and the widowhood of poverty will then get as liberal indemnity as the widowhood of industrial disaster. Such widowhood is just as innocent; and it is just as dangerous to society if not relieved.

I should like to see in every city a survey of all the children who are in institutions and in foster homes, and then a statement of the cost of maintenance of those children among them whose own homes are more fit except for poverty. I have always favored private out-door relief, but it is inadequate, and to-day all over the country, except in a

few cities, families of widows are being ruthlessly scattered for lack of charity. Will public out-door relief be more adequate or better? Students of public out-door relief know well how it increases pauperism, but does not neglected childhood increase pauperism even more?

For nearly twenty years I have been a charity organization secretary and a special student and opponent of public outdoor relief. In Charities for 1899, I had elaborate articles on the public and private out-door relief of forty cities. I know the dangers of relief, but last year at Boston I said, with Devine, "Our resources for relief are woefully inadequate. Our use of relief has been most sparing and timid. I am inclined to believe that we have caused more pauperism by our failure to provide for the necessities of life, for the education and training of children, and for the care and convalescence of the sick, than we have by excessive relief, even if we include indiscriminate alms." Can we harness public relief as we have harnessed steam and electricity through skillful engineers, so that we can have its power without its danger?

Why am I opposed to this plan of public pensions for widows? My opposition is not academic. I do not care whether the relief is a public or a private function, or whether it is given by the poor master, or by the Juvenile Court as in Chicago, or by children's guardians, or by a board of home assistance as proposed in New York. I think much, very much, of Thomas Mackay's classic argument that to the imagination of the poor the public treasury is inexhaustible and their right, and that they drop upon it without thrift, as they dare not do on private charity, and this argument is one that cannot be met by any excellence of adminstration; but I remember too that pauperizing by alms is no worse than pauperizing by neglect. Moreover, Mackay's argument applies mainly to indolence and improvidence, which are voluntary. The poverty of widowhood is not usually due to lack of thrift, and what widow ever became a widow because aid was public rather than private?

The crux of my opposition to public pensions to-day is that the public does not stand for fit salaries for relief. I am an advocate of more adequate relief, but I am an advocate first of more adequate brains and work for the poor. Relief without brains is as bad as medicine without doctors. I would much rather see doctors without medicine, or salaries without relief, as is the practice of some of the best of our charity organization societies. Like undoctored drugs, untrained relief is poisonous to the poor. Good charity is expensive, and poor charity is worse than none, yet what city would support adequate case work for its public aid?

In Buffalo where we have had organized charity for thirty-five years and for five years much talk and less practice of adequate relief, public opinion supports adequate salaries for a large staff in the charity organization society. Nevertheless, the city poor office has but five investigators, while we have fourteen, of better ability. Moreover, the city

investigators merely investigate, while we make plans, find friends and find money from natural sources. Last month the money found by our paid visitors from relatives, employers and friends nearly equalled the total of their salaries, and if we add the wages for work found by them it would have exceeded their salaries. Of course these visitors gave the poor also a service which is worth ten times more than the money they get for them; but I find that the monthly statement of this money got by them for their poor, does much to justify the salaries in the eyes of the public.

Will the voters stand in any city for the salaries without which charity is a pest and curse? Even in Chicago where a bad law in a good cause is redeemed by a good judge, I do not find any indication of adequate case work. Judge Pinckney has voluntarily associated with himself a salaried case committee, paid for by private charities and not from the public treasury; but the record stories, which I have glanced at in the few days since I undertook this paper, would not pass muster for case work in some cities. They show good diagnosis and study of temperament, but I have not noticed in them search for relatives who can give, or attempts to find work or to find better paid work, or official records of the school attendance of children as a condition of aid, or constructive plans for removing poverty. A pension committee needs all of these things for its action. Even under Judge Pinckney, the Chicago relief looks like mere relief, which keeps the family from deteriorating after the bread-winner has gone. Indemnity relief may have no higher function than to prevent deterioration, but charity relief aims to redeem the family. It is not too much to ask that the tax payers' money should be educational and constructive.

How does the adequacy of Judge Pinckney's relief compare with private charity relief? I have only Buffalo to compare with. Judge Pinckney has pretty nearly carte blanche; his work has been splendidly guarded and intelligent and is the high-water mark of what can be expected to-day of public charity. In eleven months (to June 1, 1912) 316 families had an average of $262.00 each per year. In Buffalo, which is above the average in private relief, 707 widows applied last year, of whom 230 had money aid, averaging $35.00 a year each. This means nothing, however, for the figures include old widows without children, widows who had one month's casual aid, etc., twenty-four widows, who had our aid for twelve consecutive months, averaged $152.00 per annum from us or with city aid included, $180.00 per annum, which is 70 per cent. of the Chicago aid. The Buffalo families have earnings, however, and aid from relatives, as the Chicago families must have had also. The only fair comparison would be the budgets rather than the pensions, and these I have not on tap for Buffalo, though I have been given the Chicago figures. The maximum C. O. S. pensions in Buffalo were $301.00 and $307.00 per year. An adequate family budget for the poor is not less than $700.00 a year.

A fact of the very first importance in this connection was stated last year in my Boston paper at this Conference that out of 2,240 families treated in that year by the Buffalo Society only seven were found to be absolutely dependent for as much as even six months with no income at all from earnings, relatives, lodgers, or any source except charity. This shows clearly both the danger of exaggeration and the need of investigation.

Salaries are usually far more adequate with private charity than with public. Money relief is inadequate with either, but bad, very bad, as the relief given by private charity has been in many cities it has not been so bad or so niggardly with individual families as public outdoor relief. We still find doles with either public or private charity, though $2.00 a week orders to widows every one, two, or three weeks, (with $2.00 weekly of $104.00 a year as a maximum for the family) is still typical with public charity, but the rare exception with private. The private charity which has not the energy to find adequate relief will not be likely to have the wisdom to use it wisely when found. The valuable pension system of private charity is not half developed as a money raiser. It is my belief that modern organized charity is the most liberal as well as the most tender, personal and effective charity that the world has ever known. Politics exist with either public or private charity, but more with public charity. Fit men are more often found by private charity than by public where the tail of a long ticket is often designated by party managers with little public attention. The valuable co-operation of volunteers through case committees is a splendid part of the Chicago plan and exists with Boston out-door relief but is as exceptional with public charity as it is universal with private charity.

Will public relief check the giving of private relief as suggested in Chalmers "seven fountains" so that nothing will be gained because private givers will leave it all to the public treasury? My elaborate study in **Charities**, in 1899 seemed to show that just this happened, and that private giving was trifling in cities where public aid was given. Dr. Devine thinks this and said at the last New York State Conference of Charities at Watertown that public out-door relief would require at least a million dollars a year in New York City and that he firmly believed from ample experience in Berlin, Paris, and this country, that with it there would be more neglected poverty and distress than without it. Dr. Devine thinks private relief most inadequate, however, and so do Alexander Johnson, Folks, Hebberd, Tucker, Kingsley and many others who differ as to public pensions.

The question is active in New York State where the report of the congestion commission February 28, 1911, which was reviewed at length in the **Survey** for March 11 18 and 25, 1911, was followed by the report to the New York City Conference of Charities and Correction rendered last May after a year's consideration. This report advocated public pensions to widows. Both this report and the New York bill recognize the

danger of purse administration as inadequate and provide that the public money shall go through private channels. If this is a return to public subsidies to private charities it seems to me inevitably bad. For such subsidies lead to sectarian appeals, to lobbying and to a scramming at the public trough for patronage.

I have the detail of many of the state rule and laws, but they cannot be described in a paper so short as this must be if there is to be time for discussion.

It is no light thing to reverse a policy of many years in regard to public outdoor relief. It was abolished in New York and Brooklyn thirty years ago, and in many of our chief cities and it was thought to be a dead issue in this conference. Times change, however, and I am not willing to believe that in the key public outdoor relief cannot be successful. It weighs with me that the equally delicate work of visiting nurses is successfully done by public charity, though the arguments against it would be similar. Over and over private charity has blazed the way for what became public safety after standards had been developed and established, and this process I believe in. The curse of the old name of pay out door relief is something and the new and better connotations will make it easier to keep up the new and better standards.

I am myself still opposed to public pensions, though with their aims I am so much in sympathy that I shall welcome experiments in states not my own which may demonstrate whether they will succeed. Even if in the beginning such public relief does not reach the best standards of private relief I shall be willing to wait before judging if it improves steadily. Universal suffrage does not give immediate good government.

This paper has been prepared under extreme pressure as a basis for discussion. It is not a treatise, but voices the doubts which I have been expressing publicly for some time. I am here to learn.

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## DISCUSSION.

MR. HOMER FOLKS—It seemed to me I could best make my thoughts on the matter clear by asking a few questions in serial order and then answering them as best I could so far as I deal with facts I have in mind entirely the facts in New York City.

The first question is this: Is it desirable that children of widows of good character and efficiency be kept with their mothers? Is poverty alone a sufficient cause for breaking up families?

I think that all of us here probably without exception would answer the first question in the affirmative. There are those who would answer it in the negative, but they don't come to conferences, and we have to deal with them when we get home. I think we can assume that substantially all those present would agree with the sentiment of the Wash-

House Conference in that regard. I, at least, stand without qualification on the answer as stated in those conclusions.

Again, if such families should be kept together, should the relief come preferably from private sources?

I take it that there is difference of opinion. A very considerable, and perhaps an increasing number, probably, would say that they would have no special preference, or even prefer public relief. Personally, I take the other side. Under present circumstances I decidedly prefer the relief of such families from private sources for these three reasons:

First, it is desirable to develop and maintain private relief giving, and that this offers a clear and easy division of the field—the public authorities to maintain the public institutions and the private societies to give the family relief.

Second, the administration of public family relief is perhaps admitted by all to be decidedly difficult. I do not agree with Mr. Almy that the difficulty lies in getting adequate salaries for relief officers. I think it is the rule that public work pays better salaries than private work. Charity may be the one exception, but if it is, I believe we can change that particular exception, and that adequate money for adequate salaries for an adequate number of officers, could be had.

But the more difficult point is the clumsiness of the machinery by which public employes are selected. It is still difficult, to be sure, by any process that we now know of to get competent people at a given time for a given job in the public service.

But the most serious objection of the three is, that I think there is a subtle psychological, but very important difference between the feeling of reliance upon private relief and the feeling of reliance upon public charity claimed as a matter of right. I am not so sure, in the case of widows, that it is not a matter of right after all. A feeling of reliance upon a steady and regular income wisely adapted to the family needs and the family budget, ought to be a good thing. I am not so sure that it is not a desirable thing in the home of the widow or where the totally disabled wage earner is concerned, but certainly it is a very dangerous thing in other households where there is a wage earner, able-bodied, but disposed to shirk his responsibility.

If it is preferable that relief come from private sources, is sufficient relief now given from private sources to such families? Speaking as to New York: I doubt if any person would have the hardihood to say that such is the case at the present time and for one, I have to state most emphatically, that it is not sufficient, and that families of that character are not kept together and that considerable numbers of children of widows who should be kept at home are committed, and that the process which Judge Pinckney described of the tearing apart of children from their mothers for poverty alone, occurs from time to time in every borough of the City of New York.

Third. If it is desirable that such families should be kept together,

and if the relief should come preferably from private sources, and if sufficient relief does not come now, is it, after all, a very serious thing to break up such families and send the children to institutions? I doubt whether any person present would answer that question thus put, in the negative, and yet some of our best friends do by their actions, answer it in the negative, because, while this breaking up of families goes on admittedly and openly, they do not actually do anything in a large way to stop it.

It is suggested sometimes that the proper course is to relieve in the best and finest and most constructive and up-to-date method such families as can be aided by existing resources. As to what is to happen to the other families not so aided, no particular reply is made.

What should we think of a city which had a thousand destitute aged persons and which was about to construct a new almshouse, and which proposed plans for an entirely modern building to accommodate two hundred persons, and pointed with pride to its sanitary arrangements, its bath rooms and cottage plan, and spoke of this as a model provision for the aged poor, but refused to answer the question as to what is to happen to the other eight hundred? What would the people of the city think of that sort of a municipal policy? But in my judgment that would be far more defensive, far less serious than to provide adequately for a few families leaving others to the tender resources of nothing.

Now, if it is desirable that these families be kept together, and if the relief should come preferably from private sources, and if it is really a very serious matter, is it possible to find from private sources sufficient relief? Some say yes and some say no, and I say that I do not think any of us know, for the reason that in New York it has never been intelligently tried.

We have possibly between six and seven thousand children of widows in institutions in New York City. Not all of them should be at home. Is it possible to secure from private sources sufficient additional funds to provide for them? I am not sure, and I hope the relief societies will make one more combined serious, final effort to secure such funds. But I think they should distinctly realize that this is the last call for dinner, and if they don't get together and secure such funds they will be provided from some other source in some other way.

Now, just one question more: If it develops that sufficient private resources are not to be had, is the evil of breaking up families as we are now doing, a lesser evil than public relief to widows? A good many say yes. My opinion is distinctly not; and that if we do not secure from private sources sufficient funds, then, without hesitation we ought to have a system of public relief for widows.

MISS LATHROP—When I was a county visitor for the Cook County outdoor relief office, I remember visiting a woman, doubtless a mother, who was living in such a degree of comfort as compelled me to report

adversely upon her application, but she said in explanation of it, that a friend of hers in the Outdoor Relief Office had told her she had better come and get something while it was a-going. Doubtless this was a case of pauperization. Has it occurred to you that our great relief giving societies may be in danger of pauperizing from this method of pension giving? Hardly had the pension law gone into effect in Cook County when the relief societies came to the judge with hundreds of cases which they wished him to take care of and relieve them.

But seriously, does not the crux of the thing lie here? There is a great tendency in social legislation revealed in what we have been considering this afternoon. It is not a question of whether we are doing very well, or very poorly; it is a question of the underlying principle.

The truth is, we have come to a point in social legislation where we have got to enlist in its administration the type of person who possesses the choicest intelligence and cultivation of the community, and who will serve the public with genuine devotion. The duties of the old type of public official did not demand these qualifications.

This pension law, wise or unwise, in its present administration and its present form is after all a perfectly inevitable result of any legal measure which says that a child must be guarded and nourished rather than punished by the old criminal law penalties.

Nobody thinks we have worked out an ideal method in every respect at the present moment. Are we not taking all this in too elderly a fashion? We act as though we were in the afternoon of time, and our methods of progress almost finished, when in fact we are in the gray dawn of time as to our expression of public responsibility for the care of the young of the state. We are frightened in that gray dawn by the spooks and bogies of the old English poor-law, and we are scarcely awake enough to remember the Poor-Law Commission of 1909 and its minority report.

W. F. PERSONS, New York—I think there is still much to be said for the established system of private relief for families in their own homes. As I have listened to the presentation of the history of those funds in Chicago, I have asked myself, what, after all, has been secured? First, we observe that the established agency for public out-door relief was not relied upon for the administration of the Funds to Parents Act. That admittedly delicate and important administration of charity was by law put into the hands of the Judge of the Juvenile Court. Now, then, did the Judge of the Juvenile Court accept the responsibility?

What happened to the eight hundred and fifty families who made application and were turned away without any help? Why did they apply? Is it reasonable to suppose that four families out of five came without reason and said, "We are poverty stricken?" Is it not more reasonable to suppose that there were selected out of that one thousand families two hundred odd who showed most obvious need and who

presented problems not so very difficult of solution? Are there not out of that eight hundred and fifty probably more than two hundred and eighty-nine who were under the care of private charity, or who should be under the care of private charity? Is it not obvious that the net result of those funds to parents as certified on this platform to-day has been to bring in, during the course of a year, eighty thousand dollars in relief for two hundred and eighty-nine families? How much private charity has been displaced? How much has been expended for supervision in the salaries of probation officers and the salaries of other helpers beside that eighty thousand dollars? Has there been any economy to the community? If it has cost eighty thousand dollars in relief, where private charity could have accomplished the same, or better results, for forty thousand dollars, hasn't there been forty thousand dollars of the community's resources wasted?

Now, the issue is whether or not there shall be eventually, and in the long run, and even now, unrelieved and neglected suffering. So far as Chicago is concerned, I have no information except what I have gathered here to-day, but I wonder if the Juvenile Court and its committee had taken charge of those one thousand families who applied, would there have been more or less of suffering in the city of Chicago than there was the year before this law was passed. In other words, if this new scheme accepts this full measure of responsibility, will it stand up under the test?

It seems to me that this act marks a step backward, a reversal of policy so far as social legislation is concerned. Everywhere, so far as I known, public out-door relief as distinguished from private out-door relief has been less effective.

Now, when we are being aroused to an acute consciousness of the situation which we face, we ought not to take a step backward by re-adopting a forsaken and abandoned policy. We can provide, through our proper relief agencies, adequate relief for these families, and it does not signify because twice as much money has been spent in public relief, that twice as much money was needed.

ROBERT W. HEBBERD—I would like to explain a little in brief detail in regard to the inquiry that has been made in the City of New York with reference to this subject. This inquiry was undertaken by a committee of the City Conference of Charities and Correction, and was the result of a resolution offered in the conference of 1911, by the Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, Dr. Devine, providing for the appointment of a committee eventually made up of eight members, to study the question of governmental aid, and to return a report to the conference that met in New York City in May of the present year. That committee heard a good many witnesses who came voluntarily and gave their testimony, representatives of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, of the United Hebrew Charities, the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, the Charity Organization Society, and other agencies, and

practically without exception they agreed that the relief being administered particularly to widows with dependent children in the City of New York to-day, is entirely inadequate.

The report of the committee recommended a return to the giving of public money to widows with dependent children, and no other class through the medium of the private agencies. The Mayor was to be authorized to appoint a Board of Home Assistance that would listen to appeals of private organizations in the interests of individual cases, each case presented separately, with the understanding that the private organization approved by the State Board of Charities as efficient for the work, was to give a sum equal to fifty per cent. of the amount requested from the city, and that the society was to investigate, to distribute the money without cost and to supervise the family during the term it continued under its care. That report was adopted by a vote of seven to one.

Now, we believe that the societies in New York City know what they are talking about when they tell us that having tried this work for twenty-five years they are still unable to give adequate relief to this class. I believe that when the societies say they need help of public funds for this purpose, that they are correct in their conclusion, and that such men as Mr. Murly, Mr. Sulzberger and Mr. de Forest and Mr. White and all those men can be trusted to see that these funds are properly and effectively expended.

It is a favorite saying of Mr. Almy's, I have heard it at several conferences, that the gift without the giver is bare, and it seems to me that it is even more true, that the giver without the gift is more than bare. I believe that it would cost less to provide such funds in the homes than it now costs to care for the children in institutions. It might even cost a million dollars, as Dr. Devine stated. It costs nearly that amount in the rest of the State of New York, and it might easily cost a million dollars, but I think it would be worth the money. The City of New York now spends over five million dollars a year on private charities, and it seems to me it might spend a million dollars in keeping together the family homes, with the almost certain result of saving money that is now paid to the institutions and of saving the homes from dissolution.

CHARLES F. WELLER.—I am glad Mr. Hebberd has turned around the old quotation that "the gift without the giver is bare," by saying that the giver without the gift is bare, because I disagree so earnestly with that altered suggestion and because I believe that it indicates one of the fundamental dangers of the movement which Judge Pinckney has been advocating. I believe the great danger in this Funds to Widows movement is that it is doing something with mere funds; it is going back to that old dangerous experiment of trying to solve social problems by merely giving money.

Now, I believe the public is going to get more and more behind these problems. I think more funds are going to be given in this way,

but I earnestly believe we should try to work out some standard of personal service, some minimum requirement of competent management to accompany and safeguard all material relief. Any one who wishes to try this Funds to Widows experiment should see to it that these relief funds are administered by competent social workers.

I do not know exactly how the minimum standard of competent personal service should be expressed but I am sure that to emphasize material relief rather than personal service is dangerous. I believe the essential thing is to tie up with every appropriated dollar an adequate amount of personal service. The minimum standard to be applied might be something to the effect that there shall be a competent employed visitor for at least every two hundred families; that the funds shall be handled through an appropriate agency (for I believe the Juvenile Court is dangerously inappropriate) and that we shall keep as far away as possible from emphasizing the material gift instead of the stimulating giver.

MR. HEBBERD—I would like to explain my statement which Mr. Weller seems to have misunderstood. I mean to say, of course, that you should go with your sympathy; but he who goes into the house of a widow and sees her suffering and is willing to have her home broken up and her children put in institutions when the home might properly be kept together, with judicious assistance, is the kind of a giver without the gift to whom I take exception.

MISS ALICE L. HIGGINS—I wish we could remember as we go away Judge Pinckney's feeling definition and description of the woman and her children who were given relief in Chicago. It seems to me that any public gift to dependent widowhood should make us pause and consider.

In Massachusetts a committee has been appointed to find out what the situation is and report. In regard to the question of the agencies dealing with the families in their homes—how many families in your city last year had children removed from their homes for poverty alone? How many children were in the institutions of the state last year, and what proportion were put there by private charity? We don't know the answer to those questions, do you? Let us not be swept off our feet without that knowledge, by the great and crushing need in Chicago and New York.

MAX SENIOR—I regret very much that this matter has come up at this time, because I think we are going to be satisfied with a partial remedy where we want a wide remedy. That we are going to be satisfied with a little where we want much. And not only that, but it threatens in its appealing features to destroy much of the work which we have been doing now for years.

Who are these widows and children who are likely to get the benefit of this act? They are young widows of men who have lost their lives through accident, occupational disease, or other diseases of a kind that would carry a man off in the early stages of his life.

Don't let us be satisfied with what is partial, but let us ask for all. Why, we have been working for years now, for what? For compulsory insurance against accident, sickness, old age and invalidity.

Let us nail our colors to the mast and insist on what we have been asking for these many years, the full program; insurance against industrial accident, insurance against sickness, insurance against old age, insurance against invalidity, and compulsory insurance against all these four items in every State of the Union.

MISS M. E. RICHMOND—Mr. Senior has struck the keynote, I think. We must not attempt to meet our present difficulties, serious though they be, in such a bungling way as to put up permanent barriers against their solution. So far from being a forward step, "funds to parents" is a backward one—public funds not to widows only, mark you, but to private families, funds to the families of those who have deserted and are going to desert!

The breaking up of homes through poverty alone is, as I have said, a serious evil, but its prevention demands elements that this Chicago experiment, so carefully watched and safeguarded by some of the best known social workers in the country, conspicuously lacks. Even here, with their hearty good will and earnest co-operation, and with a judge willing to aid them, there has been practically no competent supervision of the pensioned families; there has been, in some cases, less adequate relief than private charity was giving, and far less supervision. If this has been the case in Chicago, what may we expect, at this stage of social service development, from experiments less co-operative and under administrations less able to withstand undue influence?

Another point in my too brief four minutes: This Illinois bill was drafted and passed without consulting a single social worker, and then they had to ask the social workers to come to their rescue in order that the worst might not happen. Watch your Legislatures carefully, when you go back to your several states, and see that the social workers are consulted in time.

Miss Lathrop has said that the private charities have been "pauperized" in Chicago by the new law, and are turning their cases over to the court. There is another aspect of that. No private fund for relief can successfully compete very long with a public fund, whether the latter is adequate or not. Inevitably the sources of private charitable relief dry up. A greater danger threatens in the state of New York, where it is actually proposed publicly to pay private charities for the relief of widows one hundred cents for every fifty that they spend in relief from their own funds—a two for a cent plan that will be an admirable way of hammering down our standards of adequate treatment in such cases. If we spend any of the fifty cents in seeing that the children of the widow are in school, that they are morally protected, that their health is safeguarded, that they have a good chance to grow up right, we are to get less than a dollar for the family; but if we, or our

colleagues, spend all of the fifty cents on material relief, we get a dollar. The methods of public pensioning so far proposed are full of such incongruities as I have pointed out.

O. F. LEWIS—I have the honor to be the Chairman of the Committee on Governmental Aid of the New York City Conference which Mr. Hebberd has said, investigated this question. We have spent a great deal of time on it, and we made every honest effort to get the testimony, and the opinions and advice of the various bodies in New York City. I regret deeply that some of the criticisms and some of the suggestions, if they are valid, were not offered to this Committee when those suggestions were asked for several times by members of organizations in New York City that did not appear before the Conference Committee.

The proposition which the New York City Conference Committee makes is not that the city shall supply simply material relief, but our belief is that in view of the confessed inadequacy of material relief on the part of the C. O. S., St. Vincent de Paul Society, and others, we can rely upon those societies, in case the city will give a certain amount toward the material relief which those societies inadequately supply at the present time, to give of their best in return for the trust which is imposed in them by the city.

WILBUR C. PHILLIPS—This question, it seems to me, comes down to this: Can a community better administer a function in behalf of the people than a private charity? Now, I have had an opportunity for more than a year to study a very remarkable community movement. I wish to go emphatically on record as favoring the carrying on of this work under public auspices. We recognize that many of the old functions which were carried on in the home are now carried on by our municipalities.

The municipality is handling the question of milk supply, it is furnishing instructional nurses, it is carrying on all sorts of activities for the protection of the children. There is absolutely no reason why the community cannot do this better than any private agency. I, for one, would much prefer it. I would work much more conscientiously, much more enthusiastically for the entire community than for any set of individuals in that community. You will get better service when you make it community service than private service. And it seems to me there is one end which the social worker ought to get into his system, and that is this: That the child after all, is the ward of the State and the parents are mere guardians of the children and are responsible to the State.

JUDGE H. H. BAKER.—I didn't rise to express an opinion on the merits of this proposition one way or the other. The reason why I rise is because I am not enough of an expert to express an opinion on the merits, and therefore, I want to warn the communities that are going to try any experiments with widows' pensions or relief to parents, not to administer them through the Juvenile Courts, for I think, with many of

my brethren, that we of the Juvenile Courts are not experts in relief. Where they have already had the misfortune by tradition of legislation to relieve dependency through the courts, it is perhaps a natural thing that they should turn to the court for the giving of further relief. Relief to widows and mothers who are in poverty stricken circumstances should be administered by a proper relief agency entirely outside of any court, leaving it entirely to that agency. I hope that any new experiments that are tried in this country will not include the mistake of mixing up relief with court administration.

FRANK TUCKER—My first conference experience was in 1899, in Cincinnati. A very interesting part of that conference was a discussion held in a parlor of the Grand Union Hotel. Robert Treat Paine, who has since passed away, was present, and put some questions to those of us engaged in New York, relating to children. He asked this question: If you had public relief to widows, could you stop the enormous increase in your institution population? The representatives of private charity dealing with the care and relief of needy families in their homes from New York rather dodged a direct answer if I remember aright, I am sure that I did.

Mr. Paine put this second question to us: Do you think that private relief would be adequate if you undertook to keep children out of institutions?

I dodged the second question, and I think some others dodged it. Perhaps I did not dodge it intentionally; I said I thought that private charity would be competent to deal with any burden put upon it. If Mr. Paine was here now I would not reiterate what I said. I do not find private relief in the City of New York is adequate to taking care of widows and their children, and that, after five years' experience in endeavoring to raise money. Subsequent to that meeting the New York Charity Organization Society did form a special committee, the object of that committee being to endeavor to provide private relief to widows and children itself and to influence other organizations to provide such relief in order to keep the children out of institutions. I believe the work of the committee, conscientiously done as it was, failed because it was not possible to get funds sufficient to prevent the commitment of children to institutions.

Now, it seems to me the question resolves itself into two parts: Are the private resources of the community sufficient, and is there a special privilege connected with the administration of charity which prevents the government doing its duty?

So far as the City of New York is concerned, I believe that at the present state of its development it is impossible to raise sufficient funds from private sources to meet this problem and prevent the commitment of children to institutions.

Now, as to that other bogy which always crops up, the capacity of government to deal with this problem in the same way that private in-

dividuals would deal wih it. It is no longer, so far as I am concerned, a bogy. We are changing the whole attitude of government toward the society which it represents. We are striving to make it responsible and efficient. The question in its final analysis is this: Are we to live under a government of true democracy, or are we to live under a government of special privilege, the administration of charities being a part of the special privilege?

MR. LONG—Here today some words have been spoken, it seems to me, not wise. Other words have been spoken that are very wise words. It seems to me some words have been spoken indicating that we look upon these societies that are organized, as an end and not a means. We ought to feel that we are the means of educating the people who have the government in their hands, that eventually we will reach the place where men who occupy positions in the city government shall see these things as we see them.

Why not work together now? I am from Columbus, where the city is appropriating a certain amount of money to be used by the Associated Charities. The Associated Charities do not handle the money, but all of it that goes out, goes through the Associated Charities. Last year the amount of gifts by the people, nothwithstanding the fact that the city was appropriating that money and giving it through us, increased three thousand dollars. And I think, if we work together we can accomplish the things and the work we wish to accomplish.

ROGER N. BALDWIN—Isn't the real question involved in this discussion the adequacy of local government in any community to maintain such a function as public relief, with security? A system of widows' pensions will work well where local government is good, and it will work poorly where local government is bad. If we can be sure that local government is on a firm and secure basis, we can safely entrust to it such a delicate function as the granting of relief to widows in their homes.

In St. Louis, believing that our local government could be trusted, we are, under a recent statute, preparing to include that feature in a general system of child-care under a new board of children's guardians, an unpaid board, appointed one member each year by the Mayor, with entire control of the city's care of children. Every safeguard has been thrown around the system to free it from political manipulation, and we believe that the prospects of continued good government, are bright enough to warrant the experiment.

J. W. MAGRUDER, Baltimore—The last statement can be put alongside of a statement coming from Baltimore. It seems to me that this proposition brings up arguments that were encountered at the time of the movement for child labor laws. I remember to have heard, after going to Baltimore, of the struggle to get the first child labor law through. The statement was made at Annapolis that there were thousands of widows in Maryland who were depending upon the earnings of their

children. At that juncture the Charity Organization Society and the Federated Jewish Charities entered into a guarantee that they would take care of all the widows who were found to be dependent upon the earnings of their children. Investigation was made, and when it came to the actual fact, it was found that instead of being thousands of these widows, the number was, I think, thirty-one or thirty-two in the City of Baltimore with its five hundred and fifty-eight thousand inhabitants.

Now, then, this talk has been about Chicago first and New York second. I understand that New York is divided against itself as to whether they are able to take care of their widows or not. I have been told always since I have been in social work, that New York and Chicago are in a class by themselves, and the rest of us are not necessarily concerned in what New York and Chicago may do in a given case. Have we any right to assume that because widows' public relief is needed in those cities there is occasion for it in our other cities? It all depends, not upon the character of the city administration, but upon the fact as to whether that administration can call upon workers in the community that know how to do the business. But here is what they can do, when they find that there are widows who are widows because of industrial accident and industrial disease, they can go to the state and demand that by state action they shall have a workman's compensation law and all that to stop the production of widows.

HON. MERRITT W. PINCKNEY—I am not convinced, nothwithstanding what I have heard, against the "Funds to Parents" law—no, I am not convinced. I have listened with great interest to a very able and intelligent paper read by Mr. Almy. Anybody who knows him, knows of his ability to grasp this subject, must treat what he says with the highest consideration, and I do. If I had known him as well and liked him as well as I do now, before I came to Cleveland, I don't know whether I would have taken the opposite side of any question that he was to discuss. He certainly looks to me as though he was by experience authorized to speak, and I want to thank him personally, too, for the way he treated the subject. He didn't shut the door in our faces and say, "Stay outside." He didn't say to us, "The honest and judicious administration of the law of the Funds to Parents Act is impossible, go away and don't bother me." He left the door open, as I always believe he has left his mind open, for honest, intelligent thought, regardless of what his years of experience have been, and regardless of what his thought was on any particular subject, and I want to thank him for that consideration.

It comes to me now that someone of the speakers said it will cost a million dollars to try this out in the City of New York. I have read with interest the report of the State Board of Charities for the State of New York for the year 1911, and I recognize Mr. Hebberd as the Secretary of that Board. I assume that those gentlemen in their experience and grasp of this subject, and in their study of it, in their service to the

State of New York, have made investigation and inquiry and have consulted with the various organizations, private and otherwise, through the State of New York, and therefore, when I read in their report that it is confessedly admitted by the private charities in the City of New York that they have not the adequate means to meet the needs of the dependents in that city, that it stands for something; and when I see in that report that thirty-four thousand five hundred and thirty children were in dependent institutions at the close of the fiscal year ending September 30, 1910, that it must take three hundred and fifty thousand dollars of New York's money to take care of those children for one month and that it must take for the year something over four million of dollars. I say, when these gentlemen, after their investigation, tell us these things and report that many of the children could have been taken care of at home in the normal condition of family life, that it means something, and I say it would pay the City of New York, as an experiment, to keep some of those children at home with their mothers instead of sending them away to institutions, even if it did cost one million dollars.

I want to say to Judge Baker from Boston, when you say that the administration of this relief ought not to be left to the Juvenile Court of Chicago, or to any Juvenile Court, I saw, Amen! but I do say it is possible to so frame a law that public officials will be able to administer this relief.

Now, Mr. Persons, I want to say to you that it is probably due to the short time allowed me that I did not explain about these eight hundred and fifty families who were refused relief. I have the figures here on those families and I think there must be three hundred and fifty of them who were, through undisclosed property interests, money or funds of some kind, amply able to take care of themselves. That shows, if it shows anything, that we have a committee that is doing its work of investigation and inquiry well.

So, out of eight hundred and fifty families, three hundred and fifty were able to take care of themselves, and naturally, under the law, we couldn't give them relief. And of the other five hundred there are various reasons set down for refusing them relief. They were turned over to other agencies to be taken care of. Under the law, we say that these families, for reasons set down by the conference group after consultation with the Court, are not entitled to relief, but they are taken care of wherever it is necessary to take care of them.

Now, with reference to supervision, I wish to say to Miss Richmond that she is mistaken when she says that there is no supervision in Chicago. I will admit, ladies and gentlemen, after eleven months, under a law that is too brief, and into which we have had to read certain essentials before we undertook to administer it—I will admit that the law is not complete. I will admit that we are in the beginning of the dawn, but I say we are doing something toward administering this law efficiently, intelligently and honestly, too, and through public channels.

When a widow is granted relief under the law, the last thing that is said to her in court by myself, is to explain to her the necessity of accounting to a regular probation officer as to how she spends her money. And she is cautioned to keep her receipts, and that probation officer's duty is to visit that family regularly, and report on that family, giving it such supervision as it is possible for him or her to give. I don't say that this is enough, but I say that somewhere along the line, when we have had the experience and we get right down to what is possible to do under public administration, that we can rightly supervise and investigate and control this situation.

Now, I noticed in Mr. Almy's paper, the argument which he read, that to the imagination of the poor the public treasury is inexhaustible, and they drop on it without thrift—that is a forceful statement, that is true, but which is the worse, the pauperizing by alms or by neglect? For my part, I would rather have a pauper with a well-filled stomach than a pauper who is starving to death.

SHERMAN C. KINGSLEY—When this law was passed—although it was done without the knowledge of the social workers generally—we felt, nevertheless, that the thing to do was to extend whatever co-operation we might be able to give. Representatives of the charitable organizations in our city have gladly responded to the call for assistance, and are doing what they can do to help out in the situation. As I sat in some of these meetings and heard the stories of these families, I have been staggered and certainly made to feel more humble about the conditions revealed. I have had much to learn, and I have not been in this work as long as some people who have been here, but I have been at it longer than others. I have spent about eight years in Chicago, and have done the best I could since I have been there to raise the standard not only of relief giving, but to raise the standard of service and of supervision. We feel very humble about it all, and as I go about and look around Chicago where the poor people live, and get close to their real conditions I wonder what we have all been doing, and go home thoroughly dejected sometimes when I see the conditions under which so many of our people are living. And you are to be congratulated, some of you, that conditions seem to be so well met, that you are able to handle the situation adequately and for not having what we have in Chicago and New York. This is the dawn as has been suggested. We do not think that we have really awakened yet. Chicago cannot, and it does not pretend to say that it has done anything that is final. But I do feel that we are honestly trying, and I believe our minds and hearts are open, and we are using whatever intelligence we have got, and are praying the Lord for more.

# Reports from States

The reports as here presented are a combination of the written report made by the State Corresponding Secretary, and the oral report made to the Conference by the same officer or his delegate.

The substance of the reports is classified under twenty-seven different headings. What is left and given here under the heading of the state, consists of certain general remarks; some few items not classified under the other headings, and, in a few instances, some notable event which deserves mention even at the risk of duplication.

Where no other name is given it is to be inferred that the oral report was made by the Corresponding Secretary in person. The theory of the reports from states to the National Conference is that they are to tell of the progress of the year which has elapsed since the last Conference met. Occasionally reporters send word of things which have been in existence for several years, and, in theory again, such things should be omitted, but some times they are of such interest, as throwing light on recent progress that they are printed and therefore a severely critical reader may find items given here which are not of this year's growth.

## ALABAMA.

MRS. W. L. MURDOCK, STATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

ORAL REPORT BY REV. GEORGE EAVES.

In boys' work a good deal of progress has been made locally in Birmingham. The boys' clubs meet in the home of the Children's Aid Society and in the Juvenile Court. The tuberculosis work has developed in Birmingham, and has begun in Mobile, Tuscaloosa and Montgomery. Child saving work is going on under the care of the Associated Charities in Birmingham. The social service and industrial betterment work of the Tennessee Coal & Iron Co., under the splendid leadership of President Cross, ought to be known, also similar work under the care of the Coal Operators' Association of Birmingham. The best thing that can be said this year about Alabama is that the Survey came to Birmingham and surveyed it and Birmingham's self conceit exploded. This has opened the way to a great deal of repentance and compunction and, we believe, real progress.

The social outlook is better. More people read The Survey and are therefore more in touch with social things. The sentiment for better child labor laws is growing rapidly.

## ARKANSAS.

PROF. J. H. REYNOLDS, STATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

ORAL REPORT BY MURRAY A. AUERBACH.

Arkansas is perhaps the latest State in the Union to have social regeneration. It dates back only a few months. Last year the State Legislature created a Tuberculosis Sanitarium, and there is need for additional institutions. There is now forming a State Association for Prevention of Tuberculosis. This Legislature also enacted a Juvenile Court Law which works well in Little Rock and Fort Smith. We have reason to feel that because of the success of the system in the two cities, the other large cities will take it up before the end of the year.

We had in Arkansas the first State Conference of Charities, which has greatly stimulated the work of organized charity. As a result, steps were taken to form organized charities in every city of ten thousand population or more. Little Rock and Fort Smith are organized and other cities also are beginning but have not yet paid secretaries.

The probation system is hampered by the fact that Arkansas has no good compulsory school law. Steps were taken last year to compel children to go to school, and the Legislature compromised on that. They passed such a law and exempted all the counties that had an undue proportion of colored population, i. e. two-thirds of the state.

## CALIFORNIA.

W. ALMONT GATES, STATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Twenty-three amendments to the State Constitution were voted on at a separate special election last fall. Some of them are of interest here. The first provides for the creation of an Industrial Accident Board and the awarding of compensation for injuries for industrial accidents. Our legislature was in session and the bill was pending at the time of the Supreme Court decision in New York, which resulted in an immediate proposition to amend the Constitution of California, to avoid the difficulty which the Supreme Court of New York found in the law of that State. The vote passing that amendment last fall was very large. At the same election was submitted the proposition to strike out the word "male" from the suffrage of California. That proposition carried by a very large majority. A separate session of the legislature passed the laws necessary to put the constitutional amendments into operation. Another of the amendments provides that in appeals from the local court on questions of technicalities, the Supreme Court should not reverse the decision of the lower court, unless from an examination of all the evidence upon the whole case they find that substantial injustice had been done. We already see the effects of that law. Prior to enacting that amendment it seemed

almost impossible to get a grafter through the Supreme Court. The Supreme Court would find always sufficient technicalities to reverse the decision of the lower court.

The trend of public sentiment in California is strongly towards social betterment by the inauguration of social justice.

## CANADA.

ORAL REPORT BY J. RUFUS SMITH, TORONTO.

In Canada we do not have to bother about State rights. That is shown by the able formation of the Federal Service Commission with a Department of Health covering the whole Dominion. A great deal of progress has been made in various reforms. Ontario has taken up the idea of prison farms, and is putting the jails out in farm districts. Toronto and Hamilton each has a large farm for its convicts. In Toronto and Montreal, juvenile courts with probation have been established. In Montreal, next October, a Playground and Child Welfare Conference and exhibit will be held, the Federal Government having appropriated a large sum of money, which, with private contributions, will make up a fund of $50,000.00, to organize the Canadian Conference on Child Welfare. Toronto, with 400,000 population, employs twenty-eight nurses in its schools. In work for the tubercular, Canada is behind the times. In Quebec at the present time, there is absolutely no free accommodation for incipient and middle cases. The only accommodations are for the advanced and dying.

## COLORADO.

WILLIAM THOMAS, STATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

ORAL REPORT BY DR. ELIZABETH CASSIDY.

I just want to bring a word of greeting from the beautiful State of Colorado which has had Woman's Suffrage nineteen years. I don't need to elaborate upon the laws that have been passed in Colorado. All of you know what Judge Lindsey has done. These laws have all been drafted by him. The greatest problem we have is the presence in our midst of indigent tubercular in large numbers. Our Board has sent letters all over this country advising State Boards and charity organizations to prevent the indigent tubercular from coming to health resort regions in Colorado. We have hundreds of such cases, and it is impossible for us to take care of them.

## CONNECTICUT.

CHARLES P. KELLOGG, STATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Connecticut is gradually getting the social viewpoint, and one great factor in that has been our Conference of Charities. The Conference has just had its third meeting, which was greatly helped by a number of speakers from the National Conference. A State Reformatory for

males between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five, is approaching completion. We need a woman's reformatory, and we think we shall get it after we get the men's started. A hospital for Epileptics will be open in the fall with a capacity for eighty, and more later. We have one of the few State Societies for Mental Hygiene which has a social worker in the field. We have two very good tenement house laws, one in regard to the construction of new tenements regulating the size of yard and of building; and another covering sanitary conditions in our tenements old and new, providing there shall be no dark rooms and plenty of air space for the sleeping rooms. There is a growth in the number of public hospitals. Children's work is progressing. There is recent legislation prohibiting the employment of children in dangerous occupations, and children under fourteen cannot attend theaters except with an adult. There is considerable labor legislation in regard to occupational diseases. The State insures every workingman injured in an industrial occupation. We have development of the playground movement, and one of our cities has engaged a trained social worker to take charge of it as a public charity.

## DELAWARE.

MRS. A. D. WARNER, STATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Deleware's needs are official supervision of Charitable and Correctional institutions; supervision or more rigid censorship over moving picture shows; municipal lodging house for infectious diseases; institution for feeble minded children; institutional care for incorrigible colored girls; a curfew law or parental legal responsibility; a temporary home for stranded women or children; federation of all charitable and philanthropic agencies.

A new charter for the City of Wilmington has been prepared by a special commission and numerous public meetings have been held for considerating and discussing its various features.

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

GEORGE S. WILSON, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

No important legislation relating to social affairs has been enacted since last report. Several important matters are pending, but it is doubtful whether any substantial progress will be made this year. The need of legislation for the District of Columbia has been almost entirely ignored by the District Committee of the House of Representatives. The committee is supposed to meet weekly, but for many weeks it has been found impossible to procure a quorum and consequently no business has been transacted.

The team of the Men and Religion Forward Movement presented a program of social welfare work for the district, beginning with "a social survey and program," and ending with "visitation parties from

the local churches to the various municipal and private social service agencies, to promote intelligent public interest and sense of responsibility, and to aid in providing more voluntary workers.'' The program included such things as Alley Dwellings; Chattel and Salary Loans; Public School Buildings; School Nurses; Vocational Training; Playgrounds; Child Welfare; Milk Supply; Public Baths and Public Comfort Stations; Tuberculosis; Cost of Living; Minimum Wage; Industrial Accidents; One Day's Rest in Seven; Unemployment; Saloon Evil; Vice Commission; Public Hospitals; Municipal Lodging House; The Feeble Minded; Juvenile Court Building; Detention House for Juveniles; Insane Commitment; The Subsidy Plan; Improved Methods of Social Agencies; Use of the Associated Charities as a Clearing House.

## FLORIDA.

MARCUS C. FAGG, STATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The social outlook in Florida is most encouraging, for the people all over the state are being awakened to the needs of the state, especially along institutional lines and legislation. Public spirited citizens and Women's Clubs and Boards of Trade are studying conditions and urging better things.

The Children's Home Society of Florida is not only a State Children's Bureau, looking after all needs of all classes of children, but is a State-wide educational social force.

Candidates for Governor and Legislators are publicly announcing their attitude favoring social reforms; new institutions; abolishment of convict lease system; child labor law, etc.

## GEORGIA.

JOSEPH C. LOGAN, STATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

ORAL REPORT BY A DELEGATE.

There are four points in this subject: actualities, failures, hopes and social needs. The most important actuality that has happened in Georgia is what was incorporated in Atlanta, namely, a branch of the National Children's Home Finding Society. Another branch was established in Savannah. In Georgia we will try to find homes for children for the first time in the history of the state. The next actuality is the splendid work done last year by Fulton County Juvenile Court. The next is that there is a movement on foot for better housing for the City of Savannah. Two months ago the Chamber of Commerce asked the National Housing Association to send an expert, and Mr. Ihlder came to the field. So in the next month we will put through a housing ordinance for that city. Of failures there are many. The compulsory education law has failed every year. Last year it didn't get to a reading. The legislature also refused to allow women to practice law in Georgia. We are not doing anything about

tuberculosis. We have lagged for many years as to hospitals for insane. We have been pleading for a school for feeble minded, and that seems to be getting nearer. There is a sane prospect of the legislature this year providing a sum for a school for wayward girls. In Atlanta this year a remedial loan business has been established, and this time next year I think there will be an interesting report.

## IDAHO.

J. T. HUMPHRIES, STATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

ORAL REPORT BY WILLIAM C. DUNBAR.

Idaho is young but she has enthusiasm and energy and the hope of youth. Idaho is especially interested in the welfare and protection of children. Idaho has an excellent Juvenile Delinquent Law in which the age limit of treatment is eighteen, while in the majority of other States of the Union it is only sixteen or seventeen. We do not boast of the power of the juvenile court. We very frankly realize its limitations. We believe the best statute on our books is the compulsory education law, whereby boys and girls are compelled to go to school up to the age of eighteen. We believe strongly in the home. All roads lead from the home. We are in favor of the "back to the home" movement and we are trying strictly to enforce our laws. We believe in law enforcement, and we also realize that a law unless backed by public sentiment is dead. So our highest hope lies in lifting the average man and woman to higher planes of living and thinking.

## ILLINOIS.

ORAL REPORT BY A. L. BOWEN.

The principal legislative act last year was the creation of the Bureau of Criminal Statistics which is attached to the State Charities Commission. I believe this is the pioneer bureau. The validity of the women's ten-hour law is to be decided this week by the Supreme Court. Inasmuch as the validity of the law as affecting certain industries has been upheld by the Court, it is believed that the Court will uphold this law which is of general application to all women. The Workmen's Compensation Act which went into effect this year, promises good results. The legislature in special session made some necessary amendments and employers of labor have accepted the terms of the law.

## INDIANA.

MISS LAURA GREELY, STATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

ORAL REPORT BY MRS. JOHN B. ELAM.

Indiana has little that is new to report. The legislature of 1911 found very little money to use for state institutions. The epileptic village has a small appropriation for new buildings. The tuberculosis

hospital has been progressing satisfactorily and has almost reached its maximum capacity. Two legislative commissions are at work, one studying industrial education and the other investigating the need of a state work house. Plans for the new children's hospital to the State by Mrs. Long, have been adopted and it will probably be built this summer. It is to include a ward for children who are suffering from incipient mental disease.

The churches, the clubs and the public generally have taken more than usual interest this year in social welfare. One result is the organizations here and there of social workers. Three organizations of a state-wide nature are taking up respectfully improved housing, charity organizations and tuberculosis.

## IOWA.

ORAL REPORT BY W. L. KUSER.

Iowa does not have the complex problems of housing and immigration, etc., that our states on the coast have. But we nevertheless have our problems, and we try to meet them in a way which conforms to modern ideals. Our compulsory education law has been enforced more rigidly during the past year than ever before. Our Juvenile Court laws have also received attention and more boys and girls are being looked after by probation officers of Juvenile Courts than in previous years. During the past year we have had an intense social awakening which showed itself in the State Conference which was the best we ever had. Our indeterminate sentence law has been working admirably. Also the suspended sentence law which judges have taken advantage of. The wife desertion law is a valuable acquisition to our statutes. We realize that an institution to be properly conducted must have adequate farm land and facilities, and the last General Assembly appropriated forty thousand dollars for land in different parts of the State for State institutions. Our penitentiaries are being modernized.

## KANSAS.

CHARLES W. GIBBS, STATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

ORAL REPORT BY CHARLES D. SHUKERS.

The most important thing we have in view is the tuberculosis sanitarium that will be located this summer. There is a fresh air camp, a private organization, at Topeka, and this is fighting tuberculosis effectively. The organized charities at Topeka and Wichita are doing excellent work. The last Legislature made a small appropriation for an asylum for the dangerous insane. The Board has just built a $100,000 Psychopathic Hospital at Topeka. This has all the accepted up-to-date apparatus. We also have a law making it a felony for a husband to desert his wife and family, or for any parent to fail or

neglect or refuse to support the family. Wife desertion has become very uppopular with us, and these laws are working out well. Another law that was passed in 1911, and that is perhaps the most important one in this connection, provides that poor children having curable maladies or needing surgical assistance, can be taken to Rosedale Medical Hospital, which is an adjunct to the State University, and that there they can receive free treatment. The law also provides that children may be sent from the State institutions, and we have sent a number.

The social outlook is particularly bright at this time. Kansas is one of the few states where the prohibitory law has been in force long enough to produce appreciable results. It has been on our statute books so long that many of our young men have grown to manhood and have never seen a saloon. In this state prohibition has decreased crime and increased the credit of individuals and has improved industrial conditions generally. There is on deposit in the banks of Kansas $108.00 per capita for every man, woman and child in the state. And in point of illiteracy Kansas has the lowest per cent. of any State in the Union with one exception.

## KENTUCKY.

MISS FRANCES INGRAM, STATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

ORAL REPORT BY CHARLES STRUTT.

Following a splendid child labor law enacted two years ago, the legislature passed a law to prohibit women working more than ten hours a day. An appropriation of $15,000.00 was made for the purpose of educating the people against tuberculosis by means of a traveling exhibit in a railroad car in charge of a specialist lecturer; this makes trips throughout the state, staying in each town as long as necessary. Another new law provides for a parental home for dependent children so they will not have to mingle with the delinquents. Last year the Government admitted Kentucky into the zone of vital statistics, and the state is now ahead of any state in the south in that respect, with a good system of recording births and deaths. We have Woman's Suffrage in school elections and our school system has been taken out of the hands of politicians. This was done by the good women of our state and city.

The educational wave sweeping Kentucky and wiping out its illiteracy; the improvement in the character of the constructive work on the part of its institutions; the legislation in behalf of working women; and the religious movements leaving their imprint on the community—all these forces, it would seem, ought to make a better city and state, but at present this doesn't seem to be the case, because the political situation is very bad and promises to remain so for some time.

## LOUISIANA.

MISS LILLIAN FRIEND, STATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The people of Louisiana have, on the whole, only become alive to the need of organized charity in recent years, but they now seem to take a fair amount of interest in the charities which have been organized, the newer ones being fairly well supported by the public. There are a great many sectarian organizations in the city and state, but the outlook for the future is promising. Each year the public becomes more widely awake to the many urgent social needs.

## MAINE.

EDWIN P. WENTWORTH, STATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

ORAL REPORT BY FRANCIS H. HILLER.

A children's hospital has recognized that its obligation to children is not ended when they leave the hospital. The hospital has become affiliated with the Children's Committee of Organization including two-thirds of the child-helping agencies of the state, providing mutual assistance in placing children in family homes. After leaving the hospitals, the children are visited regularly and reports are made of their progress, and the parents are urged to follow the instructions for home treatment, and wherever necessary to have the children return to the hospital. Portland has organized playgrounds and has a loan company to compete with the loan shark. The first milk station has been established in Portland, and a visitor engaged to inspect and to secure sanitary conditions in the homes. Last week Portland raised $25,000 for a building for boys' clubs. The probation system has received great help from the action of one of the judges, who has called volunteers in to assist in probation in cases of young men. The State Conference of Charities has taken a new lease of life by its affiliation with other organizations such as the Anti-Tuberculosis Society, the Child Labor Committee, and the Prison Reform Association.

The social outlook in Maine is encouraging, not so much on account of recent improvements in social conditions as in the progress that has been made in arousing the average citizen from his lethargy, imbuing him with a deeper sense of his responsibility for civic conditions, and placing in his hands the effective instruments by whch he can make his influence felt. Within recent years the initiative and referendum laws have given the individual voter a power and placed upon him a responsibility he has not known before. The corrupt practices act of 1911 will, it is believed, do much to free politics from corruption. A direct primaries law which will enable the voter to express his choice in nominating candidates for public office was refused passage by the legislature of 1911, but it was triumphantly enacted by an overwhelming majority of the people at the referendum last autumn. The

people have been so busy in effecting these changes in political methods that they have not given to social needs as much attention as they might otherwise have done; but they feel more and more keenly their own personal responsibility for the wrong social conditions prevailing all about them, and they perceive with clearer vision what powerful weapons they possess with which to fight these evils.

## MANITOBA.

ORAL REPORT BY J. H. FALK.

In the western provinces of the Dominion immigration is thirty times greater in proportion to the population that it ever was in the United States at any time, and multiplying proportionaely. In legislation during the past twelve months we have secured the passage of an act entitled the Illegitimate Children's Act, a Matrons' Act covering bastardy and one which has followed closely the English act, recommended by the poor law commission in England, by which the mother of the child is not bound to collect from the father. An act entitled "Wives and Children's and Matrons' Act," covers desertion and nonsupport. We have a much improved housing law. The neglected children's law has been amended and now requires accurate reports from all institutions caring for children. A provincial sanitarium for advanced consumptives has been established. We have increased the size of our insane asylums to make proper division of cases. We have established two industrial homes for wayward girls. We now have free dental clinics. We have a permanent housing and social service committee. We have a permanent supervisor of playgrounds and twelve playgrounds. We have laid the foundation of a school of philanthropy for divinity students. Our mayor at a recent social service meeting pledged himself to the appointment of a social service commission, and segregation was brought in as a municipal issue in Winnipeg.

## MARYLAND.

NATHANIAL G. GRASTY, STATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

ORAL REPORT BY H. WIRT STEELE.

The legislature gave us a ten-hour law for women and provided that the laws be enforced through women inspectors. Among the new laws is a child labor law with a compulsory education law that fits it; one creating a people's court, which supersedes the old justice court system; an employers liability law (although most of the teeth had been carefully extracted from it before the legislature passed it); a new bastardy law and several amendments to our chattel loan laws. The legislature provided for the completion of the scheme for state care of the insane and feeble minded by a loan of $800,000.00. Another loan of $600,000.00 for a state normal school, and one of the same amount to found at Johns Hopkins University a State School of Tech-

nology. Also $100,000.00 to complete and endow a state tuberculosis sanatorium and to make the beginning of a state scheme for the care of advanced cases. Some of our social needs are additional provision for dealing with inebriates, a state farm for negro consumptives, adequate provision for advanced consumptives, minimum wage law, a bureau of municipal research, a law for adequate workmen's compensation, an industrial commission for Maryland, separate provision for criminal insane, physical and mental inspection of school children, a housing act good as to tenements and one and two family houses, ample provision for efficient inspectors for the enforcement of existing laws, a detention home for juvenile court, an epileptic colony, a state institution for negro feeble minded children.

## MASSACHUSETTS.

JOSEPH LEE, STATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Here is the significance of the chief lessons of the Lawrence strike. They are four: "Successful effort of the unskilled immigrant to rise to a higher wage standard. The necessity of bringing his standard of living up to his wage, and of increasing his productive capacity so as to raise both later on. The danger of tolerance, toward the advocacy of anarchy and crime by one group of sympathizers; toward the overreaching of authority and the breach of the law by the other. The necessity of organic neighborhood upbuilding and federation of neighborhood groups as the only way of establishing community of interests across ways and across lines." We have been having legislation and attempted legislation bearing on the family. For the family, we have first a state-wide housing agitation. As part of that we gained this year a permissive law allowing any town to adopt such housing regulations as it thinks best—local option in this respect. We have a model law for towns with a referendum so they will not have three hundred different laws, and the sanity of courts and architects may be preserved. We have the playground referendum law, by which every town that accept it will have to start a playground. It has been extended from places of ten thousand down to the five thousand line. There has been a new State Hospital for Hopeful Inebriates, which when completed includes a thousand-acre colony for resigned inebriates. Boston has started a campaign on bad teeth; the first idea is to exalt the tooth brush. There has been a study of the question of the minimum wage and the tariff, but trade in labor is still free.

## MICHIGAN.

J. B. MONTGOMERY, STATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

During the year we have put into practice some legislation of previous years. For instance, public and private charities and hospitals having to do with children are now under the general supervision of

the State Board of Corrections and Charities. Agents who have supervisory charge of children are appointed by the Governor, but only on the recommendation of the State Board of Charities. With regard to corrections the greatest social need in Michigan, is something to prevent the increase of defectives. Our institution at Lapeer for feeble-minded children has a capacity of 900, and at present there are a thousand, and as many more want to get in. At a recent special session of the State Legislature a bill was passed providing for an amendment to the Constitution of the State by which women shall be allowed to vote. I think at the coming fall election this will be carried by a rousing majority and then we hope our sisters will help us to solve these intricate social problems which perplex us men so sorely.

## MINNESOTA.

A. T. GUTRIDGE, STATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY

ORAL REPORT BY R. T. SOLENSTEN.

There has been no session of the legislature since the last report, but much of the legislation of a year ago has gone into effect since that date. Among them the detention hospitals built in connection with three of the state hospitals for the insane. These are to receive patients who are not committed, but who go voluntarily to be examined and treated for mental trouble. An appropriation of $5,000.00 to study the causes of feeble-minded, insanity and criminality has placed a worker in the field. Nine counties have voted sums ranging from $100 to $600 for the employment of visiting county nurses in the homes of consumptives. In one of these counties a complete house-to-house study was made and a specialist sent by the State Anti-Tuberculosis Society. The publication of the report of the Minneapolis Vice Commission was given to the public in July, 1911. It led to the elimination of the segregated districts.

## MISSOURI.

W. T. CROSS, STATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Missouri is making great progress since we learned a few years ago to criticise ourselves. This is not a legislative year in Missouri, so we are turning our attention to the development of public opinion, and making good progress. The State Board of Charities has adopted as its slogan: "Popular knowledge of public institutions is the only sure guaranty of their efficient administration." We have had child welfare exhibitions in Kansas City and St. Louis. The great handicap for social work is not having revenue sufficient from the state sources to carry on the things we wouud like to undertake. We are developing social centers, getting the social use of school buildings evenings. We have had special progress in the larger cities. In St. Louis we have a

central council of social agencies. St. Joseph also is organizing its charitable system. We have adopted the county unit system in tuberculosis work. Our State Conference of Charities and Corrections is gaining rapidly. There is a movement for the abolition of jails and almshouses.

## NEBRASKA.

A. W. CLARK, STATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The Albert law which one year ago I promised to tell you of contemplates the absolute abolishment of the social evil and recognizes that segregation of this vice is itself a vice. There is not now in our state any red-light district in any city. As far as the metropolis is concerned the law is still on trial. The majority of the business men are ready to go back to segregation, but the majority of the county officials and social workers feel that the sum total of results justifies the law and are not willing to go back to the old system. Reports from the smaller towns and cities, show unanimity of judgment that the law has been efficient and there is no disposition to go back. On the 14th of March, occurred the murder of our penitentiary warden and two of his assistants, and two or three others. This has aroused the state and caused our Governor to secure efficiency in management and in prison discipline. This terrible disaster resulted from laxity in discipline and inefficiency in management. Another result following this is that the question of state supervision and management is submitted to the people, and the question of a State Board of Control will be voted upon in November. The employers' liability law has been successful, and a few weeks ago the Supreme Court of the United States rendered a decision affirming the constitutionality of the judgment awarding $10,000.00 to an employe of the Missouri Pacific Railroad in Omaha, notwithstanding the fact that the defense established contributory negligence on part of other employes and on part of the injured man. This law is quoted as a matter of great rejoicing for the working people of our state.

## NEW HAMPSHIRE.

WILLIAM J. AHERN, STATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

As to the result of legislation reported last year the child labor law is being enforced. That law has been carefully thought out by the friends of the measure and the officials having it in charge. They followed the matter so closely that in one city immediately after its enforcement, 1,500 additional children attended the schools. The opposition which had existed to the law formerly on the statute book, which was not comprehensive, has changed almost completely, and the larger and smaller manufacturers who have been in the habit of employing children have joined with the officials in the enforcement of

the law. The tuberculosis hospital which was provided for advanced cases, has proved to be a great help not only to the patient, but in removing him where he can have special treatment, and so relieve his family.

There seems to be no diminution of public interest in the social welfare. The last State Conference of Charities and Corrections, which recently convened in Laconia, was the largest and most enthusiastic ever held.

## NEW JERSEY.

C. L. STONAKER, STATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

We have an appropriation for research work in aid of institutions, both laboratory and field work, in the tracing of family histories of insane, epileptics, feeble-minded and wayward. Legislation requires proper records in prisons and jails; provides that counties must establish hospital for tuberculosis patients within six months, and gives boards of health authority to remove such cases as may be dangerous to the family. The prison labor commission is to report. A mandatory law for first-class counties to establish separate juvenile courts, detention homes and the appointment of guardians to commit children. Another law makes guardians and parents responsible for delinquency in children. The Woman's Reformatory, which received an appropriation a year ago, will be ready for occupancy this fall. Physicians are required to report epileptics to the State Board of Health and the state will assume care. The county prisoners are to work on roads. Inspection of bakeries, factories, laundries, etc. The law requires report of occupational diseases by physicians. Validity of the sterilization law is about to be tested in the courts. The disorderly person act has been enlarged in its scope to include street corner and trolley car rough house gangs.

The poor laws of the state running back to colonial days had never been codified until an entirely new act was passed last year, which brought in all the features of the old law worth saving with necessary additions. A year's operation of this law required some amendments, which were obtained. Against the advice of social workers the settlement feature was changed from one year to five years. Overseers of the poor are now required, by law, to keep detailed records, make specific investigations and file annual reports. As the result of this legislation, the overseers of the poor have formed a state association for conference and have had several meetings during the past year.

The incurable act of last year was amended this year. It provides that indigent patients suffering from Locomotor Ataxia, chronic Rheumatism, Paralysis and other similar incurable diseases may apply to the Commissioner of Charities and Corrections for state support. Hearing on such application is made by a commission appointed by the

local county courts, and the courts issue an order granting or refusing such application. The commissioner must expend $365.00 per annum when so ordered by the court to care for any indigent, incurable person. This law was vetoed by Governor Wilson and passed over his veto.

## NEW YORK.

ROBERT W. HILL, ALBANY, STATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Although our state is very large, containing over one-tenth of the total population of the United States, we are endeavoring to measure our progress by the number of new institutions which we are establishing from year to year. Taking this measure since the last report to the National Conference, we have made provision for two new institutions of the reformatory class. One is the farm colony, to which may be committed tramps and vagrants and thus an attempt will be made to lessen the evil of trampery. The other institution will provide proper training for young male misdemeanants over the age of sixteen and under the age of twenty-one, for whom no present provision is made other than the almshouse and the common jail. Other measures of progress are the reconstruction in part of the laws relating to insanity, by which the Commission in Lunacy is reorganized under the new name of the State Hospital Commission, thus doing away with the old objectionable name and giving an index to the work as being the work of the hospital. But more important than that is the preventive measures which have been made a law in our state by reason of legislation, intended to prevent the propagation of the unfit, the so-called sterilization law. It may not yet be in such form as to meet all the needs for such work, but at least it is now upon our statute books, and it can be so modified and so enlarged and so corrected where found defective that it will become a work of real value in the direction of preventing the increase of defectives and confirmed criminalistic families, and so become a measure for which generations to come will look with thankfulness to the legislation of the year 1912. Another measure of the same character is the establishment of a Bureau by the State Board of Charities to take especial charge of the statistical and investigation work which bears upon the defective and criminal classes throughout the state. The various state institutions are also doing work in this same direction. It is proposed that all shall be correlated, and through the Central Bureau there shall be gathered all the facts bearing upon defectives.

## NORTH CAROLINA.

MISS DAISY DENSON, STATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The social outlook was never so wide in scope nor so bright. We hope for all things good, and so many forces are at work for uplift that we cannot safely predict just what we may not do. For several years this state has built a new schoolhouse every day including Sundays. We are preparing for compulsory education for black and white.

Our school term was lengthened last year, although still too short. Compulsory attendance has been enforced under some local laws, and it is only a question of a few years until all our children will be educated. Health work has been increased enormously.

## NORTH DAKOTA.

O. E. M'CRACKEN, STATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Charity organization is attracting more attention this year than ever before in North Dakota, and we now have a good juvenile law with good officers. Our law on non-support is doing a great deal for us, as it gives the offender from one to three years in the penitentiary. We now have C. O. S. in Grand Forks, Fargo, Valley City and Minot and maybe more.

## OHIO.

H. H. SHIRER, STATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

We reported last year that a bill had been passed creating a Board of Administration for all state institutions, save one. This Board has been in operation less than a year, taking actual control on the 15th of August, 1911. At this time it is impossible to give a complete statement as to whether it has been a success or a failure. The Board has been so occupied with financial matters and the members have been so busy they have not had time to consider inside details and management. Another law which we have worked at is what is known as the Pay Patient Act. The operation of this act devolves on the Board of State Charities. We expected a great deal of trouble from it but we are pleased to say that our troubles were largely imaginary. I think the success of our work has been due to the careful and painstaking efforts of the trained social worker in charge of that special department. There is improvement in co-operation among the private charity organizations and public relief, particularly in Toledo and Cincinnati, which have organized centers of social agency. The Ohio Penitentiary is still on the same spot. The Board has decided that there shall be no more expenditure for extensive remodelling. We hope the next General Assembly may provide for a new site in a rural district. A Liability Act for Workingmen is being worked out by our State Board. The Supreme Court has sustained the Act and we expect to report something next year.

## OKLAHOMA.

HOBART HUSON, STATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

ORAL REPORT BY M. O. HAPPER.

During the last year we secured a decree from one of our highest courts stating specifically that no child under the age of sixteen can commit a crime. Other courts have interfered, but we have that specific decree.

The Third Legislature passed a bill creating the Office of Public

Defender of the State of Oklahoma. Pressure was brought on the Governor and the finally vetoed the bill, although we have been able to show that the bill became a law without his signature several days before he vetoed it. We are assuming that Oklahoma has a Public Defender, and in order to quiet the Governor's conscience we have a case pending in the Supreme Court which will declare whether we are right or wrong in our contention.

We have secured Supreme Court decisions which make a very broad definition of the words "minor orphan children," so that under our law we may intervene in behalf of children who have guardians handling their estate, although one or both parents may be living.

## OREGON.

MRS. MILLIE R. TRUMBULL, STATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

ORAL REPORT BY MISS FRITCHARD.

Oregon at the present time, in common with the other states of the Pacific Coast, is very wide awake in anticipation of the remarkable changes which will come to that coast with the opening of the Panama Canal, when it is believed a more or less large portion of the foreign population which has heretofore poured into the states of the Atlantic Coast, will come to the Pacific slope. We desire to avert the conditions that have obtained in the Eastern States, and that means united and heroic action. Owing to the splendid work of Governor West and his honor system, prisoners are out on the roads and in camps working, and at various state institutions.* The old contract system has been abolished and at the prison there is a school of letters which every prisoner is able to take part in. The old laundry shops will soon be turned into school rooms for the prisoners. Whether or not Oregon will continue to inflict capital punishment will be decided by the people this fall. There is a state-wide agitation for a minimum wage board. A campaign for social hygiene is being carried on, also a campaign for playgrounds under the auspices of the Congress of Mothers. The Portland Social Service Council is the banding together of all our social agencies; thirty-two agencies are represented in this Council. Our Municipal Department for the Public Safety of Women has done splendid work and also revealed the condition of the white slave traffic. We expect to initiate a housing campaign. We want not only better, but ideal housing laws, because our city is now without slums and we hope we may never have any.

## PENNSYLVANIA.

CARL KELSEY, STATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

During the present year we are building two new asylums for the insane, one of which is for the criminal insane. We have a commission at work which will recommend legislation for the establishment of farm colonies and segregation of feeble-minded. The State Department of

*See paper on "The Honor System," page 195.

Health has taken care of some 1,200 tuberculosis patients. They will open another colony at Creston on top of the Alleghanies and another at Hamberg, in Berks County. We hope the next legislature will give us a reformatory for women. We are working for these laws and doing everything possible to take care of our insane and tuberculosis patients, and all the other charity patients. There is evident a growing interest throughout the state. Many private citizens are actively participating in forward movements and many public officials are taking up local conditions with new vigor. In Philadelphia, the new Pandering Act is meeting with some success.

A small step toward the control of the excessive state subsidies to institutions and societies which are provided in the state, may be seen in a law which forbids any such subsidy to unincorporated societies which may be formed after the passage of this act. A companion bill which provided for the control of incorporations of the kind by the State Board of Charities, unfortunately failed.

## RHODE ISLAND.

THOMAS B. MAYMON, STATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

ORAL REPORT BY JAMES B. WILLIAMS.

A Central Board of Control of the state institutions was created this year. It deals with physical matters only. An appropriation of $25,000.00 was made to be used by the State Board of Charities in extraditing deserters. Permission was granted the city of Providence to create a recreation commission, which is to have supervision of all recreational activities. A workman's compensation law was enacted. The tuberculosis association has been established in practically every town in Rhode Island as well as a visiting nurse association. Investigation is being conducted into the degenerate population. The Board of State Charities has just completed a Reception Hospital for the Insane.

The social outlook in Rhode Island is very encouraging. The State Legislature has just closed its annual session and several important and valuable laws have been enacted, which point to the betterment of social conditions and the welfare of the public in general. The number of Anti-Tuberculosis, and District Nursing Associations is increasing in this state. Nearly every city and town has an association for the suppression of Tuberculosis and several have a District Nursing Association and in some instances, the two kinds of work are done by one organization.

## SOUTH CAROLINA.

A. T. JAMISON, STATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The greatest need of the state is either a State Board of Charities or else a State Board of Control. Then the next most urgent need is a State school for incorrigible girls.

## TENNESSEE.

E. P. ANDERSON, STATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

Tennessee has had the honor of entertaining the first Southern Sociological Congress held in this country. The Southern Congress has a membership of 500. Tennessee in its penal and reformatory institutions is backward, but we know it, and we are on the way to mend. The Tennessee State Conference of Charities and Correction will meet this fall. The Juvenile Court development is fairly well started and will be much more developed in the next few years. Tennessee is laying stress on medical charities. Last year the newly installed milk dispensaries saved hundreds of babies in Memphis. As to tuberculosis, we are beginning to combat that disease. There will be built in Shelby County a sanitarium for 200 patients. Shelby County spent $2,000,000 in the last two years on public charitable and penal institutions. There has been development along the C. O. S. line, particularly in Memphis. That movement is spreading rapidly throughout Tennessee and neighboring states.

## TEXAS.

J. L. GREEN, STATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

We haven't done very much but the Penitentiary Commission has abolished contract labor. We met with the Southwestern Tuberculosis Association and this resulted in a State Sanatorium in Texas. We have in process of construction two juvenile homes. These things may seem to you crude, but we don't know very much down here and we are willing to learn. We are ready to expend $5,000,000 in the cause of social welfare, and we expect to be encouraged next year when you meet with us in Fort Worth.

## UTAH.

ORAL REPORT BY HENRY GARDNER.

In the past year we have established a home for the feeble-minded. Placing out of dependent children is being successfully done. A great number of dependent boys and girls have been placed in good homes. In three of our largest counties we have established detention homes for delinquent children.

## VERMONT.

REV. J. EDWARD WRIGHT, STATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The past year has shown some gain in the enforcement of the laws already on our statute books, notably those pertaining to health and the care of the dipsomaniacs in the state hospital for insane, and to the requirement of labor by those committed to our county jails. The highways have been greatly improved under competent supervision. A large number of meetings of an instructive and inspiring nature have been held throughout the state under the auspices of the State Board of

Health, the commissioner of agriculture and the superintendent of education, and these have resulted in considerable quickening of the public interest in the best things.

## VIRGINIA.

J. T. MASTIN, STATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

ORAL REPORT BY MISS L. F. PRICE.

The 1912 session of the General Assembly had a wonderful opportunity to take some very forward steps in the way of charitable and correctional legislation. Owing to the tremendous social awakening in the state, a flood of bills were introduced, one to prohibit the marriage of defectives, one to establish a state custodial home for the feeble-minded, bills providing more stringent regulation of woman and child labor, bills to make state institutions of the now privately owned industrial schools, a bill to abolish county and city almshouses, substituting district homes or infirmaries. Several bills were presented to do away with contract labor and also to increase the convict road force, to extend the use of both juvenile and adult probation. On account of the lack of money at the disposal of the legislature and press of other business, many important bills were shelved this year; but we are glad to say that Virginia is now putting into effect a very thorough Vital Statistics law. We have the law appropriating money to begin a state institution for the custodial care of feeble-minded women, also a law providing surgical aid and treatment for indigent crippled and deformed persons. The woman and child labor laws were somewhat improved this year, the juvenile and adult probation laws were extended to include small towns and magisterial districts, and the State Board of Charities and Corrections was given authority to place certain juvenile delinquents in family homes under supervision. In addition all the state institutions were improved somewhat and the Tuberculosis Sanatorium was provided with funds for a well equipped infirmary.

The city of Richmond has recently opened the first juvenile court in the state, and has had the city charter amended so as to provide a workhouse to take the place of the old city jail.

Several new private philanthropies have come into existence during the year, among them a movement on the part of the Federated Colored Women's Clubs to establish a much needed reform school for colored girls. A Housing Commission in Richmond is planning to conduct a thorough survey of the city with recommendation for a more stringent housing code and the enforcement of same.

## WASHINGTON.

MISS VIRGINIA M'MECHAN, STATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

The state of Washington is facing the most momentous issue that confronts any section of the United States to-day. Upon the shores of this new commonwealth has advanced the tide of immigration, and it is coming to a people who are unprepared in many ways to meet it, but

a people who will handle their social problems as they level their forests and cut down their hills. The population is 1,141,990. Of these 240,000 are foreign-born. One-third of this foreign population come from Great Britain and Canada, while that from the south of Europe scarcely exceeds five thousand. It requires no very vivid imagination to picture what the opening of the Panama Canal will bring to the Pacific coast within the next ten years, when 200,000 or 300,000 immigrants will be landed on our shore. No section of the country offers such promise as the Pacific Northwest. It is a section that has not yet bred any slums or tenement evils. The housing problem is in its infancy. The death rate is low. Climatic conditions are favorable and offer a field worthy of the best constructive thought that this country can give. The Pacific Northwest thinks that it voices its best thought when it asks the National Conference of Charities and Correction to hold its 1913 meeting in the City of Seattle, a city that might easily become the fair city of the future, toward which kindly social thought is directed. A constructive program is outlined for the City of Seattle, a program that will not differ materially from those followed by the east.

## WISCONSIN.

M. J. TAPPINS, STATE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY.

ORAL REPORT BY A. J. HUTTON.

The child labor law has been amended so that the age limit of boys is raised to 17 and that of girls to 18. The newsboys act has been improved. The general question of eight-hour-day for children has been settled. The first step has been taken toward a Woman's Reformatory. An important step has been taken toward a minimum wage act. The Workmen's Compensation Law is in active operation. The playground, social center, and other welfare movements have all been increased and helped. The State Conference of Charities and Correction has been raised up and resuscitated and put into shape. There is today an active movement to abolish the so-called red light districts in cities.

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## ASSOCIATED CHARITIES, ETC.

ARK.—See general report, page 500, as to result of the State Conference of Charities upon the A. C. movement.

FLA.—Associated Charities have been formed at Sanford, West Palm Beach and Kissimmee.

IDAHO—Boise maintains a Charity Organization Society.

IND.—New Associated Charities at Rushville and Indiana Harbor. Indiana now has a State Federation of Charity Organizations Societies, with offices in Indianapolis.

KY.—The Associated Charities of Louisville has increased both its income and its work in the past year. The Case Committee, meeting weekly, is bringing about spirit of co-operation among the thirteen organizations represented.

NEB.—Two new C. O. S. reported at Hastings and at Norfolk.

N. C.—C. O. S. have been formed at Kinston and Rocky Mount.

OHIO—In Akron relief of the poor from public funds and by the Associated Charities have been merged under one superintendent.

In Cincinnati the outdoor poor relief department has been abolished and relief is granted at public expense only upon the recommendation of the Associated Charities.

PENNA.—The Registration Bureau in Philadelphia, maintained by several of the charitable societies, began operations in September, 1911, and has had great success.

In the opposition which the Associated Charities has encountered in Pittsburg, the country is witnessing what will probably be the last manifestation of this characteristic spirit in a city of such size and importance. The Relief Association, which succeeded in checking several previous attempts to develop the Charity Organization Movement, has attacked the present successful movement on the basis that the work of the Relief Society has always included the essentials of the C. O. S., has been one of the most perfect and satisfactory works of its kind in the country, has demonstrated its excellence by giving directly to the needy eighty-six per cent. of all the funds it receives and has expressed the natural resentment of the community at an alien Associated Charities foisted upon the city by outsiders. This opposition reached a dramatic climax in January when a private conference planned by the Charities Endorsement Committee was diverted into a public meeting of critics of the Association, whose ill-founded objections were given large publicity. Representatives of the Associated Charities feel now that the worst is over and that the four years of successful work, completed April 21, 1912, afford a solid foundation for the steady upbuilding of the movement. Its first secretary has resigned with a purpose to remove personalities and to clarify the issue.

R. I.—An interesting development in Charity Organization work in Rhode Island has been the development of societies to cover a group of towns. Two such organizations have been perfected, one to cover the towns in the Pawtuxet Valley and another to cover the towns surrounding Georgiaville.

S. C.—There is an awakening upon the subject of local charity organizations. Columbia, Greenwood, Chester and Orangeburg have organized and have secured, or are endeavoring to secure, paid secretaries.

WASH.—The C. O. S. of Seattle has an efficient housing committee. The A. C. of Tacoma operates a day nursery. The A. C. of Spokane, operates a T. B. sanatorium.

## BLIND AND DEAF.

ARK.—Reports advance in trade instruction at the institute for deaf mutes and the school for the blind.

DEL.—The Blind Commission has secured larger accommodations and a store with rooms for weaving and other industries.

FLA.—A large addition to the Blind School at St. Augustine is being erected.

IDAHO—The legislature appropriated thirty thousand dollars for the erection of a building to be used in connection with the Idaho State School for the Deaf and Blind, located at Gooding. Effort is being made to unite all the schools for the blind in the use of one system of point writing.

IND.—The State School for the Deaf moved to its fine new buildings north of Indianapolis in October, 1911.

N. J.—A State Association for the Blind, with headquarters at Montclair, was organized during the year to co-operate with the State Commissioner of Charities and Corrections. The state has never provided for the education of the blind except by boarding out. The State Commissioner of Education is now authorized to provide for the higher education of blind persons and may expend $500.00 per annum per student. The school law is amended to provide for the employment of teachers for special classes of the deaf and of children three or more years below normal.

## CHILD WELFARE, CHILDREN'S ORGANIZATIONS, ETC.

D. C.—A Children's Council has been organized. This is an organization of social workers representing agencies interested in the welfare of children in their homes. The Council works through standing committees and a paid field secretary. During the past year it has taken an active part in co-operation with other agencies in the investigation of recreation, child labor and truancy.

FLA.—The Children's Home Society has become a state-wide educational social force. A Juvenile Protective Association has been organized at Jacksonville and is doing fine work.

IDAHO—The Children's Home Finding and Aid Society is located at Boise.

IND.—"The Children's Bureau" has been formed.

KAN.—A new law provides for the surgical treatment of children at the hospital of the University Medical School at Rosedale. Treatments are free, but charge is made for care and maintenance while at the hospital.

KY.—Acts making the following appropriations were passed:

An Act to appropriate an additional $20,000 for the benefit of the Children's Home Society, for the support and maintenance of homeless and destitute children—making a total appropriation of $50,000.

An Act to increase the appropriation for the Kentucky Home Society for Colored Children from $5,000 to $10,000 a year.

A committee is planning a child-welfare conference for next November. The Conference which has its plans well under way, will follow the lines of the New York and Chicago exhibits.

The Boy Scout organization in Louisville has established a central office and appointed a paid field secretary.

MAINE—The W. C. T. U. has recently opened a temporary home for children at Gardner. Those who are homeless will be placed out.

A movement has just begun in Portland for raising $50,000 to buy or build a permanent home for the Boy's Club of the city.

MD.—The Maryland Children's Aid Society has been established.

Mo.—Very successful child welfare exhibits held at Kansas City and St. Louis.

Ordinance passed in St. Louis establishing an unpaid Board of Children's Guardians who will employ five paid agents under civil service to care for and place in family homes all dependent children and pension destitute widows, and who will supervise the city institution for delinquent children.

N. J.—Provisions against the importation of dependent children are waived in the interest of blind children under the age of twelve to enable a national association to operate a home in New Jersey. Restrictions, however, are included in the law which enable the State Commissioner of Charities to keep informed of the operations of this particular association.

N. C.—Our orphanages, most of them, are much like boarding schools, the children returning to friends in the vacations. They are not trained to be servants but in many cases are given a college education. The child labor and manufacturers' committees have agreed upon proposed legislation to come before the Assembly next winter.

Ohio—The commission to codify the laws relating to children and to recommend amendments will conclude its labors about August 1. It is expected their recommendations will comprise a plan for state supervision and placing of dependent children.

Okla.—The Third Legislature greatly enlarged the powers and duties of the Commissioner in regard to orphan children. The Commissioner is empowered to intervene as "Next Friend" in behalf of every orphan minor child when it appears to her that their estates are mismanaged or dishonestly handled. Under this amendment the Department has intervened in over three thousand cases of which about two thousand are pending. The result of the suits finally disposed of is the recovery of seventy thousand dollars in cash from dishonest guardians and the re-deeding of a hundred and fifteen thousand acres of land. We have secured Supreme Court decisions which make very broad definitions of the word "minor orphan children," so that under our law we can intervene in behalf of children who have guardians handling their estates, although one or both of their parents may be living.

Penna.—The Pennsylvania Children's Aid Society has organized local Societies in Dauphin and Montour Counties. The Pennsylvania Home for Orphans and Friendless Children has a new charter under the name of the Juniata Valley Children's Aid Society, and will emphasize placing out work, the institution becoming largely a receiving home.

R. I.—Power has been granted to the State Home and School for Children to place out children at board at the expense of the state.

Wash.—Seattle and Tacoma each have a home for Japanese mothers and children. Gazert Foundation for Child Welfare, Seattle, is an endowed work for the mental and physical diagnosis and training of both normal and sub-normal children, connected with the University of Washington.

Nova Scotia—Provision has been made for the appointment of a Provincial officer having wide powers to be known as the Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children. Provision is also made for the institution of Children's Aid societies.

## THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL WORK.

DEL.—King Arthur's Knights of Grace M. E. Church are doing practical social service work.

FLA.—A federation of 200 men of the churches of Jacksonville, has been formed to study the social needs of the state. This was an outcome of the Men and Religion Forward Movement.

KY.—The Men's Church Federation of Louisville, an organization of three years' standing, launched this last year into social work. The Men and Religion Forward Movement swept the state and served to strengthen the recent impertus of the Men's Church Federation along social lines.

The churches have awakened to the need for social work. A number have erected expensive buildings, or thrown open the Sunday school rooms for troops of Boy Scouts, social gatherings, and for manual training classes.

MAINE—The Buffalo system of securing friendly visitors for the Associated Charities through the churches, has been adopted in Portland, and is carried out through the machinery of the Church Federation.

NOVA SCOTIA—The theological students of Halifax have been directing their attention to social investigation. Several excellent studies of local conditions were made.

PENNA.—The Social Service Committee of the Men and Religion Forward Movement at Philadelphia, has been reorganized and has employed a permanent secretary.

## CIVIC WELFARE, CITY PLANNING, SOCIAL WORK OF COMMERCIAL ORGANIZATIONS, ETC.

ALA.—Many evils have been bettered by commission form of government.

D. C.—A Clean City Committee has been organized as the result of a clean city campaign movement inaugurated by one of our local papers. The results of the clean city campaign were so encouraging that a permanent organization has been formed, whose object is "to effect the co-operation of all citizens with the municipal government in bringing about and maintaining a model condition of cleanliness in the District of Columbia." The secretary of the organization is a physician of the Health Department force and the headquarters are in the Health Department.

KAN.—The adoption of the commission form of government in twenty-six cities of the state, places direct responsibility for the care and management of public parks, public utilities and general financial and industrial conditions.

MINN.—The Association of Commerce in St. Paul, composed of influential business men of the city, is developing work along civic and social lines. The Chamber of Commerce and Civic Association has been organized in Minneapolis; purely commercial interests are to be a secondary consideration; a man of broad social outlook has been appointed secretary, and an experienced social worker engaged as assistant.

NEB.—The Commercial Club of Omaha has made its charity endorsement committee one of the regular standing committees of this strong business organization.

N. S.—A Town Planning Act on enlightened lines was passed.

WASH.—Spokane has a Municipal Charity Commission appointed by the Mayor and serving without compensation. This commission examines private charities and endorses those approved.

## COMPULSORY EDUCATION AND CHILD LABOR.

DEL.—The Child Labor Commission appointed at last Legislature is collecting important statistics for amendments to the Child Labor law.

FLA.—A State Child Labor Committee is now being formed and a definite effort to secure a good Child Labor Bill next year will be made.

KAN.—The enactment of child labor laws prohibiting the employment of children under fourteen years of age in any capacity and prohibiting the employment of children under the age of sixteen years in mines, factories or dangerous places, is reported this year.

MD.—Reports new compulsory education and child labor laws.

N. H.—The enforcement of the new Child Labor Law, which work is in charge of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, resulted in putting about fifteen hundred children into school last fall. The large corporations have co-operated very generally in the enforcement of this law.

## COURTS AND POLICE.

IND.—Under the Court Matron Law of 1911, matrons have been appointed to investigate and have supervision over all women's cases coming before the city courts of Indianapolis and Terre Haute.

MD.—A law created the People's Court which supercedes the old justices courts.

MINN.—A woman was added to the regular police force of Minneapolis. Her work has been extremely successful.

PENNA.—A committee of private citizens has put a woman probation officer in the night court at Philadelphia.

## FAMILY DESERTION.

KAN.—An act makes it a felony for any husband to desert or neglect and refuse to provide for the support of his wife, or any parent who shall refuse to provide for the support and maintenance of his child or children under the age of sixteen years. Several prosecutions have been had under this act and wife desertion and desertion of little children has become exceedingly unpopular in Kansas.

MD.—A marked change in the attitude of the Courts towards Desertion and Non-Support, due to the agitation of the various charitable agencies, and to the definite stand of the State's Attorney in bringing back of deserters by requisition upon the Governors of other states.

R. I.—An act appropriates $2,500 annually to be used under the direction of the State Probation Officer for relieving families where the husband is in jail for non-support.

## FEEBLE-MINDED AND EPILEPTIC.

COLO.—An institution for mental defectives is ready to open.

DEL.—A committee has been formed to secure statistics and agitate the necessity for a state institution for Feeble-Minded and Defective Children.

IDAHO—The legislature provided for the establishment of a school for feeble-minded and epileptics. Eighty acres of land has been bought and a long lease taken of two thousand acres more.

MASS.—On the most important proposition of all—who gets born—last year Governor Foss vetoed an increased appropriation for our second school for the feeble-minded. This year, however, provision was made for two new cottages, which will hold two hundred inmates, and cut off by, perhaps, half that number the source of supply of the unhappy and unfit among future generations. The righteous have sworn the segregation of all the feeble-minded for 1925.

MICH.—The Superintendent of Public Instruction for Michigan has made a careful estimate of the relative expense for the care of public defectives and for public education and finds that public education costs the state $1,404,017, while the care of defectives and other public charges amounts to $1,704,765. Superintendent Wright says that provisions for the feeble-minded are limited to a capacity of about 1,000 individuals while there are on the waiting list 1,022 and that the Superintendent of the institutions estimates the total number in the state at 10,000.

MINN.—The $5,000 appropriated by the last legislature for research work with reference to the causes of feeble-mindedness, insanity and criminality is being expended. One field worker has been employed for some time, another stationed at Faribault, and the work will be further extended.

N. J.—The collection of statistics, regarding mental deficiency and epilepsy in the state, is ordered and physicians are required to report all such cases. Upon receipt of such reports the Commissioner of Charities and Corrections assumes legal guardianship and he may commit or supervise all such persons thus reported.

N. C.—The School for the Feeble-minded authorized by the last Assembly has been located at Kinston on a tract of 1,000 acres the gift of that town. The first buildings are in course of construction and will be opened in the Autumn. There are at hand the names of four hundred feeble-minded children and young persons. The law does not make an age limit and it is the intention of the directors to receive young women as well as children at once.

PENNA.—Reports the creation of a commission to investigate and report a plan for the segregation, care and treatment of feeble-minded and epileptic persons. A study of existing conditions, revealed the fact that there are from 15,000 to 18,000 feeble-minded and epileptic individuals at large in Pennsylvania. Of this number, probably 7,000 are women of child-bearing age, for whom no adequate provision has been made.

Two hundred thousand dollars was appropriated to the city of Philadelphia, toward the erection of buildings for the care of feeble-minded and idiotic persons.

## HOUSING.

KY.—Tenement House Bill, to amend and re-enact act of 1910 regarding the construction, maintenance, sanitation, and inspection of tenement houses, apartments and flat houses.

MAINE—The Civic Club of Portland is back of a movement for an effective housing law. They employed an expert to investigate and the movement is based on his report.

MASS.—We have a state-wide housing agitation, two steps in which have been gained this year. (1) A permissive law allowing towns to adopt what housing regulations they think best—local option in this respect. (2) A model law for towns with a referendum, so they can adopt it all at once. The advantage of this model law is that the towns will be likely to take it, so we shall have one law instead of three hundred.

NOVA SCOTIA—An excellent Tenement House Act, on the lines of the New York Act, relating to towns of more than 10,000 population, was passed.

WASH.—Seattle has three committees concerned with housing, that of the Municipal League, that of the Rotary Club and that of the C. O. S.

## INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS AND REFORMATORIES FOR JUVENILES.

ALA.—Bills creating a Mercy Home Industrial School for Girls, and an Alabama House of Refuge for girls, passed last session of Legislature. "The Mercy Home" is for wayward and unprotected girls, The Alabama House of Refuge is for the really immoral girl, many sent from the courts. These two Institutions are entirely too small, and receive too little money to be at all adequate for state aid.

FLA.—The State Reform School at Marianna is making some changes in management, erecting two new buildings and making efforts to be a real reform school.

IDAHO—Many improvements within the last year have added greatly to the efficiency as well as to the beauty of the Idaho Industrial Training School. Special attention is being given to industrial training.

MO.—A location for the State Industrial Home for Negro Girls has finally been found and steps are being taken to establish it at Tipton, Mo.

N. H.—The State Industrial School will have better classification when the smaller boys have been removed to a building which is being remodeled for them and when the girls have been taken to their new home now in process of construction. The policy of the new management of this institution in paroling a larger number of boys and girls has greatly lessened the population of the institution.

ORE.—With a change in the management of the State Training School for Boys, we are looking forward to a decided change in methods. For the first time in the history of our state institutions, the appointment has been made for other than political reasons.

PENNA.—The Allegheny Training and Industrial School for Boys has for Boys has now been at work for about a year on a large farm property near Pittsburg. The County Commissioners have been apprehensive because of the growing cost of this School and of the Juvenile Court with which the School is associated. In consequence there is growing emphasis upon the need of a constructive, social

investigation of the case of each child appearing before the Juvenile Court with a view to realizing all the possibilities of developing self help by the child's family and preventing the child's commitment to custodial care at the County's expense.

R. I.—A machinery building has been erected as an addition to the Reform School to secure better results in trade training and also better co-operation with firms who take many of the boys from the School when they are on probation or after discharge.

S. C.—The capacity of the State Industrial School for Boys at Florence has been doubled.

## INEBRIETY.

CAL.—A law passed a year ago providing for the commitment of inebriates and drug habitues to the hospitals for the insane, has been vigorously enforced. Patients of this class have proved very undesirable in our insane hospitals.

KY.—An act prohibits any person under age of twenty-one years entering a saloon and provides penalty against proprietor of such saloon.

MASS.—The Norfolk State Hospital for hopeful inebriates, has received its first appropriation. It will, when completed, include also a thousand-acre colony for the resigned inebriates—a storage proposition.

NOVA SCOTIA—The Temperance Act was amended, making it more strict. All this Province, except the capital city of Halifax has been under prohibition for several years. The items of amendment were to make the occupant of any premises where the law is broken responsible, and to guard against bogus physicians' prescriptions containing alcohol.

## INFANTS, CARE OF.

ALA.—A Society for the Prevention of Infant Mortality was formed in June, 1911, under the auspices of the Associated Charities. A free milk depot is maintained, and the District Nurses Association cooperates in caring for sick babies. A Children's Hospital was opened in January, 1912, supporting by voluntary contributions.

DEL.—Under the care of the Civic Committee of the New Century Club, a Babies' Health Exhibit was held in various parts of the city last spring, at which time talks to mothers were given.

LA.—The New Orleans Day Nursery Association has opened a nursery in the district near Kingsley House.

MINN.—Minneapolis and St. Paul have new infant welfare associations doing active work.

N. H.—Lying-in hospitals and infants' boarding houses are now licensed by the State Board of Charities. No license is issued until thorough knowledge is obtained as to the suitability of the institution or individual applying. A record of the several infants' boarding houses is kept at the office of the State Board of Charities. This record comprises all data relating to the child, parentage, birthplace, date of birth and destination when discharged. This is done in case of infants whose expenses are paid by friends equally with those who are public charges.

PENNA.—The Pennsylvania Children's Aid Society has established a department for the promotion of wet nursing for young babies for whom it is asked to provide such care.

WASH.—Tacoma has a new day nursery operated by the Associated Charities.

## INSANITY.

ARK.—Distinct forward movement, both in care of and in scientific treatment of the insane is reported. All patients offered can be promptly received in the state hospital.

IDAHO—The legislature appropriated a liberal sum for new buildings at the North Idaho Insane Asylum. The practice of sterilization has been taken up to a small extent in the hospital, and it is being found productive of satisfactory results in a majority of cases.

ILL.—At midnight on June 30th, this year, Cook County Hospital for the Insane at Dunning, housing three thousand patients, will be taken over as a state institution, and Illinois will complete the state care of its insane. The Illinois branch of the Society for Mental Hygiene, in Chicago has been doing most excellent work.

IND.—The Northern Hospital for Insane, Logansport, has in operation a new pathological laboratory. The new Southeastern Hospital for Insane, Madison, opened August 23, 1910, now has more than a thousand patients.

Plans for a new general hospital, donated to the state by Dr. and Mrs. Robert W. Long, have been adopted. They include a pavilion for women, one for children and a psychopathic ward for incipient mental diseases.

IA.—Appropriation for the building of a tuberculosis hospital at one of our state hospitals for the insane was made by the last General Assembly, and it is the idea of the board to work for a tuberculosis hospital in each state hospital.

KAN.—The need of after care of the convalescent insane is being recognized. New laws provide that counties whose destitute insane have been refused admission to the state hospital for want of room, may be paid for each patient the sum of $2.00 per week from the state. Also providing for a state asylum for the dangerous insane, to be maintained in connection with the state penitentiary. A new hospital is provided for, and the psychopathic and reception hospital reported as in construction last year is now opened.

LA.—New Orleans has built and equipped a hospital for mental diseases.

MD.—An additional loan of $800,000.00 has been authorized to complete the state care of insane and feeble-minded.

MINN.—The Detention Hospitals for incipient insane, in connection with the state hospitals for the insane at Fergus Falls and St. Peter are completed and in use. That at Rochester will open August 1st. The hopes of the promotors of these institutions are being realized—many persons have voluntarily committed themselves for mental treatment.

MO.—A director of nurses' and attendants' training schools has been employed in common by the boards of managers of the four state hospitals for the insane; after care of the insane has been begun in one city.

PENNA.—At this last session, an act authorized the establishment and maintenance of psychopathic wards in certain hospitals. Two new hospitals (one for criminal insane) will open during the present summer.

OHIO—The law requiring payment by the estate or friends, of the expense of insane patients in the hospitals, has more than met the expectation of its supporters.

Arrangements have been made with the Board of Administration for the establishment of a plan whereby persons or friends of persons may consult with medical staff of a state hospital for the insane, relative to mental condition of themselves of their friends. This plan might be called a mental dispensary or an "out patient" department. It is proposed that the work be first done at the Cleveland State Hospital under the direction of the superintendent and a resident member of the Board of State Charities, the latter of whom has been very anxious that something be done in this respect. We believe that the establishment of such a department may prevent persons who will avail themselves of this opportunity from later becoming state wards.

S. C.—Plans have been perfected for moving the insane into new houses in country colonies.

## JUVENILE COURTS, PROBATION AND PAROLE.

ALA.—The new Juvenile Court bill went into effect June 1st. This founded upon the Rochester, N. Y. bill, only such changes made, as adapted it to Alabama needs.

DEL.—The Juvenile Court Association has just completed its first year with a record of good service.

FLA.—The Juvenile Court has been established in seven counties in the state and the new spirit of justice in dealing with children is carried out in all courts in the state.

KY.—An act created a Parental Home and School Commission in the City of Louisville appropriated $50,000.00 for such a school and empowering the fiscal court to levy a tax for maintenance of same.

The commission for the control of a Parental Home is to be composed of five men and two women appointed by the County Judge.

An act gives more power to the County Courts relative to caring for dependent children. This act also allows appeal from decision of County Judge.

N. J.—In counties of the first-class a separate Juvenile Court is created with judges appointed by the Governor. In counties of a lesser degree the Judge of the Court of Common Pleas is constituted such a court. Juvenile courts have jurisdiction over all disputes involving the domestic relations. County schools of detention, controlled by a board of five trustees, at least one of whom shall be a woman, are also provided for by a new statute.

OKLA.—The Juvenile Court Association of Oklahoma City was organized and furnishes a number of volunteer probation officers. The members also agree to look after delinquent children after the plan of the Big Brother and Big Sister movement. There have been attempts to start several new home-finding societies but the Department of Charities has refused to give them licenses to collect money or to handle children. Only two home-finding societies are operating in the state, at present, and one of these is now under fire in the courts.

S. C.—A Juvenile Court has been established.

WASH.—Everett Smith Home for Girls, Seattle, a protective home for neglected or delinquent girls, receives from the Juvenile Court. In the Juvenile Court of King County, a research department for the diagnosis of social and medical factors contributing to juvenile delinquency, has been organized in connection with the probation work.

There has been an extension of work in the Department of the Humane Office of City, Seattle, which will relieve the burden and add to the efficiency of the Juvenile Court.

NOVA SCOTIA—The past session of the Provincial Legislature has been fruitful of social legislation.

The act relating to the treatment of children has been amended to make the Juvenile Court more effective.

## *LABOR, ACCIDENT COMPENSATION, EMPLOYER'S LIABILITY OLD AGE PENSIONS, ETC.

CAL.—Has adopted a constitutional amendment providing for compensation for industrial accidents.

DEL.—The Consumers League has been securing data for a "minimum wage" and a number of meetings have been held in the interest of the wage earning woman.

D. C.—A branch of the National Consumers League has been organized.

KY.—As a result of the Volunteer Commission appointed last year to investigate conditions of working women a bill limiting the working hours of women to ten hours per day, sixty per week, and providing for seats, proper sanitary arrangements, and dressing rooms was passed. Another bill providing for two female labor inspectors in addition to the two male factory inspectors was also passed. An act provides that any teacher who has taught for fifty years can retire on a pension.

MD.—A new employer's liability law and a ten-hour law for women are reported.

MASS.—The chief lessons from the Lawrence trouble are four, as follows: Successful effort of the unskilled immigrant to rise to a higher wage standard. The necessity of bringing his standard of living up to his wage, and of increasing his productive capacity so as to raise both later on. The danger of tolerance: (a) Toward the advocacy of anarchy and crime by one group of sympathizers. (b) Toward the overreaching of authority and the breach of the law by the other. The necessity of organized neighborhood upbuilding and feredation of neighborhood groups as the only way of establishing community of interests across ways and across lines.

A resolution for the study of the minimum wage question was passed, but we still have tariff protection on goods and free trade in labor.

NEB.—The Employers' Liability Act has been recently upheld by a decision of the United States Supreme Court in favor of an employee who received a judgment of $10,000.00 against the M. P. R. R. for injuries. The last legislature passed two other acts in

*See also special report on Prison Labor.

the interests of the working people, one for protection and safety in construction and repairs on buildings, bridges, viaducts, etc., and the other for good sanitation in factories, mills, workshops, mercantile and other establishments.

MICH.—At a special session of the legislature, a law was enacted providing for Employers' Liability and Workmen's Compensation, and creating a board of three members known as the "Industrial Accident Board."

N. J.—Report of industrial accidents must be made to the Department of Labor, and Casualty Insurance Companies must likewise report all injuries wherein the injured is incapacitated for a period of two weeks.

Employment of females in factories is limited to ten hours per day and sixty per week.

ORE.—The Consumers' League has appointed a committee on Minimum Wage Boards which will undertake an industrial survey of Oregon to secure data upon which to base agitation for a law creating minimum wage boards. The survey will be conducted along the following points: Standards of living, wages, sanitary conditions in factories, etc., labor legislation, recreation, and education of wage earners.

R. I.—A law forbidding messenger boys from working between the hours of 10 P. M. and 5 A. M. is reported.

WASH.—The Industrial Insurance Commission of Washington is meeting with extraordinary success in the administration of the Workmen's Compensation Act and seems to have succeeded in accomplishing the hitherto impossible task, viz., the bringing together of employer and employe on a common basis of interest. With the possible addition of an amendment covering the necessary medical, surgical and hospital expenses, the law seems to have solved the great problem of relations of the employer and employe in the hazardous employments of the state.

NOVIA SCOTIA—The Coal Mines Act has been amended to provide for the careful inspection of safety lamps, and making the roofs and sides of underground workings safer.

Several particulars, of minor import, have been altered in the Workman's Compensation Act, with a view to making it work more smoothly.

## NEIGHBORHOOD WORK.

DEL.—The Peoples Settlement Association has moved into a new $50,000.00 building, which is a model structure. They conduct ten departments including a dispensary with two clinics a week and will soon open a dental clinic.

KY.—In Louisville a Neighborhood Center managed by the Federation of Jewish Charities, and formerly known as the West End Settlement, increased its activities this year, and changed its name to the Educational Alliance. Another Neighborhood Center conducted in that district of Louisville made famous by "Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch," is under paid supervision, and goes under the name of the Cabbage Patch Settlement, though there are no residents living there to make it a settlement proper. Neighborhood House, a social settlement, remodeled its old house and constructed a new building containing a dance hall, auditorium, gymnasium, and showers, all at a cost of about $26,000.

MD.—The Jewish Educational Alliance has been the beneficiary of a gift sufficient to give it model equipment and ample building for settlement work.

N. H.—The Settlement Association of New Hampshire has purchased a large house in the residential section of Manchester and fitted it up as a home, especially for girls coming from neighboring towns who either attend school or are employed at low wages.

N. C.—"Friendship Hall" the first and only settlement house in the state is located at High Point, publishing its own little paper.

## PRISONS, JAILS, REFORMATORIES FOR ADULTS AND PRISONERS' AID.

ALA.—Much time and publicity has been given in Alabama this year to showing conditions of jails and prisons and almshouses. A fearless inspector having been given almost autocratic power in regard to same, is bringing about great changes. A movement is on foot for taking shackles off prisoners in city streets.

ARK.—See the General Report.

CAL.—The Mutual Aid and Employment Bureau and Prisoners' Aid Society, with offices in San Francisco, has been organized.

IDAHO—Minors under the age of fourteen years may not now be placed in jail.

IND.—The legislative commission is investigating the county jail system and the need for a state penal farm.

KAN.—There have been marked developments in the management of the penitentiary on the theory that it is a repair shop for men rather than a place of punishment, and that criminality is a preventable disease. The policy is to give the prisoner, (a) a full day of hard productive labor; (b) plain, wholesome, well cooked food, a decent bed and medical attention; (c) discipline firmly and wisely administered; (d) night school six months out of the year; (e) thirty minutes each day for recreation; (f) spiritual training. Special attention has been given to tuberculosis and the death rate reduced from nine per year to one per year. Great attention is given to parole system. Out of ninety-seven paroled, seven only have broken their paroles, and of that number only one committed a crime.

KY.—Bill providing for a jail visiting board, to visit and inspect the county jail and station houses set apart for female prisoners.

MAINE—As a result of the unwise legislation of 1911 all progress in the improvement of our county jails has ceased.

MINN.—A most important advance in Minnesota is the improved condition of village and city lock-ups. In the past five years they have been condemned by the state agents of the Board of Control by the hundred, and new and sanitary and safe institutions built.

NEB.—Startling developments occurred at our state penitentiary, March 14, 1912, when the warden was murdered, two of his assistants shot and killed and two others killed in arresting the outlaws a few days later. This tragedy was made possible by lax methods of discipline and of management. The inefficient and lax system in vogue made it possible for the storage of firearms and knives, drugs, etc., in many of the cells. The result of the outbreak has been the complete reorganization of the management by the Governor.

N. J.—The Woman's Reformatory, created last year, having purchased a farm tract near Clinton, is now authorized to equip existing farm buildings for the reception of inmates to be removed from the state prison at Trenton.

N. C.—By a law passed by the legislature of 1911 stripes were forbidden after January 1, 1912, for misdemeanants in the county camps or work houses. Either their own clothes or suits of brown are worn.

OHIO—The Commission to select a site for the Reformatory for Women has purchased 259 acres at Marysville. Plans are now being developed for buildings to care for all classes of female misdemeanants over sixteen years of age.

ORE.—The Governor's "honor system" is still being continued at the state prison with much success. There are fewer escapes and the men are responding to the new method. Over half the population of the prison is outside the walls—working in road camps or at the different state institutions without guard. See a paper on The Honor System page 195.

NOVA SCOTIA—An investigation into conditions in the city prison of Halifax was held. The result was that the city council was shocked into ordering very drastic reforms. The idea of the reformation of the delinquent has thus emerged in a practical form for the first time in Halifax.

## PROVIDENT LOAN ASSOCIATIONS.

MAINE—At the State Conference of Charities and Corrections in 1911 the subject of "loan sharks" was considered. In Portland an association was incorporated under the name of the Peoples Loan Company." An appeal to the legislature in 1911 for assistance in fighting this evil was treated with indifference, but the Social Service Committee of the Men and Religion Forward Movement has appointed a committee to assist in securing the passage of suitable laws for driving loan sharks out of business.

MINN.—The Provident Loan Society in St. Paul opened for business February 29, 1912.

PENNA.—The Pennsylvania Loan Company has been organized at Philadelphia to lend money on indorsed notes. While a purely business enterprise, it will save some victims of the loan sharks.

NOVA SCOTIA—A scheme for granting government loans to new settlers upon farms has been adopted.

## PUBLIC HEALTH, ETC.

ALA.—Medical inspection in the public schools, at first not sympathized with at all, is now truly appreciated.

KAN.—Legislation has enlarged the powers of the State Board of Health and provided for fire escapes on all public buildings apartment houses and factories; the abolishment of the public drinking cup and the roller towel, and the strict inspection of hotel and restaurant kitchens.

LA.—A campaign for the better sanitation of the city has been instituted. Many stores and restaurants have been closed up until they comply with the demands. Every person in the city has been required to have a garbage receptable with tight fitting cover.

MAINE—The Civic Club of Portland supports a milk station, with some help from the city treasury; this has good medical work for the babies in connection with it. A district nursing association at Westbrook adds one more to the few agencies of the kind in Maine. A clean city campaign in Portland was interesting and successful. The co-operation of the school boys was an important feature.

MD.—A new law requires all occupational diseases to be reported to the State Board of Health.

MINN.—Public drinking cups are prohibited by the city council of St. Paul.

N. H. The State Board of Health has general supervision of the sanitary production and distribution of food and is doing extensive work in the enforcement of the law relating thereto. It has issued a regulation prohibiting the use of the common drinking cup on railway trains, and other public places.

The board has published in its "Sanitary Bulletin" the law providing for the prevention of opthalmia neonatorum.

N. J.—Bakeries, candy and ice cream factories must now comply with the new law regulating age, employment, safety, health and work hours of all employees. Further provision for sanitation and licensing of all such places is made.

Proper ventilation in factories must be provided, especially to protect against steam, gases, dust and other impurities injurious to health. Such ventilation must be installed within twenty days after notice is served, the penalty of $10.00 per day for failure to comply being included. Safety guards must be installed, the law going into considerable detail thereto. Commissioner of Labor has power to condemn machinery until safety provisions are provided.

R. I.—Two Visiting Nurse Asssociations have been formed in Rhode Island, one at Smithfield, and one at North Providence. There are at present fifteen Visiting Nurse organizations and visiting nurse work is also being done at the Newport Hospital. Sixty-four nurses are being employed and in addition there are three school nurses employed by the City of Providence.

## PUBLIC SUPERVISION AND ADMINISTRATION.

KAN.—1. The legislature of 1911 appropriated $15,000.00 for the fiscal years ending June 30, 1912, and June 30, 1913, to be apportioned by the Board of Control among various private institutions over which they have supervision in accordance with the amount of charity work done and the methods employed. Fifty-nine institutions received state aid under this act.

2. Charitable institutions desiring to solicit aid in more than one county must obtain a certificate from the State Board of Control. The board requires a showing to be made of the past work of the society and its plans for future work. At the time of the passage of this act, one children's home-finding society was soliciting funds for the purpose of securing a business building to be used as an advertisement for the society the income to be used for the expenses of the society. The Board of Control refused authority to solicit for such purpose. One children's home-finding society was refused permission to solicit on account of poor business management.

MAINE—The consolidation of the five boards of trustees of the five state institutions of Maine into two boards was intended to be an inexpensive and harmless concession to the public demand for a State Board of Charities and Correction, but it has in no sense lessened the need of a State Board, nor quieted the demand for it.

OHIO—The Board of Administration with the active management of all the benevolent and correctional institutions of the state, except the Ohio Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans' Home, began its work on August 15, 1911. Among the beneficial results of such action can be noted economy in operation; the ease with which unneeded articles can be transferred to other institutions.

R. I.—A new law creates a State Board of Supply and Control for the regulation and control of state institutions. This does not do away with any existing board, but is really a board of contract and supply. It will supply and control purchases of merchandise.

OKLA.—The third legislature enacted an amendment to the Charities and Correction Law, greatly enlarging the power and duties of the commissioner in regard to orphan children. (See Child Welfare.)

LA.—A special inspector of asylums, almhouses, etc., has been appointed, the purpose being the proper care of the inmates and matters of sanitation.

MO.—A very thorough visitation and investigation of all county jails and almshouses—the first within the history of the state—is being made under the direction of the State Board of Charities and Corrections.

MICH.—Reports marked improvement in matters pertaining to maternity hospitals; the appointment of county agents and probation officers, and in the increased activities against the spread of tuberculosis. Instead of there being a great many unlicensed and unsupervised maternity hospitals doing business in the state regardless of law, all such institutions now within the state have a legal right to operate and are subject to the supervision of the State Board of Charities and Correction. The standard of the county agency is being improved as expeditiously as conditions will permit.

PENNA.—In Philadelphia, the most important developments center about the city hall in the department of public health and charities. Alexander M. Wilson has become the assistant director in special charge of charities of the city. A committee on municipal charities has been formed, including very prominent men in its membership.

## RECREATION.

CAL.—The National Playground and Recreation Association has established a Pacific Coast agency with offices in San Francisco.

FLA.—A playground association has been formed at Sanford.

IDAHO—There is a playground association at Boise.

IND.—Under the public playground law of 1911 a Playground Commissioner has been appointed in Indianapolis by the Board of Health and Charities.

LA.—New Orleans has taken the playgrounds under its control. The appropriation at present is small, but it will undoubtedly be increased.

MASS.—Our playground referendum law, putting it up to towns whether or not they will have a playground, has been extended from places of ten thousand down to those of five thousand inhabitants.

MINN.—City ordinances in Duluth deal with dance halls and immoral plays.

N. C.—The state is in touch with the National Playground Association and playgrounds have been opened in various localities.

ORE.—Probably the most important piece of local legislation was the passage of an ordinance by the city council of Portland putting out of existence the public dance hall. A committee was appointed by the mayor to investigate the field of public recreation with a view to submitting a plan for recreation to take the place of the dance hall. No action has, as yet, been taken by the committee.

R. I.—An act of the legislature authorizes the City of Providence to provide for the management of public playgrounds by commission.

## SCHOOLS AND EDUCATION.

IND.—A legislative commission is studying industrial education.

KY.—The cause of education in Kentucky was materially advanced by two new laws, one of which gave women the right to vote on all school matters and the other of which made education compulsory in rural districts. This makes a fourth grade education compulsory all over the state.

The new non-partisan School Commission of Louisville made possible by the legislation of two years ago has proved all that was hoped for it. There has been a general raising of the standard of training throughout the school system. A number of departmental centers, in which the children of the seventh and eighth grades are taught manual training, domestic science and arts and craft work, were established. Some of them were equipped by public-spirited citizens.

One new social center was launched during the year, in one of the school buildings. This makes three now in operation in Louisville.

LA.—A group of girls, the Newcourt Alumnae of a certain fraternity, has undertaken the running of a penny luncheon in the Paulding school. The same group has taken charge of the backward children of this school and is trying to find out why they are backward.

MASS.—Boston School Committee has made a concerted attack on bad teeth, the essential features of which are the exaltation of the tooth brush and concentrating on the first grade; the momentous time with teeth being the coming of the sixth year molar.

MINN.—Minneapolis has an open air school for tubercular children established by the joint action of the Board of Education, the Visiting Nurses Committee of the A. C. and an anti-tubercular committee. In Duluth, social centers have been started in four schools and by two private societies in buildings other than schools. The State Department of Instruction is co-operating with the Anti-T. B. Association in lectures on sanitation, etc.

R. I.—The legislature authorizes the City of Providence to spend $2,000.00 annually in free public lectures in the public schools. Another act provides state aid to cities or towns that give industrial education.

NOVA SCOTIA—Amherst has been awakened through the efforts of a Y. M. C. A. secretary. The whole town has fallen in with his plans, and this place has set an example to all Canada in its employment of school buildings for social needs, and many other forward movement.

## SEX HYGIENE.

DEL.—A Society for Sex Hygiene has been organized in Wilmington.

KY.—A new law provides both fine and imprisonment for any person convicted of taking, or admitting, a girl under sixteen to a house of prostitution.

MINN.—The Minneapolis Vice Commission has made its report.

NEB.—The Albert Law which abolished the segregation of the social evil one year ago, is on trial. The radical provisions of this act are sharply criticised and condemned by many and just as strongly commended by others. Reports from all parts of Nebraska except Omaha indicate the law is effective and welcomed by the people. In Omaha there is much complaint of street walkers and of immoral women being discovered in all parts of the city, and of the spread of disease, etc. More time is required intelligently to estimate results.

ORE.—Portland appointed a vice commission of fifteen members to investigate the various aspects of vice in the city. No full report has been returned as yet.

WASH.—A new Society of Social and Moral Hygiene in Seattle specializes in the instruction of the parents of school children.

## SOCIAL WORKERS' CLUBS, CONFERENCES AND TRAINING SCHOOLS.

ALA.—The last State Conference merged with the meeting of the National Child Labor Committee.

ARK.—The first State Conference of Charities met in Little Rock with forty-six members. Delegates were appointed to the National Conference of Charities, and a permanent organization was effected.

FLA.—A Social Service Club was started last fall in Jacksonville, membership of 100.

Florida held its *first* State Conference of Charities. Over 400 delegates were registered. It was promoted by the Children's Home Society of Florida, and the Federation of Women's Clubs.

IND.—The Indianapolis Training School for social workers is a recent development.

MO.—The State Conference of Charities and Corrections has again changed its organization for purpose of increasing its efficiency and is undertaking to raise a budget of $1,000.

NEB.— A Social Service Club has been organized at Lincoln. The State Conference of Charities is an educational force in Nebraska, it has awakened widespread interest in the social problems of our state; the attendance last January was the largest in its history.

N. J.— As a result of the newly codified poor law requiring better methods from the overseers of the poor, they have founded a State Conference which has held several meetings.

OHIO—Central philanthropic councils of social agencies have been organized in Youngstown and Dayton.

ORE.—A social service council was organized during the past year composed of delegates from all charitable agencies and organizations concerned with social work. It is made up of the president, or alternate, and one delegate from each organization, and meets once a month.

## TUBERCULOSIS.

ARK.—Some local anti-tuberculosis societies have been established in cities, but they are not active.

COL.—The Colorado Association for the Prevention and Control of Tuberculosis has been reorganized under the name of the Rocky Mountain Public Health Association.

DEL.—Delaware State Commission is having all houses throughout the state, infested with tuberculosis fumigated, and the Wilmington Board of Health is giving special care to homes so affected.

IND.—The Indiana Association for the study and prevention of tuberculosis has been organized. Its plan includes a representative in each of the 1016 townships.

The new Tuberculosis Hospital, at Rockville, has now ninety-three patients. An appropriation of $5,000.00 for the erection of tents becomes available when the population exceeds 100.

KAN.—This legislature appropriated $50,000 for the location of a state tubercular sanatorium, which is to be located by the Board of Control upon the advice and recommendation of an advisory commission of physicians appointed by the Governor.

Topeka Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, located at Topeka, Kansas, maintains a fresh air camp, public dispensary, a public clinic, etc.

KY.—Act creating State Commission on Tuberculosis with an appropriation of $15,000 annually.

LA.—Attempts are being made to secure a hospital for incipient tuberculosis. The only hospital now is for advanced cases. District nursing has been instituted in New Orleans for the first time this year. In addition to a general fund, some private organizations provide the nursing for specific districts, which plan seems to work well.

MAINE—The Maine Anti-Tuberculosis Association is now supplemented by local associations in Portland, Lewiston, Bangor and Waterville. Associations are in process of organization in Biddeford, Saco, Gardiner and Augusta. Besides the sanitorium at Hebron there is also a small sanitorium open during the summer months at Fairfield. Portland and Bangor are conducting day camps. It is proposed to conduct an educational campaign, to organize active local associations which will conduct a dispensary and employ a visiting nurse in every town or union of towns of 10,000 or over, and tuberculosis committees in smaller towns who will have general supervision of the work in their own town.

MINN.—The City Hospital Board of St. Paul will take over the private T. B. sanitorium January 1st, 1913. Nine counties in the state have voted sums ranging from $100 to $600 for visiting county nurses in the homes of consumptives. In one township in one of these counties a house to house canvas and a complete study of the prevalence of the disease was made by the nurse, and a specialist sent by the State and Tuberculosis Society.

Mo.—Movement on foot to establish county tuberculosis hospitals in a few counties as result of permissory law passed by last General Assembly. Plans practically complete for first one in Cole County. Missouri Association for Prevention and Control of Tuberculosis has been recognized and is under expert direction.

Neb.—The last legislature provided for a hospital for indigent tubercular patients; the location and management are by the State Board of Public Lands and Buildings. The board purchased a tract of fourteen acres at Kearney, on which had been previously erected a Medical Hospital.

N. H.—Under the provisions of the law providing $20,000 annually for the care of patients suffering from tuberculosis, especially in the advanced stages, sixty-four persons have been cared for during the eight months ending May 1, 1912, in sanatoria other than the state sanatorium.

The State Board of Health reported 625 cases of tuberculosis registered in the state office May 1, 1912, under the law of 1911, providing for the registration of all classes of tuberculosis.

N. J.—Has started on a great campaign for public health and comfort by enacting laws as follows:

County hospitals for tubercular disease with full details covering finances, buildings, management, admissions and methods are now authorized. When established in connection with a county almshouse, a separate board of managers shall be appointed. These hospitals are to be under the regulation of the State Board of Health. The state is required to expend $3.00 per week for each patient. Each county must contract for the care of each tuberculous inhabitant with some private or municipal hospital, when not maintaining its own; and the State Board of Health is empowered to enforce this provision of the law. Two or more counties may join for the purpose of this law. All hospitals must report immediately all cases of communicable disease to the local Board of Health, setting forth the exact place of residence of the patient under penalty of $50.00 for non-report.

N. C.—County sanatoria have been established in New Hanover and Cumberland counties for tuberculosis cases. District nurses are employed in Raleigh, Asheville, Wilmington, Charlotte and possibly other cities. The Nurses' Association has become interested in social work and has made some investigations as to what the members of their profession are doing for the general uplift. They have established a small home at Black Mountain for the care of nurses who have contracted tuberculosis.

R. I.—Anti-Tuberculosis Associations have been formed during the past year in the towns of Bristol, Charlestown, Richmond and Hopkinton.

Wash.—The tuberculosis sanatorium of Spokane is operated by the Associated Charities. Tacoma has a recently organized anti-tuberculosis society. The Anti-Tuberculosis League of King County, Seattle is a private association, the work of which is being rapidly assumed by the municipality.

Nova Scotia—Municipalities have been empowered to erect municipal sanitariums for the treatment of tuberculosis. The Halifax County Anti-Tuberculosis Society is about to build a home for advanced case.

## PRISON LABOR

In the hope of contributing to the interest and usefulness of the symposium on prison labor, conducted by the Committee on Courts and Prisons, an attempt has been made to compile a list of the states using the different methods of employing their convicts. This attempt has been only partially successful, but the results of the inquiry are given below.

Some of the states are using two or more different methods in the same or different institutions. The reporters have presented some interesting facts which developed in the course of their inquiry. Some of these appear in the course of the papers or discussion on the subjects, in the other pages of this volume and some of them are given below.

### The Lease System.

Is reported from only two states, namely, Alabama and Florida. The reporter from Alabama says that the convicts are chiefly employed in coal mines and that the price paid for their labor to the state is based upon the tonnage which each convict gets out.

From Florida comes an encouraging word that the last legislature voted almost unanimously to abolish the lease system, although it brings into the state from $350,000 to $400,000 per annum, but that the governor vetoed the bill. Nevertheless the system will be abolished next year, for all the candidates for governor, and nearly all of those for the legislature, have announced their intention of securing this reform, after which the convicts will be employed on the roads and on a fifteen hundred- acre farm.

### Contract Labor, Per Diem Plan.

This is reported from Arkansas, Delaware, Indiana, Iowa, New Jersey, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine (in some county prisons only), Maryland, Michigan, Minnesota (one unexpired contract only), Missouri, Nebraska, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Ohio (one county prison only), Rhode Island and South Carolina. Concerning these contracts we have the following additional remarks:

From Indiana, about half the population of the state prison is employed under contract, partly per diem and partly piece price. In New Jersey, contracts expire in 1913 and 1914, and a Convict Labor Commission has been created to formulate a comprehensive plan for employing convicts on public roads, in forestry and otherwise. Contract labor in penal institutions is prohibited, and existing contracts must not be renewed or extended. In Kentucky, the contract price is from 35 cents to 68 cents per diem; the penitentiary at Frankfort is being converted into a reform institution; the one at Eddyville is to receive the hardened criminals from the other one. In Maryland, twenty-five per cent. of the contract price of their labor is placed to the credit of the convicts and paid to them when they are discharged from the institution. In Missouri, the contracts are to be given up as soon as they

expire and the State Use System is to be installed. In North Carolina, the question of prison labor is a live issue, and it is hoped to employ most of the convicts on a state farm; 1,600 men, of whom only 208 are white, are employed in forty county road camps, in which it is said the men are healthy and that they improve physically and morally during their term. In Oregon, the contract plan was recently abolished by Governor West, who discovered a technical violation of the terms of the contract and declared it forfeited. In Iowa a commission appointed by the governor has investigated the system and has pronounced strongly against it.

**Contract Labor, Piece Price Plan.**

The only report we have of this is from New Hampshire, where it is said that in the Hillsboro county jail the prisoners are so employed.

**State Account Plan.**

This is reported from Indiana (partially), Kansas (partially), Maine, Minnesota, Pennsylvania and Washington. In Indiana, part of the product of the labor in the reformatory is sold on the market, the remainder being used by the state institutions. In Kansas, the State Account includes industrial shops, extensive farming operations and coal mining, (coal being shipped to the various state institutions), and road making; also a brick plant, the brick being used for state work, and a binding twine factory, which furnishes practically all the twine used in Kansas and some excess, which is sold in other states. In Minnesota, the prisoners make agricultural machinery, and binder twine. A system prevails by which the prisoners receive a part of their earnings, and the prisoner's families also receive help from the same source. In Washington, the principal industry is the manufacture of grain bags, which are sold directly to the farmers, the industries also include the making of furniture, clothing and tinware for other state institutions, and work in rock quarries, where rock is prepared for road building.

**The State Use Plan.**

This system has been adopted by California, District of Columbia, Idaho, Indiana (partially), Kansas (partially), New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon and Oklahoma. In the District of Columbia, the district work house does a large business in quarrying and crushing stone and brick-making, the output all being used by the district on its public works. The supply is not equal to the demand. In Idaho, the prisoners cut and deliver stone for the new state buildings, and make shoes for the other state institutions, but there is not sufficient labor to employ the inmates properly. New York has been the leading state in this method of employing prisoners, and although there are some difficulties in the way, it is felt that the method can be worked out satisfactorily. In Ohio the method is now changing from Contract to State Use, the surplus being employed just now in printing, in the manufacture of furniture and clothing, while a great many trusties are employed in farming and ditching and rough structural work. In Oklahoma, some

road work is being done, as the constitution permits it, but not very successfully, although some of the counties have used road work for their prisoners to advantage.

### State Farms

For the employment of their prisoners are reported from Louisiana (partially), Nebraska (partially), North Carolina (partially), and Mississippi, while many of the other states have farms attached to their penitentiaries and county prisons, where some of the prisoners are worked. The tendency appears to be in the direction of agricultural labor. Louisiana has four large farms. Mississippi realizes a large revenue from its convict farm, approximately half a million dollars annually.

### Road Work By The State.

This is reported from Colorado, Delaware, Missouri, Oklahoma, Oregon, Virginia and Washington. The report from Colorado claims that a large number of the men are employed on the public highways on the "honor" system, thus dispensing with the need of armed guards; the warden of the penitentiary claims that if certain appropriations made for improving public highways shall be declared subject to the control of the State Highway Commission, he will be able to place about 400 men, or half the population, at work outside the walls of the prison. In Oregon, the men are employed in road building, the "honor" system* having been carried to a marked success in this state. In connection with the road building, the men are also employed in improving the various public institution grounds and in some other building construction work. In Virginia, the convict road making has been probably carried to the best success of any state.

### Road and Street Work by Prisoners From County and City Prisons.

This is reported from Alabama, Florida, Louisiana, Michigan, Nebraska, New York (one county prison), Oklahoma, Virginia and Washington. Without doubt there are many other places using prisoners at street or road work, which have not been reported in the reports from states.

*See paper on "The Honor System" in Oregon on page 195.

# Minutes of the Meetings

## OPENING MEETING WEDNESDAY, June 12TH, 8 P. M.

The National Conference of Charities and Correction assembled in the Cleveland Theatre, and was called to order by Hon. James R. Garfield, Chairman of the Local Committee, who called on the Rev. A. B. Meldrum, who made the invocation.

The Chairman then welcomed the Conference to Cleveland and invited the citizens of Cleveland to attend the meetings, assuring them that they would gain inspiration as well as information about the many important public tasks which come together under the name of Charities and Correction.

The Chairman: We have awakened to the fact that many of our public ills and ills of the body politic are quite as deserving of concern by intelligent people as the ills of the individual. We in this city have had the example of a man who has devoted himself not only to the consideration of this subject with which he is confronted, but he has devoted himself to the suppression of the illls of the body politic. He and I have not always agreed as to what should be done to cure these public ills and wrongs. But we have always agreed that in the great fight for social justice and for the betterment of the people there was no line of division between good citizens. It gives me great personal pleasure to present to this audience our esteemed Mayor, the Honorable Newton D. Baker, who will extend to you the welcome of our city.

Hon. Newton D. Baker: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: From time to time there come to visit cities men and women with different purposes, different ideals. Some come to spend their money in our markets, some to bring their talents to our industrial order; but I think never in the history of Cleveland until now has a Conference assembled that comes to bring to our city the great co-ordinated heart of the American people. So on behalf of the city of Cleveland, though it is always a pleasant duty to welcome those who come for any motives that I have ascribed, I have my highest pleasure in welcoming you and expressing the hope that your deliberations will be pleasant and profitable.

I have been thinking a good deal lately in anticipation of the coming of this Conference, of how strange the phenomenon seems at first blush that it should be necessary to organize anything which in its elemental form is so spontaneous as charity. Yet when one seeks the reason for that it becomes very plain. Having departed from the rural conditions in which our ancestors lived, where the neighborly touch was possible, into a great, congested, intensely competitive industrial system, we have crushed out of our organized society the opportunity, if not the impulse, of the older forms of neighborly kindness. Electricians say that when a current is sent along a wire for a certain length of time, it begins to induce a current in the opposite direction. Our industrial system having for some years been concentrated on the line of material endeavor, having left out of account in its organization and changes the human impulse that used to be the controlling factor between employer and employe, the masses of men having become too large for that current to take that direction, and the current of our industrial machine having been so fiercely competitive along the main line, it has induced a corresponding current in the opposite direction.

In life, as in mechanics, the law of compensation demands that people should take up the lost motion of the industrial machine, and by organized activity supply those things which have been lost out of life in its simpler forms. We have been learning some things rather slowly in the United States, but we have been learning them. I suppose now every person in this company realizes that we are tired and impatient of the idea that cities are the mere incubators, and penitentiaries the brooders, for criminals. This Conference recognizes the growth of the interest and knowledge of the American people on that subject. As part of the great system of subjects for us to study, we have learned in modern times that promiscuous giving to mendicants is not charity; that the twentieth century demands that those who stand in need of charity shall be given the opportunity to help themselves, and that real charity finds expression and enjoyment in the spirit of helpfulness to the object of charitable endeavor rather than in a selfish benevolence on the part of those charitably disposed.

Through your society and those that are affiliated with it have been achieved some wonderful triumphs in the United States in recent years. Instead of mere doles to the needy there is help to the helpless, which is the motto of this system of organizations. When I think of that single instance, the abolition of the making of phosphorus matches, with all the hideousness of "phossy jaw"; when I think of the wonderful survey made in Pittsburg, which was not merely for Pittsburgh, but held up the looking-glass in which every other city could see itself and have an opportunity to correct its wrongs; when I see that sort of thing as the results of organized charity in the United States, I have a new hopefulness, a new outlook upon the possibility of making our cities less places of loss and degradation, and more places of charming and fine and sweet and wholesome prospects. There is an old story that the Scots delight to tell, that long after Robert Bruce had died his heart was preserved as that of the most valiant man Scotland had known. On one occasion when the Scots were hard pressed and it was necessary to stir them to great activity in order to save their country, the leaders of the Scots took out of the casket the heart of Bruce and threw it before the adversary, so that every loyal Scotchman would follow and redeem Scotland. So you are throwing into the midst of the city of Cleveland now, the great co-ordinated heart of this nation, and no matter how much we have tried to do hitherto in our correctional and charitable undertakings, we will be stirred to new enthusiasms which will follow the heart of the people that you have thrown in our midst, to see if we cannot contribute even more to the great objects which we have in common. On behalf of the city of Cleveland I heartily welcome you, and trust that your stay may be long and agreeable, and that you may leave with us the great inspiration which brings you here.

The Chairman: It is fitting that in response to these addresses of welcome the National Conference should give to this assembly one who will respond. It gives me great pleasure to present to you Dr. Hastings H. Hart, not of Cleveland, nor of New York, but of the United States and of all good endeavor.

Dr. H. H. Hart: Its is my privilege to respond to these delightful and cordial greetings in behalf of five hundred delegates who have already arrived in Cleveland, and a thousand more who are on the way and will be here tomorrow. I came to Cleveland with extraordinary pleasure for the reason that I was coming to my own place. I was born on the Western Reserve. Cleveland was my home many years. My father lived in this city forty-four years and was one of the pioneers in the development of the magnificent educational system of this city, serving on the Board of Education in the early days of Cleveland. My first visit to Cleveland was in 1861 when there were forty thousand people living here. I came here to live when there were sixty thousand people here. I have visited the city several times a year since then and watched its magnificent development.

Today a hundred delegates went to see the boys' school at Hudson—such an expression of the good will of the community toward the neglected boys of the community. There we have progress along the right line. Within the past few months you have organized an active and efficient placing-out agency. Children now can be transplanted out into beautiful homes in the country and given a chance to expand and to grow. So I congratulate the delegates of this Conference that after thirty-two years this Conference again meets here. We met here in 1880 and here are the fruits of the thirty-two years from which the members of this Conference may receive new inspiration and new life. And we can in turn leave something that will be practicable and helpful to the citizens of this great city and this magnificent commonwealth.

The Chairman: We hear that Congress may legislate the Commerce Court out of existence. But we are quite confident that Congress by no action it can ever take, will ever legislate Judge Mack out of doing the great and good work to which he has devoted his life in years past and which he will do for years to come. He and his work need no introduction by me to this great audience. As chairman of the local committee I have the honor and pleasure to turn this Conference over to the permanent National Chairman, Judge Mack, of Chicago.

The Honorable Julian W. Mack, President of the Conference, here assumed the Chair and read his annual address. (Page 1).

The President: This Conference, as you know, does its work through several committees. Each of these committees has a general session and section meetings. The General Session tonight is that of the Committee on Immigration.

The man who is to preside over this session on immigration is welcome in every movement for betterment, philanthropic, correctional and civic in the city of New York. I take great pleasure in presenting to you Mr. William Jay Schieffelin.

Mr. Schieffelin here assumed the Chair and read his report as Chairman of the Committee on Immigration. (Page 234).

Mr. Cyrus Sulzberger, of New York, also read a paper. (Page 239).

The Chairman: The last document issued by the Department of Commerce and Labor—Bulletin 98—contains seventy pages describing the workings of the cloak industry in New York. Now the majority of workers in that trade are working in shops that are complying in every respect with the standards demanded by the Sanitary Board of Control. In New York we have a number of excellent societies taking care of the immigrants as they arrive and watching out for them when they come back. One of these is the Italian Immigration Society. Its success is largely due to the wonderful officiency of the work of its executive. The boys in the street call the Italians "Guineas." Sometimes they are rather short and swarthy and puny. I am very glad to have as a representative Italian a "dago" whom we can welcome physically and mentally as an excellent example of the good citizenship that is secured from Italy. I have the honor to introduce the Secretary of the Italian Immigration Society, Mr. Umberto Coletti.

Mr. Coletti made an address. (Page 249). After which the meeting adjourned.

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## SECOND GENERAL SESSION.
## THURSDAY, JUNE 13th, 9:30 A. M.
### President Mack Presiding.

The President: The General Secretary will call the roll of States.

The Secretary: As Chairman of the Committee on Reports from States, it is my duty to call for a brief oral report, not more than three minutes in length, from the various States, which I will call in alphabetical order. The responses will be made by the State Corresponding Secretaries, or by delegates appointed by them.

Responses were made for the States as follows:

Alabama, Rev. George Eaves; Arkansas, Murray A. Auerbach; California, W. Almont Gates; Canada, Rufus D. Smith; Colorado, Dr. Elizabeth Cassidy; Connecticut, Charles P. Kellogg; District of Columbia, George S. Wilson; Georgia, a delegate; Idaho, William C. Dunbar; Illinois, A. L. Bowen; Indiana, Mrs. John B. Elam; Iowa, W. L. Kuser; Kansas, Charles D. Shukers; Kentucky, Charles Strutt; Maine, Francis H. Hiller; Maryland, H. Wirt Steele; Massachusetts, Joseph Lee; Michigan, J. B. Montgomery; Minnesota, R. T. Solensten; Missouri, W. T. Cross; Nebraska, A. W. Clark; New Hampshire, William J. Ahern; New Jersey, C. L. Stonaker; New York, Robert W. Hill; Ohio, H. H. Shirer; Oklahoma, M. O. Harper; Oregon, Miss Pritchard; Pennsylvania, Carl Kelsey; Rhode Island, James B. Williams; Tennessee, E. P. Anderson; Texas, J. L. Green; Utah, Henry Gardner; Virginia, Miss L. F. Price; Washington, Miss Virginia McMechan; Wisconsin, A. J. Hutton; Manitoba, J. Howard Falk.

The oral reports are incorporated with the written reports from the State Corresponging Secretaries and will be found on page 499 and following.

The President then announced the following committees:

### COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION.

Robert A. Woods (chairman), Mass.; Rev. Bro. Barnabas, N. Y.; Richard Hayter, Wash.; Eugene T. Lies, Ill.; Dr. Chas. P. Emerson, Ind.; Mrs. Helene Ingram, N. Y.; Louis H. Levin, Md.; J. T. Cross, Mo.; Dr. J. T. Gilmour, Ont.

### COMMITTEE ON TIME AND PLACE.

J. W. Magruder (chairman), Md.; Miss Minnie F. Low, Ill.; A. W. Clark, Neb.; H. H. Shirer, Ohio; Chas. P. Kellogg, Conn.; C. C. Carstens, Mass.; H. C. Bowman, Kans.; Leroy C. Halbert, Mo.; Frank D. Witherbee, Penn.;

### COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Homer Folks (chairman); Abraham J. Katz, N. Y.; Chas. M. Hubbard, Mo.

Mr. Johnson: I want authority to telegraph an expression of sympathy in the name of this Conference to two of our ex-presidents who have been very faithful members, and both of whom are confined at home by illness —Timothy Nicholson and Amos W. Butler.

The President: Unless the Chair hears objections the Secretary will be so authorized.

Whereupon the meeting adjourned.

THIRD GENERAL SESSION.
THURSDAY, JUNE 13th, 8:00 P. M.
President Mack Presiding.

The President: The subject tonight is that of the Committee on Standards of Living and Labor. I take great pleasure in presenting as the Chairman of that Committee, who will conduct the meeting, a man who has done more in the past five or ten years in the cause of charity and philanthropy and social justice than any one else I know of—Mr. Owen R. Lovejoy, Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee.

Mr. Lovejoy read his report as Chairman of the Committee on Standards of Liging and Labor. (Page 376).

Mr. Lovejoy here assumed the chair.

The Chairman: I take great pleasure in introducing as the next speaker one who may be rightly described as the mother of interest in the working children of America. The National Child Labor Committee, which I have the honor to serve, was organized eight years ago, largely as the outgrowth of a suggestion that had been developing in the mind of Mrs. Kelley during fifteen or twenty years. I take great pleasure in introducing Mrs. Florence Kelley, Secretary of the National Consumers' League.

Mrs. Florence Kelley made an address entitled, "Minimum Wage Boards." (Page 395).

The Chairman: It gives me very great pleasure to introduce to you the Honorable George R. Lunn, mayor of the city of Schenectady, N. Y., who will address you.

Hon. George R. Lunn made an address entitled, "The Eight Hour Day in All Industries." (Page 403).

The Chairman: I take great pleasure in introducing to this audience Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay, of Columbia University, who is Chairman of the Committee on Industrial Relations.

Dr. Samuel McCune Lindsay read a paper entitled, "The Commission on Industrial Relations." (Page 409).

President Mack then resumed the chair and after some announcements the meeting adjourned.

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FOURTH GENERAL SESSION.
FRIDAY, JUNE 14th, 9:30 A. M.
President Mack Presiding.

The President: The session this morning is that of the Committee on Public Supervision and Administration. I take great pleasure in turning over this meeting to the Chairman of that committee, Mr. H. C. Bowman.

Mr. Bowman here assumed the chair.

The Chairman: The committee this year concluded not to revive the old controversy that has been waged between Boards of Charity and Boards of Control, but to survey the field. The committee's report will discuss to what extent should State Institutions be controlled and managed by State Boards, and to what extent should private institutions of a charitable nature be supervised by State Boards.

Mr. Bowman read his report as Chairman of the Committee on Public Supervision and Administration. (Page 63).

The Chairman: It gives me great pleasure to introduce a man who has been in charity work for many years. One of the most difficult things any State Board has to handle is the transfer of paupers and insane persons from one state to another. Several years ago Mr. Gates was chairman of a committee that made a very full and excellent report of that matter up to that date. On account of recent troubles between the States it was thought best to have Mr. Gates give us a paper on that topic, and bring his observations down to date. It gives me great pleasure to introduce to you Mr. W. Almont Gates, Secretary of the Board of Charities and Correction of California.

Mr. Gates read a paper entitled, "Deportation of Insane Persons, Paupers and Others, From One State to Another." (Page 71).

The Chairman: The paper by Mr. C. E. Faulkner, Superintendent of the Washburn Memorial Orphans' Home in Minneapolis, will be read in the absence of Mr. Faulkner at the conclusion of this meeting. (Page 76). I now take great pleasure in introducing Charles F. F. Campbell, Executive Agent of the Ohio State Commission for the Blind. He will give an illustrated lecture on the subject of the problems of the adult blind.

Mr. Campbell read a paper entitled, "Problems of the Blind, Especially the Adult Blind," which he illustrated with stereopticon views. (Page 79).

Whereupon the meeting adjourned.

## FIFTH GENERAL SESSION.
## FRIDAY, JUNE 14th, 8:00 P. M.
### President Mack Presiding.

The President: The Committee on Time and Place is ready to report, Mr. J. W. Magruder, Chairman.

Mr. Magruder: The Conference will be pleased to know that invitations were received from Atlantic City, Baltimore, Chicago, Fort Worth, Indianapolis, Memphis, Milwaukee, Pasadena and Seattle. I need scarcely say that the Committee itself was wholly disinterested in its deliberations; that it reached its decision with a view to the interests of the Conference itself and of the country as a whole. We have had the satisfaction since, of being assured that those who came in behalf of cities whose invitations were not accepted, are themselves entirely satisfied with the decision, and approve of the action that has been taken. The following is the minute that was prepared by the Secretary:

### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON TIME AND PLACE.

A meeting of the committee was called at 9:15 A. M. in the Assembly room of the Hotel Hollenden, on Friday, June 14, by J. W. Magruder, Chairman of the Committee.

There were present in addition the following members: A. W. Clark, Nebraska; H. H. Shirer, Ohio; Charles P. Kellogg, Connecticut; C. C. Carstens, Massachusetts; H. C. Bowman, Kansas; Leroy C. Halbert, Missouri, and Frank D. Witherbee, Pennsylvania.

Mr. Kellogg was chosen to act as Secretary of the meeting.

Invitations for the Conference of 1913 were received from the following cities: Atlantic City, Baltimore, Chicago, Fort Worth, Indianapolis, Memphis, Milwaukee, Pasadena and Seattle. Chicago, Milwaukee and Pasadena were presented only by letter. Upon motion of A. W. Clark it was voted to allow twelve minutes for the speakers present in behalf of each city. Atlantic City was spoken for by Mr. George Lenhart; Baltimore by Mr. H. Wirt Steele; Fort Worth by Dr. Fox and Mr. Speer; Indianapolis by Mr. Loomis; Memphis by Mr. Kranz, and Seattle by Mr. Hayter.

At 10:55 A. M. the speakers for the cities left the meeting and the committee went into executive sesion. It was voted to eliminate the following cities as either having no personal representatives or simply getting in line for the conference after 1913: Chicago, Milwaukee, Pasadena, Baltimore and Indianapolis. An informal ballot for preference was then taken which resulted in three votes for Seattle, three for Fort Worth and one for Memphis.

The members of the Committee then gave their reasons for voting as they did and a general discussion was had of the matter. Upon motion of Mr. Clark, seconded by Mr. Carstens, it was voted to recommend that the conference of 1913 should be held in Seattle. This vote was unanimous.

The time for holding the Conference was left to the Executive Committee, acting in co-operation with the local interests in Seattle.

At 11:30 A. M. the meeting adjourned.

J. W. MAGRUDER, Chairman.
CHARLES P. KELLOGG, Secretary.

On motion and seconded the report was unanimously adopted.

The President: We have long been accustomed to look to Massachusetts for leadership in every field of activity. We lawyers particularly look to Massachusetts. I believe that there is no court whose decisions are cited by other courts as frequently as those of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. And we social workers look to the leaders in Massachusetts for inspiration and for light. It gives me particular pleasure tonight to present my own class-mate as Chairman of the Committee on Housing and Recreation; a man who has all the spirit of enthusiasm of a boy, who loves recreation himself and wants to see every man, woman and child in this whole country get all the fun and all the joy and all the play that it is possible for the community to give him—Mr. Joseph Lee, of Boston.

Mr. Lee read his report as Chairman of the Committee on Housing and Recreation. (Page 126).

Mr. Lee then assumed the Chair.

The Chairman: Our problem at present centers, as I have said, about the dance hall. Our next speaker knows more about dance halls than anybody else in the United States. She has studied dance halls, carried on dance halls, advised many municipalities what to do about dance halls, and her advice has been followed. She is the field secretary on the subject of commercial regulation of the Playground and Recreation Association of America—Mrs. Charles H. Israels.

Mrs. Israels read a paper entitled, "The Dance Problem." (Page 116).

The Chairman: The other thing Mrs. Israels has spoken of besides regulation of dance halls, is more dance halls. The gentleman who is going to speak to you took hold of the old Academy in the little town of Deerfield, Massachusetts. When he took charge of it there were fourteen pupils. At present there are ninety-three, including every boy and girl of the proper age in that community. When he took hold of it the town was terrorized by the boss. Last year the boss didn't dare to run for office. I introduce Mr. Frank L. Boyden, of Deerfield.

Mr. Boyden read a paper entitled, "A Country Solution."

President Mack here resumed the chair.

Mr. H. H. Hart, of New York: I ask the privilege to introduce a resolution referring to a bill to be presented to Congress asking for a Commission to investigate the jails and prisons of the United States. I ask that it be read and referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Mr. Hart read said resolution, and the same was referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Charles F. Weller, of Pittsburgh: I think we all regret that we cannot in so large an assembly express our personal interest in each other as much as we would like. But now has come a special opportunity which I am sure you will all wish to take advantage of. Mr. Gutridge, who is known to many of you, and who has been Chairman of one of the sections of the National Conference, a social worker of many years' experience, is announced to hace died suddenly today of heart disease in St. Paul. It will be a great shock to his many friends, and it seems to me we want to instruct the Secretary to telegraph to his friends in St. Paul an expression of our sympathy with them, and an expression of our appreciation of his life and work, and of the fact that he died as a good soldier in the social service cause. I beg leave, therefore, to ask the privilege of the Conference and the President to have the Secretary instructed to send tonight, or soon, a proper telegram to the friends of Mr. Gutridge in St. Paul.

The President: In the absence of any objection from the Conference the Secretary will act accordingly.

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## SIXTH GENERAL SESSION.

### SATURDAY, JUNE 15th, 8:00 P. M.

### President Mack Presiding.

The President: The session tonight is that of Courts and Prisons. I take great pleasure in presenting to you the Chairman of the Committee, Mr. Bailey B. Burritt. He has done some splendid work as Secretary of the Committee on Criminal Courts of the Charity Organization Society, which has been formed to carry on the work recommended, and to see that the legislation enacted as the result of the recommendations of an efficient Commission on the Lower Criminal Courts be put into effect.

Mr. Burritt: I want to preface my report by saying that it represents my own personal views. In the first letters I wrote to the members of my committee, I said that two things ought to be emphasized in the program this year—socialization of the court and the problem of prison labor. I have undertaken in my report to cover only the former of these topics, because I was familiar with this and not with the topic of prison labor.

Mr. Burritt read his report as Chairman of the Committee on Courts and Prisons. (Page 162).

Mr. Burritt here assumed the chair and showed some stereopticon views illustrating his lecture.

The Chairman: I said in my paper among other things that the courts were not giving adequate attention to facts other than legal, in court work. I am glad to introduce to you Dr. William Healy, of Chicago, who is Director of the Juvenile Psychopathic Institute in that city. He will further emphasize that particular part of my paper.

Dr. Healy read a paper entitled, "Factors Other Than Legal in Dealing With Criminal Cases." (Page 184).

The Chairman: We have heard a great deal of discussion in the last year or two on the question of whether social progress is retarded by judicial decisions. It was with the hope that we might get some light on this problem from a very careful student that Professor Roscoe Pound of Harvard Law School was requested to present that topic to us tonight. Unfortunately he is not able to be with us, but fortunately has sent his paper, and Judge Mack has consented to read it to us.

Judge Mack: Professor Pound is in my judgment one of the most profound legal students in the country, and a leading legal educator and deep philosopher of law. He entitles his paper, "Social Problems and the Courts."

Judge Mack then read the paper of Professor Pound. (Page 176).

Mr. Johnson: I have two telegrams, one from Mr. Butler, to whom we telegraphed sympathy the other day: "Your kind message received and greatly appreciated. Sorry compelled to be absent. Give my cordial greetings to all my kind friends and my successor. Hope that you will have most successful Conference. Amos W. Butler." The other telegram is from the Seattle Chamber of Commerce: "Assure Conference of our appreciation of its action and desire to welcome all participating in the most satisfactory and successful meeting in this city next year."

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## SEVENTH GENERAL SESSION.

### SUNDAY, JUNE 16th, 8:00 P. M.

President Mack Presiding.

The President: The session tonight is that of the Committee on Children, and it is a great pleasure to present to you as the Chairman of that section one who won his spurs in Boston as Superintendent of the Children's Aid Society, whom we in Chicago then captured for the great work of the United Charities, and who is now again devoting himself to child welfare in all its phases as Superintendent and Director of the Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund—Mr. Sherman Kingsley.

Mr. Kingsley read his report as Chairman of the Committee on Children, entitled, "Community Recognition of Children's Rights and Needs." (Page 20).

Mr. Kingsley assumed the chair.

The Chairman: We hear in these days a great deal about scientific charity. We all believe also that nothing is scientific in this line especially that is not thoroughly human. One of the most remarkably and sensibly and eminently human persons that I know is the person who is to address you next. She lives in a large city, in the very center of population of that city. Something like 600,000 people live within a radius of a mile or a mile and a half from her house, and she is an understanding friend to those in that vast region who are in need of her help, and a friend indeed to all childhood and to anyone in trouble the wide country over. I have great pleasure with you in welcoming Miss Jane Addams.

Miss Addams read a paper entitled, "The Child at the Point of Greatest Pressure." (Page 26).

Miss Julia C. Lathrop, Chief of the Federal Children's Bureau, was then introduced to speak of the work which will be done by that important new department of the government. (Page 30).

Mr. A. J. McKelway then spoke briefly of the long continued and strenuous efforts that were necessary to secure the Bureau. The fight was continued from year to year before Congress, but has finally been successful. We are expecting great things from the Bureau.

The meeting adjourned.

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## EIGHTH GENERAL SESSION.

### MONDAY, JUNE 17, 8:00 P. M.

Vice President Frederick Almy Presiding.

The Chairman: Judge Mack asked me to preside in his place this evening. Before the meeting begins the Secretary will present some matters.

Mr. Johnson: I have a report from the Executive Committee, recommendations as to changing some of the rules of procedure. Some of the members of the Conference will remember that there has been a committee with that object in view, which has been reappointed four times. Hitherto there has not been a unanimous report received by the Executive Committee on that subject, but the present committee succeeded in getting a unanimous report. The Executive Committee has acted upon that report of this committee and now presents the following suggested changes of procedure. The rule is that any changes must be first acted upon by the Executive Committee and by them presented to the Conference. This is what is being presented to you now by the Executive Committee respecting certain amendments to the rules of procedure.

The Secretary asks for the approval of these changes. Seconded.

Mr. Hebberd: It is my understanding that some member of the Executive Committee failed to receive notice of the meeting at which these changes were adopted, and therefore it seems to me that this long list of changes should be laid over till tomorrow, and that the members of this Conference be given opportunity to consider the import of the changes that are suggested. That's a more orderly and dignified way of adopting resolutions of this kind.

Mr. Johnson: I thing Mr. Hebberd's suggestions is good.

Seconded by Mr. Brackett and carried.

Mr. Benjamin C. Marsh, of New York, offered a resolution concerning an article in the Cleveland Plain Dealer of June 16, 1912, and asking that if the remarks attributed to the secretary in that newspaper article are a part of the record, that they be expunged.

The Chairman: The rule is that all resolutions are handed to the Committee on Resolutions without debate.

Mr. Johnson: Resolutions can be acted upon as soon as presented, by unanimous consent of the Conference. I respectfully ask that the Conference consent to act on this resolution now, and I move its adoption.

The Chairman: Mr. Johnson says that by unanimous consent this resolution can be adopted now and he asks for such unanimous consent for the voting of this resolution.

The motion was seconded and carried.

The Chairman: Those in favor of now adopting this resolution will say aye.

There were many voices of "Aye."

The Chairman: Those opposed will say "No."

A very few voices said "No."

The Chairman: The ayes have it. I now have the pleasure of turning this Conference meeting over to the Chairman of the Committee on Relation of Medical and Social Work, Dr. James Alexander Miller.

Dr. Miller here assumed the chair.

The Chairman: In acting as Chairman of this committee it is my privilege to present the report of that committee according to time honored custom. Inasmuch as this is the first year of the existence of this committee in this National Conference it has seemed to those of us who have had the responsibility of arranging the program that we might do something a little different and quite contrary to the time honored custom, as I understand it, and we have decided that it is possible for the members of the committee to do the work and the officers to sit by and direct. Consequently in the carrying out of this program we have divided our committee, which has been very able and efficient, into sub-committees according to their particular interest in the various departments of medical and social work in which they have been engaged. These sub-committees have been faithful and expeditious in their work, and we are therefore able to present to you in printed form the subject matter of the various problems which confront our committee, and they will be ready for distribution at the end of the meeting at the door. It has therefore seemed to me as Chairman that it is unnecessary to present a formal report, and that it might be better to attempt to correlate some of the underlying principles of the medical-social work as they are embodied in the report.

Dr. Miller then read an address as Chairman of the Committee on Relation of Medical and Social Work. (Page 308).

Dr. Cabot read a paper entitled, "The Educational Aspects of Medical-Social Work." (Page 351).

The Chairman: Before adjourning the meeting I wish on behalf of our committee to make an acknowledgment which I think is justly due, that the program which we have had today and the officers of this committee which worked it out in our very interesting session this morning and brought out such interesting discussion, which was further carried out this afternoon and which culminated in this inspiring talk from Dr. Cabot, has been due almost entirely to the efforts of Miss Ida M. Cannon. We all owe her a great debt of gratitude for her devoted services in making the program of our meeting a great success.

Mr. Johnson, the General Secretary, here read a resolution offered by Mr. J. E. McCullough, pertaining to the Southern Sociological Congress; also a resolution offered by Rev. Thomas R. Slicer in relation to prison labor and constructive manual work for prisoners.

After some announcements by the Secretary the meeting adjourned.

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## NINTH GENERAL SESSION.

### TUESDAY, JUNE 18th, 8:00 P. M.

### President Mack Presiding.

The President: The subject tonight is that most fundamental committee, the Committee on Families and Neighborhoods. It has been one of the great pleasures of my recent residence in Washington to come in contact with the Chairman of the committee in charge of this session tonight, and to have been given the opportunity of working together with him in the city of Washington in the field of philanthropy. I have come to know him and to appreciate and value him most highly as a co-worker and a friend. It therefore gives me peculiar pleasure to introduce to you the

Rev. Dr. William J. Kerby, of Washington, Chairman of the Committee on Families and Neighborhoods.

Rev. Dr. Kerby read the report as Chairman of the Committee on Families and Neighborhoods. (Page 81).

Rev. Dr. Kerby here assumed the chair.

The Chairman: I have great pleasure in presenting Mr. Weller.

Mr. Charles F. Weller read a paper entitled, "Maintenance of the Individuality of the Family." (Page 102).

Mr. James F. Jackson read a paper entitled, "Co-operation Among Relief Agencies." (Page 97).

Rev. C. N. Pond read a paper entitled, "A State Program in Organized Charity." (Page 91).

The Chairman: It was the intention to have these papers discussed by Miss Goodwillie, and then have the discussion continue from the floor. But it will be necessary to close when Miss Goodwillie shall have finished her address.

Miss Mary Goodwillie, of Baltimore, read a paper in which she discussed the foregoing papers. (Page 109).

President Mack resumed the chair.

The President: We are missing at this Conference a number of members who were kept away by sickness, and who, we hope, will be with us again next year. Others will never meet with us again. Each of us will recall one or more of the noble souls who have passed away forever. I shall not mention any names except one, and that because he was a President of this Conference, Dr. Fred Howard Wines. Dr. Hart, an ex-President of the Conference, will give a brief resume of a memorial that he has prepared on the life of Dr. Wines. After that we shall proceed with the report of the Executive Committee that was postponed from last night, and receive and act upon the report of the Committee on Organization.

Dr. Hart read a memorial on the life of Dr. Fred Howard Wines, as follows:

## FREDERICK HOWARD WINES.

### A TRIBUTE.

Dr. Frederick Howard Wines finished his work upon earth Friday, January 30, 1912, at his home in Springfield, Ill., at the age of seventy-four years.

Dr. Wines owed much to heredity. His father, the Reverend Doctor E. C. Wines, was a clergyman, a teacher, an author, a philanthropist and a gentleman of the old school. He was the founder of the American Prison Association and the International Prison Congress. He was the author of a great book on Prisons and Child Savings Institutions, which has become a classic.

Dr. Frederick Howard Wines was a scholar. He graduated with the highest honors of his class from Washington and Jefferson College (now Washington College) Pennsylvania, at the age of nineteen, in 1857. He graduated from Princeton Theological Seminary in 1865. He was a master of English both in writing and in speech. He wrote with extraordinary facility and had a wonderful power of setting forth a proposition clearly, logically and convincingly.

Dr. Wines was a preacher. In the midst of his theological course he entered the service of the American Sunday School Union in Missouri. In 1862 President Lincoln appointed him as a Hospital Chaplain and in that capacity he served for over two years.

Mrs. Wines writes as follows:

"His first great interest in the problems of the poor and unfortunate was received while he was chaplain. He took charge of all the relief work for the refugees who came through Springfield, Mo., from Arkansas and Southwestern Missouri and his heart was touched by the suffering and ignorance among them."

In the National Conference of Charities and Correction Dr. Wines was for many years an active force. He was the moving spirit when the National Conference of Charities was separated from the Social Science Congress in 1878. He read many important papers in the Conference during the thirty-six years of his membership from 1876 to 1912.

Many who are here present remember the eloquent address of Dr. Wines last year at Boston, on the abolition of the county jail. His eye was not dimmed nor his natural force abated while he pleaded for humane, rational and decent treatment for those who are accused of crime and at the completion of his address the splendid audience that filled Tremont Temple cheered and applauded until he was forced to rise from his chair and bow his acknowledgment.

Dr. Wines was one of a group of pioneer secretaries of state boards of charities who blazed the way for the larger achievements of the twentieth century. Frank B. Sanborn, Frederick Howard Wines, Albert G. Byers,

Chas. S. Hoyt and Albert O. Wright, all of them save Sanborn have departed and their names are written upon the statute books of the states in which they lived and wrought and are carved indelibly upon the corner stones of prisons, reformatories, hospitals and homes for the insane, the feeble minded, the epileptics and the cripples. These men laid the foundation deep and strong upon which the twentieth century is building its noble edifices. They may be forgotten, but their work will survive throughout the centuries.

The President: The Secretary will read the amendments to the rules of procedure that have been made with the unanimous approval of all members of the Executive Committee, and that are based upon recommendtions of the Committee on Reorganization.

Mr. Johnson read the report of the Executive Committee which, by resolution, had been laid over from yesterday's session, as follows:

## REPORT OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The Executive Committee respectfully recommends to the Conference the following resolution and asks its adoption:

RESOLVED, That the following amendments to the rules of procedure be adopted.

### SECTION ON COMMITTEES.

1. Executive Committee. To change the section relating to the Executive Committee so as to read as follows:

The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, the First Vice-President, the ex-presidents, ex-officio and ten members who shall be elected as follows: Five each year for a term of two years; provided that at the election following the adoption of this amendment, five members shall be elected for one year and five for two years.

2. Committee on Organization. To be amended as follows:

The President at least three months before the opening of the Conference, shall appoint a committee of thirteen on Organization of the Next Conference, and shall fill vacancies which occur in its membership. The duties of this committee shall be to select the subjects to be considered by the next Conference, to decide upon the titles of the committees which shall be asked to present them, and to nominate the chairmen, vice-chairmen and some members of the committees.

3. A new section to read as follows:

The President, soon after the opening of the Conference, shall appoint a committee of nine on nomination. This committee shall nominate the following officers, viz: The President, the Vice-Presidents, the Elective Members of the eEecutive Committee and the Secretaries.

4. To change the sections relating to section meetings by striking out the words "All discussions shall be presented extemporaneously."

5. To add a New Section entitled Kindred Organizations, to read as follows:

The Executive Committee may authorize the Secretary to announce in the official program the meetings of certain national societies whose purposes are in harmony with those of the National Conference, and which meet at the same place and during, or immediately after or before, the sessions of the National Conference. No such meetings shall be announced until after action by the Executive Committee upon each year's announcement. No such meeting shall be announced which is to occur more than four days prior to the opening meeting of the Conference. No meeting shall be announced which conflicts in time with any meeting of the Conference.

The kindred organizations whose meetings are announced in the Conference program, shall be invited to send, if they see fit, to the Secretary of the Conference, in writing, not later than the second day of the Conference session, suggestions as to topics and speakers for the program of next year's session. Also several names of persons desirable for membership on the standing committees of the next Conference. Such suggestions shall be turned over by the Secretary of the Conference to the Committee on Organization.

Mr. Johnson moved that the recommendations therein contained be accepted by the Conference. Seconded and carried.

Mr. Robert A. Wood, Chairman, offered the report of the Committee on Organization. (Page 561).

Mr. Wood: Since the last meeting of our committee I have received a letter written in behalf of an informal meeting which was held Sunday for the discussion of relations between socialism and the social worker. This letter requests that the National Conference of Charities and Cor-

rection arrange for a section at which the discussion of the relations between social workers and socialism, single tax and kindred subjects may be considered. Those who were present yesterday at the meeting in the section on Standards of Living and Labor heard a very able paper on the subject of single tax. It was understood the Committee on Standards of Living and Labor were instructed to make their platform very broad, and continuing this committee itself, it was understood that this platform would be broad enough to include constructive discussion of any form of social reorganization. Without having specifically acted on the letter, the committee has already provided for such opportunities as are contemplated in this request.

I respectfully move that this report be adopted and accepted.

Seconded and carried.

The President: Officers and members of the Executive Committee, Chairman and Vice Chairman and members of standing committees are hereby elected as officers and members of committees on the next Conference.

Whereupon the meeting adjourned.

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## TENTH GENERAL SESSION.

### WEDNESDAY, JUNE 19th, 8:00 P. M.

**President Mack Presiding.**

The President: The first order of business is the report of the Committee on Resolutions.

### COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS REPORT

The report of the Committee on Resolutions was read by Mr. Graham Taylor as follows:

The Committee on Resolutions to which has been referred various resolutions unanimously reports in favor of the adoption of the following resolutions:

1. The resolution in memory of the Very Rev. William J. White, of Brooklyn, deceased during the past year..
2. A resolution of greetings to the Southern Sociological Congress.
3. Resolutions of thanks to those who have contributed to the success of this Conference.

We recommend that the suggestions offered by members of the Minnesota delegation in regard to the rules of the Conference be referred to the Executive Committee.

Several resolutions endorsing pending Federal Legislation or calling upon the Federal or local authorities to take action in various matters have been referred to and considered by the committee. The adoption of most of these resolutions would be in direct violation to the rules of the Conference which provide that the Conference shall not formulate platforms. Aside from this, we are convinced that the unbroken precedent of thirty-nine years is a wise one; that this Conference has not the staff to promote the carrying into effect of any platform which it might adopt, and that the adoption of such resolutions would divide the membership of the Conference, and in time defeat its original purpose, that of being a forum in which all matters affecting charity and correction may be freely discussed by those holding all shades of opinion.

WHEREAS, the Southern Sociological Congress with a large and representative membership has been organized and has expressed its intention of working in close harmony with the National Conference of Charities and Correction, therefore,

RESOLVED, That we extend our greetings and congratulations to this kindred organization and,

RESOLVED, That we express our appreciation of the valuable contributton to the cause of civic and social betterment in the Southern States rendered by Governor B. W. Hooper, of Tennessee, in issuing the call for the Congress and by Mrs. E. W. Cole, of Tennessee, who has guaranteed a sufficient sum to provide for the effective organization and maintenance of the Southern Sociological Congress for a period of five years.

WHEREAS, during the past year this Conference and the varied interterests represented in it have sustained an exceptional loss in the death of the Very Rev. William J. White, of Brooklyn, on August 29, 1911, therefore,

RESOLVED, That we desire to place on record this expression of our appreciation of the many and varied services rendered by Monsignor White to the promotion of a broader and deeper sense of responsibility for social

service and to the wiser and more effective work of the manifold agencies for the general good in his parish, his city, his state and the nation. His address on the Church and Social Service at the Boston meeting of this Conference, the last of his public addresses and his last public appearance, was a permanent contribution to a more sympathetic understanding among all who are engaged in social work. His powerful advocacy of the widest cooperation and his full performance of every duty devolving upon him as citizen, social worker and priest, made him a lasting power for good. His sincerity, simplicity and personal charm will be treasured by the hosts of his friends in this Conference and in the numerous other kindred bodies which were so fortunate as to include him in their mem-

At the close of the most largely attended and most valuable Conference that has ever been held, the delegates and members from all parts of the United States, Canada and other territories, through this Committee, offer their most cordial and heartfelt thanks to the City of Cleveland, which by its splendid Local Committee has proved a noble host. Every member of the Local Committee has done well, but we must especially thank the ladies of the Information Bureau under the splendid generalship of Mrs. M. A. Fanning; the ladies of the Reception Committee with Mrs. Ireland at their head, and those who, under Miss Sherwin's direction, have helped to make the membership what it has been.

We wish especially to thank those ladies who have so kindly and faithfully given us the beautiful floral decorations of our halls.

To Mr. Kennerdell, Chairman of the Committee on Halls, who has devoted himself for the entire week and for days preceding, to promote our comfort and convenience, and who has given us the most efficient and most admirable system of halls and registration room that we have ever enjoyed; to Mr. Henry, who has served faithfully on the Hotel Committee; to the City Department of Charities and Correction under the able leadership of Mr. Cooley, for the delightful excursion to the Cooley Farms, and to all the other members of the Committee who have been untiring in serving us, we extend our most hearty thanks. Our friend and colleague, James F. Jackson, has well redeemed his promises, made when we were invited to Cleveland.

We also wish to express our appreciation of the way in which the newspapers of the City have reported our meetings. The newspapers have shown an appreciation of the work of the Conference which has rarely been equaled, and never excelled in our history.

The registration of paying members has been slightly less than at Boston last year, but the total registration of members and visitors has been the largest on record. We are therefore entitled to say that this has been a record-breaking conference. We shall go to our homes with very warm appreciation and pleasant memories of the beautiful city of the lakes. Cleveland will have a warm place in our hearts henceforth and forever.

Respectfully submitted,

HOMER FOLKS, Chairman,
WM. J. DOHERTY.
C. M. HUBBARD,

The following is the resolution offered by members of Minnesota delegation which is referred to the Executive Committee:

WHEREAS, The National Conference of Charities and Correction is representative of the social organizations and social workers of every State in the Union, and,

WHEREAS, For the Conference to be truly representative in its management and operation, every state should have a word in its re-organization at each annual meeting, therefore be it,

RESOLVED, That hereafter the Committee on Time and Place shall be composed of one representative from each state represented at the Conference, said representative to be determined by a caucus to be held by the delegation of each state. When there is but one delegate present from any one state, said delegate shall be designated by the President of the Conference as a member of said Committee; and,

WHEREAS, We feel that the entire Conference is not given sufficient opportunity to voice their preference as regards the election of officers of the National Conference, be it further,

RESOLVED, That all elective officers of the Conference, (President Vice-President, Secretary and Treasurer), be nominated for election by the Convention by a nominating committee, said committee to be selected in like manner as herein recommended for the Committee on Time and Place.

Offered by

REV. L. R. S. FERGUSON,
J. T. SHAIN,
J. C. MATCHETT,
Of Minnesota Delegation.

Mr. Taylor moved the adoption of the report, which was seconded.

The President: Before putting that motion I desire to say that another resolution, doubtless to take the place of the one offered at a previous meeting and which was killed, has been offered by Mr. Marsh. Under the constitution and by-laws of this organization all resolutions must be referred without debate to the Committee on Resolutions. Therefore as this committee has ceased its labors and as the Chairman is about to depart from the city within a half hour, it would be impossible to refer this resolution in accordance with the by-laws, to the Committee on Resolutions, and to receive a report from them. By unanimous consent anything can be done, and by unanimous consent action could be taken upon this resolution. Without, however, asking unanimous consent, and in order to be more than fair because the Chairman's impartiality has by innuendo been questioned in some respects at this Conference, the resolution will be read, and any action that the Conference desires to take upon it may then be taken.

The Secretary then read the resolution.

The President: By unanimous consent of the Conference action may be taken on this resolution. If I hear no dissent, the question of the adoption of this resolution will be before the house. Before putting the motion of the Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, I shall therefore put the motion which I presume Mr. Marsh makes in support of his resolution, that this resolution be adopted. The resolution requires action by this Conference. The Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions has reported that a number of resolutions asking for action by this Conference have not been brought back by the Committee on Resolutions because action of that kind is contrary to the traditions of this Conference, and because the Committee on Resolutions approves of the tradition. It is however, in the hands of the conference to do as it pleases. I shall therefore put the question on the adoption of this resolution. Is it seconded?

Seconded.

A Member: On the ground of the unbroken traditions of the Conference, of which I have been a member seventeen years, I object to the unanimous consent.

The President: The objection is overruled. The question is, shall the resolution be adopted? All those in favor say aye.

(Voices: Aye, weakly).

The President: Contrary-minded, no.

(Voices: No, strong).

The President: The resolution is defeated. The motion of the Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions is now before the house.

The President: It is moved and seconded that the report of the Committee on Resolutions be adopted, and that the resolutions read to you be made the resolutions of this Conference.

The motion was unanimously carried.

The President: This meeting is now in the hands of the Committee on Sex Hygiene. This is the second year that we have had such a committee. In the meantime a national organization on sex hygiene has been established and its chief executive officer is Mr. Charles W. Birtwell, of Boston. We are therefore peculiarly fortunate in having him also as Chairman of this section of the Conference. I take pleasure in presenting to you Mr. Birtwell.

Mr. Birtwell read his report as Chairman of the Committee on Sex Hygiene. (Page 261).

Mr. Birtwell here assumed the chair.

The Chairman: We were next to hear from Dr. Phillip Zenner, of Cincinnati, emeritus professor of the medical department of the Cincinnati University. He has found it impossible to be present, and therefore his paper will be read by title and referred to the Committee on Publication. The title is, "Medical Science and the Medical Profession in the Movement for Sex Education and Hygiene." (Page 284). But we are fortunate in having two speakers to divide the time of Dr. Zenner—Dr. George E. Goler, Health Officer of Rochester, New York, is one. He has done most important service in bringing the work of health boards to a higher standard. I am extremely glad to be able to introduce Dr. Goler to you.

Dr. Goler read a paper entitled, "What Health Authorities Can Do to Prevent Venereal Diseases." (Page 304).

The Chairman: I now present to you Dr. Foster Kennedy, of New York, lecturer on Neurology in Cornell University.

Dr. Kennedy read a paper entitled, "Neurological Economics." (Page 297).

The Chairman: Certainly in regard to the part the school must perform in sex education the normal school is the strategic point. Whatever the teachers are to teach they must first be prepared; therefore we have provided for a consideration of the question of the normal scools in sex

education. I introduce Professor Jessie Phelps, of the Michigan State Normal School at Ypsilanti.

Professor Phelps read a paper entitled, "The Normal School in Sex Education." (Page 267).

The Chairman: The next speaker is Dean of the Cathedral of Sts. Peter and Paul of the Chicago, who was Chairman of the Chicago Vice Commission. I introduce the Very Rev. Walter T. Sumner.

Dr. Sumner read a paper entitled, "Some Aspects of Progress in Sex Problems." (Page 271).

The President resumed the chair.

The President: Before this Conference closes let met express personally, as the resolutions have expressed, on behalf of the Conference, my deep appreciation of all that Cleveland and Cleveland men and women have done for us. If in return we have stirred you up to a deeper sense of your own obligation, we shall be well repaid. Mr. Jackson, to whom this Conference owes so much, will say a word on behalf of Cleveland.

Mr. James F. Jackson, of Cleveland: It was something of a relief to have the Committee on Resolutions say that I told the truth. But I promised very little. I was very careful about my promises because according to my twenty years' charity training I proposed that we should do better than we promised. They have graciously acknowledged that we have done the things that they wished us to do. We anticipate a large benefit in the city of Cleveland, not only to its charities, but to its religious institutions. We believe that this Conference, meeting eight days here and considering most vital questions, has been of inestimable value to all the high-grade institutions in the City of Cleveland—church, schools and charities. We thank you for your courtesy. We are grateful for the Conference having come here because we never expect to have it again during our natural life. We trust we may benefit from the large benefit that it has made to our civic life.

Mr. Johnson. More people have registered as in attendance than at any previous Conference. The total number registered is 2,013. Unfortunately, however, 656 of these are registered merely as visitors, so we haven't quite so many paid registrations as last year. Of these Ohio has 409; New York, 191; Illinois, 150; Pennsylvania, 109; Massachusetts, 108; Indiana, 45; Michigan, 42; Missouri, 32; Maryland, 28; Canada, 19; Virginia, 18; District of Columbia, 17; Minnesota, 16; Wisconsin, 15; Connecticut, 13; Iowa, 13; Rhode Island, 13; Colorado, 11; Georgia, 11; Nebraska, 11; Washington, 10; Texas, 8; California, 7; Kansas, 6; Kentucky, 6; Alabama, 5; Tennessee, 5; West Virginia, 5; Arkansas, 4; Hawaii, 4; Louisiana, 4; Utah, 4; Maine, 3; Delaware, 2; Idaho, 2; Florida, 2; North Carolina, 2; New Hampshire, 2; Arizona, 1; North Dakota, 1; Oregon, 1; South Dakota, 1; Norway, 1. Total, 1,357.

The President: Permit me personally to say to the members of the Conference again how very deeply I appreciate the great honor which you conferred upon me a year ago. I thought at that time that I had another honor equally permanent, that is, for life, but recent events make me doubtful as to whether that is so. Under the constitution of this organization—which, however, is also susceptible to change—the President remains forever a member of the Executive Committee. I say in all sincerity that to be on that list, to be in that class, to mention only the most recent of my predecessors, to be in the class with Jane Addams, the first citizen of Chicago, aye, in the judgment of many of us the first citizen of our country, and with Homer Folks, leading authority in America on child-saving work, is an honor one must feel most deeply and sincerely. Now in handing over the gavel to my successor I can wish him nothing better than the hearty co-operation and support as given to me during the past year by my colleagues, and the splendid assistance of our General Secretary, Mr. Alexander Johnson. And this honor is well deserved by your new President. For thirteen years and over he has been an active member of this Conference. He has read papers to it and has participated in the discussions. He has devoted his life to the work of philanthropy of the real, constructive kind. As Vice President and the second officer of the Provident Trust Company he is doing the real work of making people self-reliant by making them not recipients of charity, but borrowers of a helpful remedial society. It affords me the greatest pleasure to present to you Mr. Frank Tucker, of New York, and to present to him the gavel which was given to me a year ago.

Mr. Tucker: Mr. President, and Members of the Conference: To have one's name added to that honored body of men composed of the ex-presidents of this Conference, to preside over the sessions of this remarkable body, is an honor that can come to but few men; and when it does come it makes a man feel very modest when he faces the responsibility that goes with the honor. I said that this was a remarkable body. The National Conference of Charities and Correction is more than a remarkable body. It is unique. There is nothing like it in the whole civilized world.

Last night, speaking from this platform, Father Kerby said that the National Conference was a continuing constitutional convention, writing continuously a supplemental constitution. To me the National Conference is even more, splendid as the comparison is. The National Conference to me seems to be a continuing memory of and for the people. It seems to me to be a national conscience. And when that idea came to me I said to myself, what has the National Conference itself or through its members done to justify the belief that it is a national conscience? Then I took a moment to set down things and when I got through the list astonished me. I think it will astonish you. There first came to me the great National Child Labor Committee, a committee through whose work industry is going to be revolutionized, and the child of this country will have a fair chance. Then there came to me the great National Anti-Tuberculosis Society, through whose work thousands have the promise of a continuous and happy life. Then there came to my mind that great investigation that is going to have such an effect in the future upon labor standards and standards of living and compensation, the investigation resulting in that great volume put out by Mr. Chapin, Secretary of the committee. Then came to me the recollection of the great housing movement that is spreading over the country, and which means daylight, sunshine, breathing space, sanitary living conditions to so many thousands of people. Then there came to my memory that other investigation in which I myself have had some part and which has resulted in showing up to the world the iniquities of these usurious money lenders whose grip upon tens of thousands of families is eating out their hearts. Then came the great playground movement, and then that magnificent publication which in a few years has grown from a circulation of 800 to 25,000 paid subscribers including the social workers of this country, that fine magazine, The Survey. Then I thought of that other survey—the Pittsburgh Survey—the greatest piece of social investigation that the world has ever known, with its far-reaching results upon one of the greatest industries of the country. Then I thought of the other movement affecting the standards of efficiency of government, the movement known as the Bureau of Municipal Research, which is enlisting the interests of hundreds of business men in the great cities of the country and tying them up closer than ever with the organized charity movement, because through it they begin to appreciate the relation of government to poverty. And then out of that great work grew the other national work known as the Provident Commission, which is going to put this great nation on a par with the other nations of the world in its financial system.

This Conference has done one other great thing. It has socialized the professions. It has brought together on this platform representatives of the law, of medicine, of commerce and trade, and as a result we have a socializing movement among lawyers, doctors, contractors and all kinds of employers of labor. It is no rare thing now for a great contractor to have his social service secretary, or for a great factory to have as a high official some one in charge of social welfare work. The recent great movement known as the Men and Religion Forward Movement had social welfare as the most prominent part of its program. The last, and it seems to me perhaps the most important effect that this Conference has exerted in the last few years is that of socializing government. That evidence we find in the recently established Children's Bureau, and the law providing for workmen's compensation. I think when we go over this list that we may well say that we are a national conscience.

Next year we go to what is comparatively a new country unacquainted with the problems we are struggling with. And yet those people are so far-sighted that they recognize that these problems are well on the way to them, and through one of the greatest works that any government has ever undertaken—the Panama Canal. The people of Seattle and vicinity know that when that canal is completed there will be a great immigration to that part of the country which will bring with it social problems such as we in the East and Middle West have been struggling with for years. They ask our help to prepare themselves to meet those problems wisely and efficiently when they come. It seems to me it is a duty that we should perform to the very best of our ability, in order that that great part of our country may save itself from the distress, suffering and misery which we know only too well. And now bidding you all farewell I ask that everyone make up his mind here tonight that he or she will go to Seattle and contribute his best efforts to the success of that Conference.

Whereupon the Thirty-ninth Conference adjourned without day.

# Minutes of the Section Meetings

The various committees in addition to their General Sessions, held a number of section meetings, which are given below under the headings of the names of the committees. Most of the papers read at these section meetings were of a high order of value and many of them appear in this volume. In some cases, also, the debates which took the places were of so great importance that they were reported stenographically and also appear.

The interest manifested in such meetings as the Joint Meeting of the Committee on Children, with that on Families and Neighborhoods, which discussed the so-called "Funds to Parents Act," was very high. The debate is printed practically in full.

The section meeting of the Committee on Courts and Prisons, devoted to prison labor, was similarly extremely interesting and was also reported.

## Committee on Children—Sherman C. Kingsley, Chairman.

This committee conducted three Section meetings and participated in two Joint Section meetings. The meetings held were as follows:

Tuesday, June 13th, 10 a.m. Presidential Address by Hon. James B. Garfield, page 81. A Program of Action for a Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, and one by William D. Phillips, of Milwaukee, entitled, "A Program for Infant Welfare Work," page 91. The papers were discussed among others, by C. C. Carstens, Boston; A. B. Williams, Cleveland; David S. Kerr, Philadelphia; Dr. W. J. Corlett, Cleveland.

Monday, June 19th, a paper on "The Place of the Public School in a Community Program of Child Welfare," by William A. Wirt, Superintendent of Schools, Gary, Ind., page 98; an address on "Woodland Children," by Dr. Helen T. Woolley, Cincinnati. Mr. Philip Davis, Boston, also made a brief address.

Wednesday, June 20th, a paper on "Community Program for Child Care," page 48, by Roger N. Baldwin, St. Louis, and one on "Community Care of Children," by J. Prentice Murphy, page 56, Boston. Papers were discussed, among others, by W. S. Reynolds, of Chicago, and William J. Norton, of Cincinnati.

## Committee on Sex Hygiene—Charles W. Eliot, Chairman.

This committee had three Section meetings as follows:

Monday, June 19, paper on "How Sex Problems are Encountered in Social Work," page 101, by George L. Meylan, of Baltimore; one on "Sex Education," by Dr. Isa S. Wile, of New York, page 108. The discussion was participated in by Dr. Evangeline Young, of Boston, page 116; Miss Louise B. Garnett, of New York; Miss Emma L. Adams, of New York.

Tuesday, June 20th, a paper on "Venereal Contagions Diseases in Children," by Dr. William F. Lewis, of Boston, page 121, and one on "The Newer Methods for Attacking Commercialized Vice," by Clifford G. Roe, page 131. Both papers were discussed by Marshall M. Davis, of Boston; Dr. Kate Waller Barrett, Washington, D. C.; Miss Melody, of Elmira, New York, also many attending from the larger cities and institutions in the vicinity.

Wednesday, June 20th, a paper on "The Eugenics Problem," page 211, by Bleecker Van Wagenen, of New York; also papers or addresses on "Eugenics in Schools," "Sex and Its Programs," by Prof. E. M. Yerkes, of Harvard, page 144; "Eugenics and Heredity," by C. B. Davenport, Cold Springs Harbor, page 152; "Marriages of the Unfit," by Dr. Robert H. Golden, Vineyard, N. J. Following the papers, a great many questions were addressed to the speakers and answered.

## Committee on Immigration—Hon. Leo Schaffein, Chairman.

This committee held one Section meeting as follows:

Thursday, June 15th, addresses on "Immigrant Homes," page 71, by N. A. Bekkum; "The Department of Immigration," page 77, by Hugh Pendexter, Cleveland. "The Protection of Immigrant Girls," by Dr. Mary Bartelme, Chicago. The following took part in the discussion: Miss Edith Abbott, Chicago; Miss Sadie American, New York; Judge Julian W. Mack, Chicago; C. J. Hull, Iowa; Miss Jane Perkins, Chicago and Wm. H. Schieffelin, of New York, and others.

## Committee on Families and Neighborhoods—Rev. Dr. Wm. J. Kerby, Chairman.

This committee held one Section meeting and participated in one Joint Section meeting.

Tuesday, June 13th, a paper read by Rev. Quincy L. Dodd, Boston, page 19, "Parks Among the Poor," page 26, and on "Day Nurseries," page 33, by Mrs. Arthur W. Dodge, New York, and on "A Study of the Experi-

[illegible]

### Committee on Publicity and Extension—Joseph Lee, Chairman.

[illegible]

### Courts and Prisons—Bailey B. Burritt, Chairman.

[illegible]

### Public Supervision and Administration— E. Dowson Chairman.

[illegible]

### Committee on Relations of Social and Medical Work—Dr. Lewis Webster Wilson, Chairman.

[illegible]

### Committee on Standards of Living and Labor—Owen R. Lovejoy, Chairman.

[illegible]

Monday, June 17th; topic, "Congestion, Rents and Taxes;" addresses by Louis F. Post, Chicago; (page 410) Warren D. Foster, Boston; (page 419), Alexander Johnson, Angola, Ind.

Tuesday, June 18th; general topic, "A Platform on Standards of Living and Labor;" papers as follows: "The Industrial Minimum," by Paul U. Kellogg; "Industrial Diseases," (page 424), John B. Andrews; "Control of Sanitary Standards," (page 429), Julius Henry Cohen; "Congestion and Taxation," (page 417), Benjamin C. Marsh; "Unemployment Insurance," (page 434), Harry Thomas; brief addresses were also made by the following: Rabbi Rudolph Coffee, Pittsburgh; Miss Margaret F. Byington, New York; Frank Morrison; Henry N. Platt, Pennsylvania; Edwin N. Clopper, Cincinnati; Richard K. Conant, Boston.

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## Joint Section Meetings

The Committee on Children, with the National Probation Association. "Some Present Day Problems of the Juvenile Court," (page 450), Prof. Hotchkiss, of Chicago; "The Children's Court of the Future," Miss Madaline Z. Doty, of New York; discussed by Homer Folks, Roger N. Baldwin, C. C. Carstens, Hon. Julian W. Mack, Hon. Newton M. Taylor and Hon. Henry Hulbert.

The Committee on Children with the Committee on Families and Neighborhoods. Topic, "Funds to Parents Act." Introduction (page 468), Sherman C. Kingsley; "Experiences and Observations which lead me to favor such a Law," (page 473), Judge Merritt W. Pinckney, Chicago; "Experiences and Observations which lead me to oppose such a Law," (page 481), Frederick Almy, Buffalo; discussed page 485 by Homer Folks, New York; W. Frank Persons, New York; Miss Julia C. Lathrop, R. W. Hebberd, C. F. Weller, Miss Alice Higgins, Max Senior, Miss Mary Richmond, O. F. Lewis, W. C. Phillips, Hon. Harvey H. Baker, Frank Tucker, Byron R. Long, Roger N. Baldwin, Miss Margaret Curtis, J. W. Magruder, and others.

The Committee on Courts and Prisons with the National Probation Association. This was a symposium on the judicial and probationary treatment of cases of non-support of family. Brief addresses were made as follows: by Edwin J. Cooley, Cleveland, (page 459); John J. Gascoyne, Newark, (page 462); Miss Minnie E. Low, Chicago, (page 465); Hon. Howard P. Nash, Brooklyn, (page 466); Hon. S. M. Black, Columbus. Others taking part in the discussion were John A. Kingsbury, New York; Charles F. Rogers, Chicago; Frank E. Wade, Buffalo; Morris D. Waldman, New York, and Hon. William H. DeLacy, Washington.

The Committee on Public Supervision with the Association of Public Relief Officials. General subject, "Infirmary Management." Papers on "Management of a City Infirmary," (page 437) by H. R. Cooley, Cleveland; "Problems in Common of the Large and Small Almshouse," (page 440) by H. H. Shirer, Columbus. Sanitation in County Infirmaries," (page 447) Dr. John R. Haynes, California. "Care of the Infirm," Miss Charlotte B. Forrester, Missouri; "Almshouse Property," (page 443), C. A. Root, Warren, O.; Almshouse Records," (page 445) Miss S. Ethel Clark, Indianapolis.

# Organization of the Conference for 1912

President, Hon. Julian W. Mack, Washington, D. C.; First Vice-President, Frederick Almy, Buffalo, N. Y.; Second Vice-President, John F. Moors, Boston, Mass.; Third Vice-President, Richard C. Gannon, Chicago, Ill.; General Secretary, Alexander Johnson, Angola, Ind.; Assistant Secretaries, Winthrop D. Lane, New York; William J. Doherty, New York; Mrs. K. Van Wyck, Milwaukee, Wis.; Miss Margaret Curtis, Boston, Mass.; W. S. Reynolds, Indianapolis, Ind.; Max Mitchell, Boston, Mass.; Rufus L. Smith, Montreal, Can.; W. T. Cross, Columbia, Mo.; M. A. Beeman, Buffalo, N. Y.; Treasurer, Washington Loan and Trust Company, Washington, D. C.

**Executive Committee.**—The ex-presidents as follows: F. B. Sanborn, Massachusetts (1881*); Hastings H. Hart, Illinois (1893); Alexander Johnson, Indiana (1897); William R. Stewart, New York (1898); Charles R. Henderson, Illinois (1899); Charles E. Faulkner, Minnesota (1900); John M. Glenn, Maryland (1901); Timothy Nicholson, Indiana (1902); Robert W. de Forest, New York (1903); Jeffrey R. Brackett, Massachusetts (1904); Rev. Samuel G. Smith, D. D., Minnesota (1905); Edward T. Devine, New York (1906); Amos W. Butler, Indiana (1907); Thomas M. Mulry, New York (1908); Ernest P. Bicknell, Illinois (1909); Miss Jane Addams, Illinois (1910); Homer Folks, New York (1911); The President, Hon. Julian W. Mack, the First Vice-President, Frederick Almy, and the following additional persons: Miss S. P. Breckinridge, Chicago, Ill.; H. W. Charles, Topeka, Kan.; Lee K. Frankel, New York, N. Y.; James F. Jackson, Cleveland, Ohio; Dr. S. M. Lindsay, New York, N. Y.; Joseph T. Mastin, Richmond, Va.; Francis H. McLean, New York, N. Y.; David F. Tilley, Boston, Mass.; Robert A. Woods, Boston, Mass.

**State Cor. Secretaries—Alabama,** Mrs. W. L. Murdoch, 1500 S. 20th St., Birmingham; **Alaska,** W. G. Beattie, Juneau; **Arkansas,** Prof. J. H. Reynolds, Fayetteville; **California,** W. A. Gates, 1007 Phelan Bldg., San Francisco; **Colorado,** William Thomas, Capitol Bldg., Denver; **Connecticut,** Charles P. Kellogg; Waterbury; **Delaware,** Mrs. E. P. Warner, Kentmere Place, Wilmington; **District of Columbia,** George S. Wilson, District Bldg., Washington; **Florida,** Marcus C. Fagg, Board of Trade Bldg., Jacksonville; **Georgia,** Joseph C. Logan, 705 Gould Bldg., Atlanta; **Idaho,** J. T. Humphries, St. Anthony; **Indiana,** Miss Laura Greely, Indianapolis; **Kansas,** Charles W. Gibbs, Sec. Board of Control, Topeka; **Kentucky,** Miss Frances Ingram, 428 S. First St., Louisville; **Louisiana,** Miss Lillian Friend, 1807 Palmer Ave., New Orleans;**Maine,** Edward P. Wentworth, Newcastle; **Maryland,** Nathaniel C. Grasty, Court House, Baltimore; **Massachusetts,** Joseph Lee, 101 Tremont St., Boston; **Michigan,** J. B. Montgomery, Supt. Michigan State Public School, Coldwater; **Minnesota,** A. W. Gutridge, 609 Baltimore Bldg., St. Paul; **Missouri,** W. T. Cross, Secy. State Board of Charities and Correction, Columbia; **Montana,** D. B. Price, 4 Harrison Ave., Helena; **Nebraska,** A. W. Clark, 354 N. 41st St., Omaha; **New Hampshire,** William J. Ahern, State Board of Charities, Concord; **New Jersey,** Joseph P. Byers, Newark; **New York,** Dr. Robert W. Hill, The Capitol, Albany; **North Carolina,** Miss Daisy Denson, Secretary Board of Public Charities, The Capitol, Raleigh; **North Dakota,** O .H. McCracken, 15 S. 8th St., South Fargo; **Ohio,** H. H. Shirer, 805 Harrison Bldg., Columbus; **Oklahoma,** Miss Kate Barnard, State House, Oklahoma City; **Oregon,** Mrs. Millie R. Trumbull, 250 1-2

Third St., Portland; **Pennsylvania,** Carl Kelsey, Logan Hall, W. Philadelphia; **Rhode Island,** Thomas B. Maymon, 55 Eddy St., Providence; **South Carolina,** A. T. Jamison, Greenwood; **South Dakota,** W. H. King, Parker; **Tennessee,** Edwin P. Anderson, 225 Berry St., Nashville; **Texas,** John L. Green, 1003 Throckmorton St., Fort Worth; **Utah,** Mrs. Ida Smoot Dusenberry, Provo; **Vermont,** Rev. J. Edward Wright, 19 Baldwin St., Montpelier; **Virginia,** J. T. Mastin, Library Bldg., Richmond; **Washington,** Miss Virginia McMechen, 312 Collins Bldg., Seattle; **Wisconsin,** M. J. Tappins, Madison; **New Brunswick,** Rev. Thomas Hunter Boyd, The Manse, Waweig; **Nova Scotia,** Rev. J. W. Macmillan, D. D., 317 Pleasant St., Halifax.

## STANDING COMMITTEES FOR 1912.

**Children**—Chairman, Sherman C. Kingsley, Chicago, Ill.; Vice Chairman, Bernard Flexner, Paul Jones Bldg., Louisville, Ky.; Arthur D. Baldwin, Garfield Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio; C. C. Carstens, 43 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass.; Hon. Walter H. Clark, 38 Willard St., Hartford, Conn.; Dr. Katharine Bement Davis, Bedford, N. Y.; Hon. William H. DeLacy, 1816 F. St., N. W., Washington, D. C.; W. J. Doherty, Catholic Home Bureau, 105 E. 22nd St., New York, N. Y.; Mrs. Martha P. Falconer, Sleighton Farm, Darling, Pa.; Miss Jean M. Gordon, 1800 Prytania St., New Orleans, La.; Mrs. Charles Henrotin, 754 Lincoln Parkway, Chicago, Ill.; Miss Jessie Henry, Georgetown, Ohio; Prof. Carl Kelsey, Univ. of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.; J. J. Kelso, Dept. of Dep. Chn. Parliament Bldg., Toronto, Ont.; Herbert F. Lewis, 2414 Griffith Ave., Los Angeles, Cal.; Rev. William De Loss Love, Hartford, Conn.; Miss Minnie F. Low, 4906 Indiana Ave., Chicago, Ill.; Charles E. McKenna, 50 Church St., New York, N. Y.; Rev. Francis T. Moran, D. D., 3602 Bridge Ave. N. W., Cleveland, Ohio; J. Prentice Murphy, 1310 S. 15th St., Philadelphia, Pa.; Rev. P. J. O'Callaghan, 911 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.; Prof. Thomas J. Riley, 19th and Locust St., St. Louis, Mo.; F. J. Sessions, Davenport, Iowa; Chester Jacob Teller, Hebrew Orphan Asy., Ralph and Pacific Sts., Brooklyn, N. Y.; Hon. Edward F. Waite, Court House, Minneapolis, Minn.

**Courts and Prisons**—Chairman, Bailey B. Burritt, 105 E. 22nd St., New York, N. Y.; Vice-Chairman, Prof. Roscoe Pound, Law School of Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass.; Hon. Harvey H. Baker, 17 Somerset St., Boston, Mass.; Jacob Billikopf, Jewish Educational Inst., Kansas City, Mo.; Rev. Harris R. Cooley, 1821 E. 89th St., Cleveland, Ohio; Miss Frances G. Curtis, 28 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass.; Miss Madeleine Z. Doty, C. O. S., 105 E. 22nd St., New York, N. Y.; Prof. James W. Garner, Urbana, Ill.; Dr. J. T. Gilmour, Central Prison, Toronto, Ont.; John M. Glenn, 105 E. 22nd St., New York, N. Y.; Prof. C. R. Henderson, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.; Thomas W. Hynes, 1332 Pacific St., Brooklyn, N. Y.; Judge Manuel Levine, 7202 Hough Ave., Cleveland, Ohio; O. F. Lewis, 135 E. 15th St., New York, N. Y.; Joseph C. Logan, 705 Gould Bldg., Atlanta, Ga.; Rev. F. Emory Lyons, 415 Rand McNally Bldg., Chicago, Ill.; Frederick H. Mills, 97 Warren St., New York, N. Y.; Miss Maude E. Miner, 38 W. 10th St., New York, N. Y.; Frank Moore, Rahway, N. J.; Frank Morrison, Ouray Bldg., Washington, D. C.; Hon. Harry Olson, Chicago, Ill.; Frank L. Randall, Supt. St. Refty, St. Cloud Minn.; Richard M. Reilly, 122 E. King St., Lancaster, Pa.; Hon. Morris W. Seymour, Bridgeport, Conn.; Rev. Thomas C. Slicer, 27 E. 22nd St., New York, N. Y., Arthur W. Towne, State Capitol, Albany, N. Y.; Hon. John E. Weeks, Middlebury, Vt.; Bronson Winthrop, 32 Liberty St., New York, N. Y.

**Families and Neighborhoods**—Chairman, Rev. W. J. Kerby, D. D., Catholic University, Washington, D. C.; Vice-Chairman, Eugene T. Lies,

County Bldg., Minneapolis, Minn., Boris D. Bogen, 965 Elberon Ave., Cincinnati, Ohio; J. Bruce Byall, 419 S. 15th St., Philadelphia, Pa.; R. Bayard Cutting, 32 Nassau St., New York, N. Y.; Miss Anna E. Davies, 433 Christian St., Philadelphia, Pa.; Lady Drummond, Montreal, Quebec; Eugene C. Foster, 501 St. Clair Ave., Cleveland, Ohio; Mrs. John M. Glenn, 136 E. 19th St., New York, N. Y.; Miss Mary C. Goodwillie, 1015 No. Calvert St., Baltimore, Md.; Richard Hayter, Central Bldg., Seattle, Wash.; Miss Frances Ingram, 428 S. First St., Louisville, Ky.; Miss Louisa Knox, Brighton Rd., Ben Aven, Pa.; L. H. Levin, 411 Fayette St., Baltimore, Md.; Rev. R. M. Little, Bellevue, Pa.; Rabbi David Marx, 354 Washington St., Atlanta, Ga.; Miss Mary Matthews, 413 W. 46th St., New York, N. Y.; John Rea, 2116 N. Uber St., Philadelphia, Pa.; Rev. Theodore Irving Reese, 85 Jefferson Ave., Columbus, Ohio; Rev. M. J. Scanlan, 43 Tremont St., Boston, Mass.; Miss Amelia Sears, 1944 W. Adams St., Chicago, Ill.; Howard L. Strong, Chamber of Commerce, Cleveland, Ohio; James H. Wheeler, Godman Guild, Columbus, Ohio.

**Housing and Recreation**—Chairman, Joseph Lee, 101 Tremont St., Boston, Mass.; Vice-Chairman, Miss Edith Abbott, Hull House, Chicago, Ill.; George A. Bellamy, 2723 Orange Ave., Cleveland, Ohio; Mrs. Emmons Blaine, 344 E. Erie St., Chicago, Ill.; Mrs. Joseph T. Bowen, 1430 Astor St., Chicago, Ill.; Miss Kate Holladay Claghorn, 44 E. 23rd St., New York, N. Y.; E. D. De Groot, 57th St. and Cottage Grove Ave., Chicago, Ill.; Marcus C. Fagg, Jacksonville, Fla., Room 6, Board of Trade Bldg.; J. Howard T. Falk, 301 Edwin St., Winnipeg, Man.; Paul L. Feiss, 632 St. Clair Ave. N. W., Cleveland, Ohio; Samuel S. Fleisher, 25th and Hamilton Sts., Philadelphia, Pa.; Robert Garrett, 506 Continental Bldg., Baltimore, Md.; J. M. Hanson, Youngstown, Ohio; James S. Holden, 64 Lafayette Blvd., Detroit, Mich.; C. M. Hubbard, Prov. Assn., St. Louis, Mo.; George E. Johnson, Lyceum Bldg., Pittsburg, Pa.; Rt. Rev. D. J. McMahon, 237 E. 21st St., New York, N. Y.; John Melpolder, Supt. Boys' Clubs, 449 S. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Ind.; Sidney E. Pritz, 909 Sycamore St., Cincinnati, Ohio; Miss Charlotte Rumbold, City Hall, St. Louis, Mo.; Mrs. John Wood Stewart, Glen Ridge, N. J.; Graham R. Taylor, 31 W. Lake St., Chicago, Ill.; Miss Harriet Townsend, Elizabeth, N. J.; Lawrence Veiller, 105 E. 22nd St., New York, N. Y.; Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, 23 W. 90th St., New York, N. Y.

**Immigration**—Chairman, W. J. Schieffelin, 170 William St., New York, N. Y.; Vice-Chairman, Prof. E. A. Ross, Madison, Wis.; Miss Grace Abbott, Hull House, Chicago, Ill.; Miss Jane Addams, Hull House, Chicago, Ill.; Miss Emily G. Balch, Wellesley, Mass.; Hon. Duncan N. Fletcher, Jacksonville, Fla.; Prof. J. W. Jenks, Ithaca, N. Y.; Very Rev. Francis C. Kelley, D. D., LL. D., McCormick Bldg., Chicago, Ill.; Max J. Kohler, 30 Broad St., New York, N. Y.; George B. Mangold, 4002 Lexington Ave., St. Louis, Mo.; Com'r C. P. Neill, 3556 McComb St., Washington, D. C.; Jacob H. Schiff, 51 Williams St., New York, N. Y.; Max Senior, Mitchell Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio; Prof. E. A. Steiner, Grinnell, Iowa; Cyrus L. Sulzberger, 516 West End Ave., New York, N. Y.; Miss Lillian D. Wald, 265 Henry St., New York, N. Y.; Prof. Robert DeC. Ward, Harvard Univ., Cambridge, Mass.; Umberto M. Coletti, Society for Italian Immigrants, 129 Broad St., New York, N. Y.; Gaylord S. White, Union Settlement, 237 E. 104th St., New York, N. Y.

**Public Supervision and Administration**—Chairman, H. C. Bowman, Topeka, Kan.; Vice-Chairman, Miss Julia C. Lathrop, Hull House, Chicago, Ill.; Robert Biggs, 828 Law Bldg., Baltimore, Md.; George Clapperton, Grand Rapids, Mich.; Allen D. Conover, 8 Tenney Block, Madison, Wis.; W. T. Cross, Columbia, Mo.; Hon. Charles A. DeCourcey, Lawrence, Mass.; Dr. H. H. Drysdale, 846 Rose Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio; Mrs. Clara S. Folz, Merchants' Trust Bldg., Los Angeles, Cal.; John W.

Hogan, 841 Onondago Co. Sav. Bank Bldg., Syracuse, N. Y.; W. Almont Gates, 1007 Phelan Bldg., San Francisco, Cal.; Robert W. Hebberd, The Capitol, Albany, N. Y.; James F. Jackson, 1502 Mentor Ave., Cleveland, Ohio; W. H. King, Parker, S. D.; William H. Malthle 626 Equitable Bldg., Baltimore, Md.; J. A. Piper, Lincoln, Neb.; P. M. Ringdal, 1808 Dayton Ave., St. Paul, Minn.; G. S. Robinson, State House, Des Moines, Iowa; H. H. Shirer, State House, Columbus, Ohio; Dr. Samuel E. Smith, Richmond, Ind.

**Relation of Medical and Social Work**—Chairman, Dr. James Alexander Miller, 18 W. 51st St., New York, N. Y.; Vice-Chairman, Miss Ida M. Cannon, 2 Divinity Ave., Cambridge, Mass.; Dr. Philip King Brown, 330 Post St., San Francisco, Cal.; Miss Mary Vida Clark, 105 E. 22nd St., New York, N. Y.; Miss Ella Crandall, Teachers' College, Columbia Univ., New York, N. Y.; Mrs. W. K. Draper, 121 E. 36th St., New York, N. Y., Dr. Henry B. Favill, 32 N. State St., Chicago, Ill.; Miss Mary Gardner, 55 Eddy St., Providence, R. I.; Sidney E. Goldstein, 2127 83rd St., Brooklyn, N. Y.; Dr. John A. Horgan, 120 Blue Hill Ave., Boston, Mass.; Dr. J. H. Mason Knox, Jr., 804 Cathedral St., Baltimore, Md.; Dr. John H. Lowman, 1807 Prospect Ave., Cleveland, Ohio; Dr. Adolph Meyer, Johns Hopkins Hosp., Baltimore, Md.; Miss Nannie J. Miner, 223 S. Cherry St., Richmond Va.; Miss Helen B. Pendleton, Savannah, Ga.; Miss E. V. H. Richards, Garrison, P. O., Maryland; Wickliffe Rose, Sec. Rockefeller Sanit. Com., Washington, D. C.; Dr. Theodore B. Sachs, 32 N. State St., Chicago, Ill.; Miss Belle Sherwin, Willoughby, Ohio; John R. Shillady, 627 White Bldg., Buffalo, N. Y.; Dr. Philip Van Ingen, 125 E. 71st St., New York; Alexander M. Wilson, 238 Pine St., Philadelphia, Pa.; Miss Lucy Wright, 308 Ford Bldg., Boston, Mass.; Dr. W. Gilman Thompson, New York; Paul Kennaday, New York.

**Sex Hygiene**—Chairman, Charles W. Brittwell, 43 Charity Bldg., Boston, Mass.; Vice-Chairman, Dr. Philip Zenner, Glen Bldg., Cincinnati, Ohio; Dr. Emelyn Blackburn, 768 N. High St., Columbus, Ohio; Prof. Charles W. Eliot, Cambridge, Mass.; Prof. Irving Fisher, Yale Univ., New Haven, Conn.; Miss Laura B. Garrett, 156 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.; Mrs. John M. Glenn, 136 E. 19th St., New York, N. Y.; Dr. Luther H. Gulick, 1 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.; Dr. William Healey, Winnetka, Ill.; Dr. Charles R. Henderson, Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.; Dr. Donald R. Hooker, Cedar Lawn, Baltimore, Md.; Prof. E. R. Johnstone, Vineland, N. J.; Dr. George M. Kober, 1819 Q. St., N. W., Washington, D. C.; Dr. H. G. Sherman, 736 Rose Bld., Cleveland, Ohio; Dr. Graham Taylor, 180 Grand Ave., Chicago, Ill.; Felix M. Warburg, 52 William St., New York, N. Y.; Dr. William H. Welch, Johns Hopkins Medical School, Baltimore, Md.; Dr. Robert M. Wilson, 1708 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa.

**Standards of Living and Labor**—Chairman, Owen R. Lovejoy, 105 E. 22nd St., New York, N. Y.; Vice-Chairman, Mrs. Raymond Robbins, 1437 W. Ohio St., Chicago, Ill.; John B. Andrews, Metropolitan Tower, New York, N. Y.; Edward T. Devine, 105 E. 22nd St., New York, N. Y.; Dr. Lee K. Frankel, Metropolitan Bldg,. New York, N. Y.; John Golden, Fall River, Mass.; Miss Pauline Goldmark, 105 W. 40th St., New York, N. Y.; Dr. Hamilton, Hull House, Chicago, Ill.; Mrs. Florence Kelley, 105 E. 22nd St., New York, N. Y. Paul U. Kellogg, 105 E. 22nd St., New York, N. Y.; V. Everit Macy, 68 Broad St., New York, N. Y.; Rev. Charles S. MacFarland, 1611 Clarendon Bldg., New York, N. Y.; Benj. C. Marsh, Room 506, 320 Broadway, New York, N. Y.; Mrs. Dexter Otey, Lynchburg, Va.; Prof. Walter Rauschenbush, Rochester Theo. Semin, Rochester, N. Y.; Rev. John A. Ryan, St. Paul Seminary, St. Paul, Minn.; A. T. Stoval, Okalona, Miss.; Harry Thomas, 310 Prospect Ave. So., Cleveland, Ohio; Hon. William B. Wilson, Blossburg, Va.

# Financial Report

## NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTION, SECRETARY'S FINANCIAL STATEMENT YEAR 1911-1912.

To Balance with Treasurer, June 5, 1911 ..... $ 328 22

### RECEIPTS.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Receipts from Members—Active: | | | |
| 1909 | $ 2 50 | | |
| 1910 | 52 50 | | |
| 1911 | 3,254 13 | | |
| 1912 | 3,315 90 | | |
| 1913 | 24 86 | | |
| Total Active | | $6,649 89 | |
| Receipts from Members—Sustaining: | | | |
| 1911 | $ 180 00 | | |
| 1912 | 1,660 00 | | |
| Total Sustaining | | $1,840 00 | |
| Total Memberships | | | $8,489 89 |
| Contributions | | | 2,018 00 |
| Sales of Proceedings | $1,042 72 | | |
| Sales of Guide | 27 25 | | |
| Sales of Index | 19 21 | | |
| Sales of Reprints | 91 80 | | |
| Sales of Bulletins | 2 20 | | |
| Sales of Badges | 146 06 | | |
| Total Sales | | $1,329 24 | |
| Exchange on Checks | | 3 05 | |
| Interest on Deposit | | 25 34 | |
| Total Revenue | | | $11,865 52 |
| Refund Secretary's Contingent Fund | | | 400 00 |
| Grand Total | | | $12,593 74 |

### DISBURSEMENTS.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Publishing Proceedings of 1911: | | | |
| Reporting | $ 253 65 | | |
| Printing | 1,606 39 | | |
| Plates | 82 13 | | |
| Binding | 646 01 | | |
| Distributing | 692 27 | | |
| Total Proceedings 1911 | | $3,280 45 | |
| Proceedings, Stock, Binding | 122.85 | | |
| Storage | 18 50 | | |
| Total Proceedings Stock | | $ 141 35 | |
| Bulletin Publishing | $ 523 92 | | |
| Bulletin Distributing | 272 11 | | |
| Total Bulletin | | $ 796 03 | |
| Reprints Publishing | $ 261 50 | | |
| Circulars and Sundry Printing | 253 70 | | |
| Index Binding | 29 40 | | |
| Total | | $ 544 60 | |
| Total Printing and Publishing | | | $4,762 43 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Salaries | | $4,298 50 | |
| General Expense: | | | |
| Secretary's Traveling Expense | $ 279 50 | | |
| Conference Expense | 189 48 | | |
| Postage (not including Bulletin) | 309 85 | | |
| Stationery and Office Supplies | 234 15 | | |
| Office Rent, Etc. | 180 00 | | |
| Office Furniture | 48 50 | | |
| Telegraph and Telephone | 67 27 | | |
| Insurance | 20 80 | | |
| Secretary's Official Bond | 7 50 | | |
| Freight, Express and Sundry | 173 59 | | |
| Total General Expense | | $5,809 14 | |
| Publicity Agent Expenses: | | | |
| Salary of Publicity Agent | $ 500 00 | | |
| Traveling Exp. Publicity Agent | 173 20 | | |
| Printing and Stationery for Agt | 184 83 | | |
| Total Publicity Expenses | | $ 858 03 | |
| Total Expense Account | | | $ 6,667 17 |
| Secretary's Contingent Fund | | | 400 00 |
| Grand Total Disbursements | | | 11,829 60 |
| Balance with Treasurer | | | 764 14 |
| | | | $12,593 74 |

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THE AUDIT COMPANY OF ILLINOIS.
Harris Trust Building,
Chicago.

June 7, 1912.

The Executive Committee of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, Cleveland, Ohio.

Gentlemen—We have audited your Secretary's Financial Report for the Conference year 1911-1912, from May 31, 1911, to June 1, 1912, and have found that all cash receipts have been duly turned over to the Treasurer, The Washington Loan & Trust Company, Washington, D. C., and that all disbursements have been properly vouched and correctly applied.

The following is a condensed statement of the financial transactions for the period under review:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Balance on hand June 1, 1911 | | $ 328 22 |
| Receipts, per Cash Book, Fees, Donations, Etc. | $12,240 18 | |
| Interest earned, per Bank Statement | 25 34 | |
| | | 12,265 52 |
| Total cash received | | $12,593 74 |
| Disbursements | | 11,829 60 |
| Balance on hand June 1, 1912 | | 764 14 |

A copy of the Secretary's report is appended hereto.

Yours very truly,

C. W. KNISELY.
President and Manager.

# Rules of Procedure for the National Conference of Charities and Correction

(As Amended June 18, 1912.)

## PREAMBLE.

The National Conference of Charities and Correction exists to discuss the problems of charities and correction, to disseminate information and promote reforms. It does not formulate platforms.

## MEMBERSHIP.

All persons who are interested in charities and correction may become members by registering their names and paying the annual fee.

Honorary members may be elected on recommendation of the Executive Committee.

The annual membership fee shall be $2.50, and the sustaining membership fee shall be $10.00 annually. These membership fees shall entitle each member to a copy of the Proceedings and other publications of the Conference. Sustaining members shall be entitled to a second copy of the Proceedings, on request.

State Boards of Charities and other societies and institutions subscribing for the Proceedings in quantities shall be entitled to enroll their officers and members as members of this conference at the rate of one member for each $2.50 paid.

## OFFICERS.

The officers of the Conference shall be a President, first, second and third Vice-Presidents, a General Secretary, six or more assistant Secretaries, a Treasurer, and a Corresponding Secretary from each state and territory. These officers shall be elected annually by the Conference.

## COMMITTEES.

The standing committees shall be an Executive Committee and a committee on each subject which it is proposed to discuss at the ensuing Conference.

The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, first Vice-President, the Treasurer and all ex-Presidents, ex-officio, and ten members who shall be elected as follows: Five each year for a term of two years. Provided, that at the election following the adoption of this amendment, five members shall be elected for one year and five for two years.

The President, at least three months before the opening of the Conference, shall appoint a committee of thirteen on Organization of the next Conference, and shall fill vacancies which occur in its membership. The duties of this committee shall be to select the subjects to be considered by the next Conference, to decide upon the titles of the committees which shall be asked to present them, and to nominate the chairmen, vice-chairmen and some members of the committees.

The President, soon after the opening of the Conference, shall appoint a committee of nine on nomination. This committee shall nominate the following officers, viz: The President, the Vice-Presidents, the Elective Members of the Executive Committee and the Secretaries.

The President shall also appoint a committee of three on resolutions; to which all resolutions shall be referred without debate.

At each annual session of the Conference, on the first day after the organization, the President shall appoint a committee to be known as the Committee on Time and Place of the next meeting. The Committee on Time and Place shall meet on the afternoon or evening of the same day for the purpose of receiving invitations from states or cities, and shall give a reasonable time for the presentation of invitations by all cities or states desiring to present such invitations. The committee shall report to the Conference not later than 12 o'clock, noon of the day following their appointment. The action on report of the committee shall be by a rising vote, provided that the city receiving the highest vote shall be selected; and provided, further, that the place of meeting selected may be changed by the Executive Committee, if satisfactory local arrangements cannot be made.

## DUTIES OF OFFICERS.

The President shall be chairman, ex-officio, of the Executive Committee, and shall have the supervision of the work of the several committees in preparing for the meeting of the Conference. He shall have authority to accept resignations and to fill vacancies in the list of officers and chairmen of committees, and to fill vacancies in and add to the numbers of any committee except the Executive Committee. In case of the absence or inability of the President to serve he shall be succeeded by the first Vice-President, and he in like manner by the second or third Vice-President in the order named.

The General Secretary shall be ex-officio Secretary of the Executive Committee, and Chairman of the Committee on Reports from States. He shall conduct the correspondence of the Conference with officers, committees and others, under the direction of the President. He shall have charge of the distribution of all announcements and programs, and shall direct the work of the secretaries and be responsible for the correctness of the roll of members. He shall be the custodian of the unsold copies of the reports of the Proceedings, receive all orders for the same, and direct their distribution.

He shall receive all membership fees and proceeds of sales of the reports of the Proceedings, and pay the same promptly to the Treasurer. He shall receive compensation for his services and an allowence for clerk hire and other expenses, the amount and time of payment of which shall be fixed by the Executive Committee from time to time.

The Treasurer shall receive and disburse all moneys of the Conference, all disbursements to be made only upon order of the General Secretary, approved by the President or by some member of the Executive Committee, to be named by the President.

The Official Reporter shall report the Proceedings of the Conference, under the direction of the General Secretary.

The retiring President of the Conference and the General Secretary shall constitute a Publication Committee, and shall have charge of the editing and publishing of the Proceedings.

The Corresponding Secretaries shall be responsible for the annual reports from their several states. It shall be their duty to secure the attendance of representatives from public and private institutions and societies.

## THE DUTIES OF COMMITTEES.

The Executive Committee shall be the President's Advisory Board, and shall hold the powers of the Conference in the interim between the meetings. The Executive Committee may appoint sub-committees to attend to matters of detail.

Meetings of the Executive Committee shall be called by the President of the Conference, and five members shall constitute a quorum, provided, that, when the Conference is not in session, three members shall constitute a quorum.

The Local Committee shall make all necessary local arrangements for the meeting, and provide suitable meeting places, satisfactory to the President and the General Secretary. They shall provide funds for the expenses of the Conference in such amount as the Executive Committee may determine.

The President, in consultation with the Chairman of each standing Committee, shall arrange the program for the sessions and section meetings, and shall so arrange it as to give opportunity for free discussion; provided that the program, before final adoption, shall be submitted to the Executive Committee for its approval.

No paper shall be presented to the Conference except through the proper committee, and no paper shall be read in the absence of the writer except by unanimous consent.

In cases when there is a cognate national organization which meets at or about the time of the National Conference, the chairman of the appropriate committee shall endeavor to co-operate with the President of the said national organization and as far as possible shall endeavor to correlate the programs of the said society and of the Conference.

## SECTION MEETINGS.

The Section Meetings are designed for familiar discussion. Not more than two papers shall be read at any section meeting, to occupy together not more than thirty minutes. If possible, papers shall be printed and distributed beforehand, that the entire meeting may be given to discussion No afternoon meetings shall be inserted in the official program.

## DEBATES.

In the debates of the Conference, speakers shall be limited to five minutes each, except by unanimous consent, and shall not be allowed to speak twice on any subject until all others have had an opportunity to be heard.

## KINDRED ORGANIZATIONS.

The Executive Committee may authorize the Secretary to announce in the official program the meetings of certain national societies whose purposes are in harmony with those of the National Conference, and which meet at the same place and during, or immediately after or before, the sessions of the National Conference. No such meetings shall be announced until after action by the Executive Committee upon each year's announcement. No such meeting shall be announced which is to occur more than four days prior to the opening meeting of the Conference. No meeting shall be announced which conflicts in time with any meeting of the Conference.

The kindred organizations whose meetings are announced in the Conference program shall be invited to send, if they see fit, to the Secretary of the Conference, in writing, not later than the second day of the Conference session, suggestions as to topics and speakers for the program of the next year's session. Also several names of persons desirable for membership on the standing committees of the next Conference. Such suggestions shall be turned over by the Secretary of the Conference to the Committee on Organization.

## AMENDMENTS.

These rules shall remain in force from year to year, unless amended; and all additions or amendments shall be submitted to the Executive Committee before being acted on by the Conference.

# State Boards and Commissions

ARIZONA. Board of Control. Capitol, Phoenix. Established 1894. Gov. George W. P. Hunt, Chairman, Phoenix; Charles R. Osburn, Secretary, Phoenix; Auditor of State, J. C. Callaghan, ex-officio, Phoenix.

CALIFORNIA. State Board of Charities and Corrections. 1007 Phelan Building, San Francisco. Established 1903. Hiram W. Johnson, Governor, Sacramento; Rabbi Martin A. Meyer, President, San Francisco; Carrie Parsons Bryant, Vice President, Los Angeles; Dr. John R. Haynes, Los Angeles; Jessica B. Peixotto, Berkeley; Rev. Charles A. Ramm, San Francisco; W. S. Tinning, Martinez; W. Almont Gates, Secretary, San Francisco.

COLORADO. State Board of Charities and Corrections. Capitol, Denver. Established 1891. Gov. John F. Shaforth, ex-officio, Denver. Mrs. James Williams, Denver, President; Rev. William O'Ryan, Denver, Vice President; Rev. Dr. W. S. Friedman, Denver; Mr. Lafayette M. Hughes, Denver; Elizabeth Cassidy, M. D., Denver; Mr. Elmer F. Beckwith, Longmont; William Thomas, Denver, Secretary.

CONNECTICUT. State Board of Charities. Capitol, Hartford. Established 1873. Thos. F. Kane, M. D., President, Hartford; Edward A. Down, M. D., Hartford; Justin B. Holman, Saybrook; Mrs. Frank A. Mitchell, Norwich; Miss Anna C. Walter, Middletown; Charles P. Kellogg, Secretary, Waterbury.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA. Board of Charities. District Building, Washington. Established 1900. John Joy Edson, President, Washington; George M. Kober, Vice Pres., Washington; George S. Wilson, Secretary, Washington; Myer Cohen, Washington; George W. Cook, Washington; George E. Hamilton, Washington.

GEORGIA. The Prison Commission of Georgia, Atlanta. Established 1897. R. E. Davison, Chairman; Wiley Williams, Columbus; T. E. Patterson, Griffin; G. H. Yancey, Secretary, Atlanta.

ILLINOIS. Charities Commission. Capitol, Springfield. Established 1909. Dr. Frank Billings, President, Chicago; Dr. Emil G. Hirsch, Chicago; Dr. J. T. McAnally, Carbondale; John M. Rapp, Fairfield; John B. Harris, Champaign; Secretary A. L. Bowen, Springfield.

ILLINOIS. Board of Administration. Capitol, Springfield. Established 1909. L. Y. Sherman, President, Springfield; B. R. Burroughs, Secretary, Edwardsville; Frank D. Whipp, Fiscal Supervisor, Springfield; Thomas O'Connor, Peoria; Frank P. Norbury, M. D., Alienist, Springfield.

INDIANA. Board of State Charities. State House, Indianapolis. Established 1889. Gov. Thos. R. Marshall, President, Indianapolis; Demarchus C. Brown, Indianapolis; W. H. Eichhorn, Bluffton; Mary A. Spink, M. D., Indianapolis; Rev. Francis H. Gavisk, Indianapolis; John H. Holliday, Indianapolis; Mrs. Emma Lee Elam, Indianapolis; Amos W. Butler, Secretary, Indianapolis; John A. Brown, State Agent; S. Ethel Clark, Inspector.

IOWA. Board of Control of State Institutions. Capitol, Des Moines. Established, 1898. G. S. Robison, Chairman, Des Moines; John F. Wade; Dr. Murdoch Bannister; F. S. Treat, Secretary, Des Moines.

KANSAS. Board of Control of State Charitable Institutions. Topeka. Established 1905. H. C. Bowman, Chairman, Newton; S. G. Elliott, Treasurer, Lawrence; C. D. Shukers, Sedan; Chas. W. Gibbs, Secretary; Lawrence.

KENTUCKY. State Board of Control for Charitable Institutions, Frankfort. Garrett S. Wall, President; A. J. G. Wells; Thomas W. Gardiner, M. D.; Thomas A. Hall; George B. Caywood, Secretary.

LOUISIANA. State Board of Charities and Correction. New Orleans. Established 1904. Governor Luther E. Hall, President, ex-officio, Baton Rouge; T. P. Thompson, New Orleans; E. B. Herndon, Shreveport; R. McG. Carruth, New Roads; F. S. Weis, Secretary, New Orleans.

MARYLAND. Board of State Aid and Charities. Baltimore. Established 1903. Hon. Chas. J. Bonaparte, President, Baltimore; H. Wirt Steele, Baltimore; Thomas V. Richardson, Phoenix; Thomas M. Bartlett, Easton; Dr. Phillip Briscoe, Mutual; Emory L. Coblentz, Frederick; Wm. Levy, Baltimore; Wm. H. Davenport, Secretary, Baltimore.

MARYLAND. The Lunacy Commission. Baltimore. Established 1886. Dr. Hugh H. Young, President, Baltimore; Dr. John D. Blake, Baltimore; Dr. Henry M. Hurd, Baltimore; Dr. Thomas H. Brayshaw, Glenburnie; Hon. Edgar Allan Poe, Attorney-General; Dr. Arthur P. Herring, Secretary, Baltimore.

MASSACHUSETTS. State Board of Charity. State House, Boston. Established 1879. Law amended 1886 and 1898. Leontine Lincoln, Chairman, Fall River; Charles H. Adams, Vice Chairman, Melrose; Miss Frances Greely Curtis, Boston; Charles R. Johnson, Worcester; David F. Tilley, Boston; Abraham C. Ratshesky, Boston; Jeffrey R. Brackett, Boston; Mrs. Ada Eliot Sheffield, Cambridge; Robert W. Kelso, Secretary, Boston; James E. Fee, Superintendent of State Minor Wards, Boston.

MASSACHUSETTS. The Board of Prison Commissioners. State House, Boston. Established 1898. Frederick G. Pettigrove, Chairman, Boston; Mrs. Margaret P. Russell, Boston; Henry Parkham, Boston; Arthur H. Wellman, Topsfield; J. Warren Bailey, Secretary, Sommerville.

MASSACHUSETTS. State Board of Insanity. State House, Boston. Established 1898. Herbert B. Howard, M. D., Chairman, Boston; Michael J. O'Meara, M. D., Worcester; Henry P. Field, Northampton; William F. Whittemore, Boston; Edward W. Taylor, M. D., Boston; Charles E. Thompson, M. D., Secretary, Boston.

MICHIGAN. Board of Corrections and Charities. Lansing. Chase S. Osborn, Governor, ex-officio; Dayton Parker, M. D., Chairman, Detroit; Roys J. Cram, Detroit; Alton T. Roberts, Marquette; Rt. Rev. John N. McCormick, D. D., Grand Rapids; Marl T. Murray, Secretary.

MINNESOTA. State Board of Control. St. Paul. Established 1901. P. M. Ringdal, Chairman, Crookston; C. E. Vasaly, Little Falls; C. J. Swendsen, St. James; J. D. Mills, Secretary, St. Paul; Downer Mullen, Purchasing Agent, St. Paul.

MINNESOTA. State Board of Visitors for Public Institutions. Gov. A. O. Eberhart, ex-officio; J. T. Schain, President, Minneapolis; Swan J. Turnblad, Vice President, Minneapolis; George R. O'Reilly, Secretary, St. Paul; J. R. Swann, Madison,; Rev. L. R. S. Ferguson, St. Paul; Thomas H. Hineline, Minneapolis; J. C. Matchitt, Exec, Secretary, St. Paul.

MISSOURI. State Board of Charities and Corrections. Columbia. Established 1897. Gov. Herbert S. Hadley, President; Miss Mary E. Perry, St. Louis; Dr. P. E. Williams, Tipton; Mrs. Walter McNab Miller, Columbia; Dr. Eugene Weiffenbach, Warrenton; Rabbi Louis Bernstein, St. Joseph; John H. Holmes, St. Louis; W. T. Cross, Secretary; Columbia.

NEBRASKA. Board of Public Lands and Buildings. Lincoln. Established 1877. E. B. Cowles, President, Lincoln; Grant G. Martin, Lincoln; Walter George, Lincoln; Addison Waite, Secretary, Lincoln.

NEW HAMPSHIRE. State Board of Charities and Corrections. Concord. Established 1895. Sherman E. Burroughs, Manchester, Chairman; O. J. M. Gilman, Alton; James F. Brennan, Peterborough; Mrs. Kate Howard Brown, Whitefield; Mrs. Mary I. Wood, Portsmouth; Dr. Irving A. Watson, Sec'y State Board of Health, Member ex-officio, Concord; William J. Ahern, Concord, Secretary; Miss Caroline E. Evans, Concord, Clerk.

NEW JERSEY. State Board of Children's Guardians. Jersey City. Established 1899. Mrs. Caroline B. Alexander, President, Hoboken; Benjamin L. Edsall, Secretary, Newark; Robert L. Fleming, Treasurer, Jersey City; Joseph McCrystal, Paterson; Mrs. F. C. Jacobson, Newark; James A. Burns, East Orange; Charles J. Fisk, Plainfield.

NEW JERSEY. State Commissioner of Charities and Correction. Joseph P. Byers, Trenton.

NEW YORK. State Board of Charities. Albany. Established 1867. Law amended 1896. William R. Stewart, President, New York; Dr. Stephen Smith, New York; Thomas M. Mulry, New York; Herman Ridder, New York; Simon W. Rosendale, Albany; Richard L. Hand, Elizabethtown; John W. Hogan, Syracuse; Daniel Waite Burdick, Ithaca; Horace McGuire, Rochester; William H. Gratwick, Buffalo; Joseph C. Baldwin, Jr., Mt. Kisco; Herman A. Metz, New York; Robert W. Hebberd, Secretary, Albany; Dr. Robert W. Hill, Supt. of State and Alien Poor, Albany; Richard W. Wallace, Supt. of Inspection, Albany.

NEW YORK. State Hospital Commission. Albany. (Formerly the State Commission in Lunacy, Established 1889). Wm. Cary Sanger, Sangerfield, Chairman; Herbert P. Bissell, Buffalo; James V. May, M. D., Albany; T. E. McGarr, Secretary, Albany; Lewis M. Farrington, Assistant Secretary, Albany.

NEW YORK. State Commission of Prisons. The Capitol, Albany. Established 1895. Law amended 1909. Henry Solomon, President, New York; Francis C. Huntington, Vice President, New York; Sarah L. Davenport, Bath; Edgar A. Newell, Ogdensburg; Simon P. Quick, Windsor; John J. Deery, New York; Frank E. Wade, Buffalo; George McLaughlin, Secretary, Albany.

NORTH CAROLINA. Board of public Charities. Raleigh. Established 1869. Reorganized 1889. W. A. Blair, Chairman, Winston-Salem; Carey J. Hunter, Raleigh; A. C. McAlister, Asheboro; J. A. McAulay, Mt. Gilead; Joseph G. Brown, Raleigh; Miss Daisy Denson, Secretary, Raleigh.

OHIO. Board of State Charities. Columbus. Established 1867. Law amended 1906. Gov. Judson Harmon, President ex-officio, Columbus; Rutherford Hayes Platt, Chairman, Columbus; Rufus C. Burton, Zanesville; H. H. McFadden, Steubenville; Dr. H. H. Drysdale, Cleveland; John V. B. Scarborough, Cincinnati; Rev. A. G. Lohmann, Crestline; H. H. Shirer, Secretary, Columbus; J. D. Holmes, Agent, Columbus.

OHIO. Board of Administration, Allen W. Thurman, President, Columbus; Dr. A. F. Shepherd, Dayton; T. E. Davey, Youngstown; J. P. Shaffer, Antwerp; E. F. Brown, Fiscal Supervisor; W. E. Haswell, Secretary.

OKLAHOMA. State Commissioner of Charities and Correction. Miss Kate Barnard, State House, Oklahoma City; Assistant Commissioner, Hobart Huson, Oklahoma City; General Attorney, Dr. J. H. Stolper; Inspector, Dr. R. C. Meloy.

PENNSYLVANIA. State Board of Public Charities. Philadelphia. Established 1869. Francis J. Torrance, President, Pittsburg; George W. Ryon, Shamokin; Isaac Johnson, Media; Patrick C. Boyle, Oil City; Ralph Blum, Philadelphia; Cyrus B. King, M. D., Allegheny; William T. Bell, Mt. Union; Samuel E. Gill, Allegheny; Howard B. French, Philadelphia; Edward K. Rowland, Philadelphia; Bromley Wharton, ex-officio, Philadelphia; Dr. Frank Woodbury, Secretary Committee on Lunacy, Philadelphia.

RHODE ISLAND. Board of State Charities and Correction. Providence. Established 1869. Walter A. Read, Chairman, Glocester; George R. Lawton, Tiverton; Harry H. Shepard, Bristol; Horace F. Horton, Cranston; S. Williard Thayer, Pawtucket; Francello G. Jillson, Providence; Joseph Jalbert, Woonsocket; James F. Freeman, East Greenwich; Frank Dana, Charlestown; Charles Potter, Secretary, Providence.

SOUTH DAKOTA. State Board of Charities and Corrections. Mitchell. Established 1890. H. P. Packard, President, Redfield; W. M. Powers, Parole Officer, Yankton; S. H. Bakewell, Plankinton; George H. Lanning, Egan; W. H. King, Secretary, Parker.

TENNESSEE. Board of State Charities. Nashville. Established 1895. Gov. Ben W. Hooper, Nashville; Hon. J. H. Turner, Nashville; Hon. W. R. Cole, Nashville; Rabbi Isadore Lewinthal, Nashville; John W. Bachman, D. D., Chattanooga; Hon. James Maynard, Knoxville; Hon. John J. Bishop, Memphis; E. P. Anderson, Secretary, Shelbyville.

VIRGINIA. State Board of Charities and Corrections. Richmond. Established 1908. S. C. Hatcher, Chairman, Ashland; P. A. Irving, Farmville; D. S. Freeman, Richmond; L. P. Stearnes, Newport News; P. A. Winston, Farmville; J. T. Mastin, Secretary, Richmond.

WASHINGTON. State Board of Control. Olympia. Established 1901. E. D. Cowen, Chairman, Olympia; A. E. Cagwin; Olympia; H. L. Jones, Olympia; H. G. Ballou, Secretary, Olympia.

WEST VIRGINIA.—State Board of Control, Charleston. Established July 1, 1909, James S. Lakin, President, John A. Sheppard, Thomas E. Hodges, Treasurer.

WISCONSIN. State Board of Control. Madison. Established 1891. Ralph E. Smith, President, Merrill; Dr. P. H. Lindley, Vice President, Chippewa Falls; W. H. Graebner, Milwaukee; Miss Katherine R. Williams, Milwaukee; John P. Lewis, Friendship; M. J. Tappins, Secretary, Madison.

WYOMING. State Board of Charities and Reform. Cheyenne. Gov. Joseph M. Carey, President; Frank L. Houx; John L. Baird; Robert Forsythe; Miss Rose A. Bird, Secretary; Miss Mae Woodriff, Clerk.

# Membership List

**(Corrected to October 1, 1912.)**

N. B. Names marked with a star (*) are those of sustaining members. Names marked with a dagger (†) are those registered as in attendance at Cleveland.

## ALABAMA.

Amigh, Mrs. Ophelia L., Supt. Ala. Home of Refuge, 8514 N. 5th St., Birmingham.
†Barrow, Ralph S., Sec. Chns. Aid. Soc., Birmingham.
†Eaves, Rev. George, 112 Elm St., Birmingham.
†Haley, Mrs. L. J., Pres. Council of Women's Clubs, 1101 11th Ave. S., Birmingham.
Johnson, J. H., Prin. Ala. School for Deaf, Talladega.
Murdoch, Mrs. W. L., 1500 S. 20th St., Birmingham.
Newfield, Rabbi M., 2150 S. 16th Ave., Birmingham.
†Putnam, L. H., Supt. Juv. Ct. Sys., Mobile.
Searcy, Dr. J. T., Supt. Ala. Insane Hsp., Tuscaloosa.
†Searight, Mrs. M. W., Treas. House of Refuge, 1910 16th Ave. S., Birmingham.
Tutwiler, Miss Julia S., Livingston.

## ARIZONA.

†Gilchrist, Christianna G., Supt. A. C., City Hall, Room 7, Phoenix.

## ARKANSAS.

†Auerbach, Murray A., Sec. U. C., City Hall, Little Rock.
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Hebrew Relief Association, 1121 W. 2d Ave., Pine Bluff.
†Pugsley, M. M., Lib'n Pub. Library, Little Rock.
†Rutherford, Mrs. Minnie U., Supt. Juv. Cts. of W. C. T. U., Magazine.
United Charities Association, Little Rock.
Whipple, Durand, Pres. U. C., Little Rock.
Winchester, Rev. James R., D. D., Little Rock.
†Witt, Rabbi Louis, Sec. Fed. Jewish Char., 1022 W. 6th St., Little Rock.

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Long Beach Public Library, Long Beach.
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## COLORADO.

Beckwith, Elmer F., Mem. St. Bd. C. & C., Longmont.
Library of University of Colorado, Boulder.
McDonald, Mrs. W. H., Sec. A. C., 304 N. Main St., Pueblo.
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Young Folks Library, LaJunta.

### Denver.

Caspar, Mrs. Stanley M., Pres. St. Bd. C. & C., 1241 Gaylord St.
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Woman's Club of Denver, Reform Dept.

## CONNECTICUT.

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Fisher, Prof. Willard., Middletown.
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Ward, Mrs. Mary L., Danbury.
Woodruff, Geo. M., Litchfield.
Wright, Rev. P. C., Norwich.

## DELAWARE.

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Warner, Mrs. A. D., Kentmere Place, Wilmington

## DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

### Washington.

Aldis, Miss Cornelia, S., 1347 Connecticut Ave.
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Barnum, Miss Charlotte C., Vol. Wkr. A. C., U. S. Dept. of Agri.
†Bicknell, Ernest P., Nat'l Dir. Am. Red Cross, R. 715, Union Trust Bldg.
Bixby, W. H., 735 Southern Bldg.
Boardman, Miss Mabel T., Mem. Bd. Am. Red Cross, 1801 P. St.
Brown, Elizabeth, Asst. Sec. C. O. S., 923 H St., N. W.
†Cisco, John A., Agt. Bd. Chns. Guardians, 5 S St., N. E.
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†Cook, Geo. Wm., Sec. Howard Univ.
Cook, Miss Susan B., 607 Howard Ave., N. W.
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†Darnall, O. E., Supt. Nat'l. Trg. Sch. for Boys, Bladensburg Pike.
†DeLacy, Hon. Wm. H., Judge Juv. Ct., Pres. St. Vincent DePaul Soc., 1816 F St., N. W.
†Delano, Miss Jane A., Am. Red Cross, Office of the Surgeon-Gen.
Downey, W. F., 1622 L St., N. W.
Edson, John Joy, Pres. Bd. of Char., cor. 9th and F Sts.
†Ellis, Belle, Vis. A. C., 1722 G St., N. W.
†Exnicios, J. T., Treas. Soc. for Sav., 914 G St., N. W.

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*Kibbey, Miss Bessie J., 2025 Massachusetts Ave.
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# INDEX OF SUBJECTS

## ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS INDEX

Names of states, etc., the usual P. O. abbreviations, as N. Y., Ala., U. S.

| | |
|---|---|
| A. C. | Associated charities |
| Abol. | Abolish,-ition,-ment |
| Adm. | Adminstration,-tive |
| Adv. | Advanced,-ing, advantage. |
| Agst. | Against. |
| Amd. | Amend,-ed,- ment,-s |
| Appn. | Appropriation,-s. |
| Appt. | Appointment,-s,- ed. |
| Assd. | Associated. |
| Assn. | Association. |
| Asy. | Asylum. |
| Bd. | Board,-s. |
| Bdg. | Boarding. |
| Bl. | Blind. |
| Bldg. | Building,-s. |
| Bur. | Bureau,-s. |
| Ch. | Child, children,-'s. |
| Char. | Charity,-ies,-able. |
| Chh. | Church,-'s,-es. |
| Co. | County, Company. |
| Col. | Colony,-ies. |
| Com. | Committee, Commission,-s. |
| Comr. | Commissioner,-s. |
| Cond. | Condition,-s. |
| Conf. | Conference,-s. |
| Cont. | Control. |
| Cor. | Correction,-s,-al. |
| C. O. S. | Charity Organization Society. |
| Cri. | Crime,-inal,-s. |
| Ct. | Court,-s. |
| Def. | Defective,-s,-ness. |
| Deg. | Degenerate,-s,-tion. |
| Del. | Delinquent,-cy. |
| Dep. | Dependent,-cy. |
| Dept. | Department. |
| Dest. | Destitute,-s. |
| Dev. | Development,-s. |
| Dr. | Doctor. |
| E. | East,-ern. |
| Econ. | Economic,-s,-al. |
| Educ. | Educate,-d,-tion. |
| Emp. | Employed-ment. |
| Engd. | England,-ish. |
| Epi. | Epileptic,-s,-sy. |
| Est. | Establish,-ed,- ment. |
| Exp. | Expense,-es. |
| Fed. | Federate,-d,-tion. |
| F. M. | Feebleminded,-ness |
| F. V. | Friendly visitor,-s. |
| Govt. | Government,-al. |
| H. | House,-s. |
| Ho. | Home,-s. |
| Hosp. | Hospital,-s. |
| Id. | Idiot,-ic. |
| Illit. | Illiterate,-cy. |
| Imb. | Imbecile,-s. |
| Imgt. | Immigration. |
| Immt. | Immigrant,-s. |
| Imp. | Improved,-ment,-s. |
| Inc. | Increase,-ing. |
| Incor. | Incorrigible,-s,-ility. |
| Ind. | Industrial. |
| Ins. | Insane. |
| Inst. | Institution,-s,-al. |
| Insp. | Inspect,-or,-ion. |
| Invt. | Investigate,-ed,-ions |
| Juv. | Juvenile. |
| Lab. | Labor,-er,-s. |
| Legis. | Legislator-s-ive-ure. |
| Legisn. | Legislation. |
| Med. | Medical,-ine. |
| Mvt. | Movement. |
| N. | North,-ern. |
| Nat. | National. |
| No. | Number,-s. |
| O. D. R. | Outdoor relief. |
| Off. | Officer,-s-cial,-s. |
| Org. | Organized,-ation,-s. |
| Orp. | Orphan,-s. |
| Pen. | Penitentiary. |
| Phi. | Philanthropy,-ical |
| Phys. | Physical. |
| Plg. | Placing. |
| Prev. | Prevent,-ion,-ing. |
| Pri. | Private. |
| Pris. | Prison,-s,-er,-ers. |
| Prob. | Probation. |
| Prohi. | Prohibition,-ive. |
| Pt. | Point. |
| Pub. | Public,-ity. |
| *Re.* | Concerning. |
| Ref. | Refuge,reformatory |
| Reg. | Regulation,-s,-ing. |
| Rel. | Relief. |
| Rep. | Report,-ed,-ing. |
| R. R. | Railroad. |
| S. | South,-ern. |
| San. | Sanatorium,-a |
| Sch. | School,-s. |
| Sec. | Secretary,-ies, secular. |
| Sett. | Settlement. |
| Soc. | Society, social. |
| St. | State,-s. |
| Statis. | Statistics,-ical,-ician |
| Super. | Supervisor,-s,-ision. |
| Supt. | Superintend-ing-ent |
| T. B. | Tuberculosis. |
| Trg. | Training. |
| Uni. | University,-ies. |
| W. | West,-ern. |
| Wk. | Work. |
| Wkr. | Worker,-s. |
| Wkg. | Working. |

Words in SMALL CAPITALS signify COMMITTEES; phrases in *italics* signify *titles of papers;* author's name follows title.

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